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Arnold Bennett

THE ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY, POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1795.

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PREFACE.

THE Year 1795, though leſs fertile than the preceding years in ſplendid military actions, was marked by events of the utmoſt political magnitude. Poland, after a ſhort but glorious reſiſtance, was obliterated from the liſt of nations; Holland, ſubdued by the French armies, though allowed to retain a nominal independance, was, in reality, enſlaved; Pruſſia, and Spain, were detached from the confederacy of ſovereigns; and France, weary of groaning under an anarchical tyranny of the moſt cruel and degrading kind, received a conſtitution which, manifeſtly imperfect as it was, bore, at leaſt, ſome reſemblance to a regular form of government, and promiſed ſome ſecurity to the properties and lives of the people.

Of the gallant ſtruggle made by the Poles, in behalf of their oppreſſed and inſulted country, no full and connected account has hitherto appeared in the Engliſh language. In the preſent Volume we have ſpared no pains to ſupply this defect; and we believe that, to the truth of this aſſertion, the Narrative which we have given will be found to bear ample teſtimony.

Equal care has been taken to give a faithful, and complete, yet not tedious, detail of the proceedings of the factions in France, and of the military operations on the Rhine, in Italy, and in Spain.

In the Parliamentary Hiſtory, we have laboured, and, we flatter ourſelves, not unſucceſsfully, to give a perſpicuous and ſtrictly impartial ſtatement of the arguments uſed by both parties, in the numerous diſcuſſions which took place during a buſy and contentious ſeſſion.

Only one ſubject of debate in the parliament, but that ſubject of the higheſt importance, we have left untouched. We allude to the diſmiſſion of lord Fitzwilliam from the viceroyſhip of Ireland. On this point we reſerve ourſelves till the next volume, becauſe, in that volume, it is our intention to give a comprehenſive view of Iriſh affairs, for a period of ſeveral years, down to the cloſe of 1796, when, fortunately for this country, the French Directory failed in its attempt to afford aſſiſtance to the diſaffected natives of the ſiſter iſland.

It is once more our unpleaſant taſk to apologize for the delay which has taken place in our publication. To enumerate however, the cauſes of the delay, would only be to treſpaſs ſtill further upon that indulgent patience, which we have ſo fully experienced, and for which we muſt return our warmeſt thanks. Our readers, we truſt, will learn with more ſatisfaction, that we have made ſuch arrangements, as will prevent the occurrence of any delay in future. The volumes for 1796 and 1804 are now in the preſs, whence they will iſſue before the end of the year. They will ſpeedily be followed by other volumes, both of the old and new ſeries; and we have a well-grounded hope that, in the courſe of a reaſonable time, the arrear which we have incurred will be diſcharged, and the Annual Regiſter be, thenceforth, laid before the Public with due punctuality.

*** The Reader is requeſted to correct a preſs error in the Preface to the volume for 1794. In page ſix, line four, *for* "fruit of truth," *read* "prieſt of truth."

THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
For the YEAR 1795.

THE
HISTORY
OF
EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Affairs of Poland. Act declaring the king's acceſſion to the confederation of Targowitz. Drawn up in language calculated to degrade the king. Confederation formed in Lithuania. Union of the two confederacies, under the title of the general confederation. Grodno fixed upon as the place of meeting. The general confederation fills the military and civil offices with its own partizans. Numbers of the Poliſh officers reſign. Addreſs of prince Poniatowſki to his troops. Proteſt of count Staniſlaus Malachowſki againſt the confederation. Other nobles alſo proteſt. Four thouſand nobles wait on them to return thanks. Various proceedings of the confederation deſigned to mortify and degrade the king. The confederation ſuſpends the courts of juſtice and ſhackles the preſs. Hatred of the people againſt the confederates, and eſpecially to Potocki. Embaſſy ſent to St. Peterſburgh by the confederation to return thanks to the empreſs. Its gracious reception. Bitter complaints of the Poliſh people againſt the barbarity of the Ruſſian troops. Inſtances of Ruſſian barbarity. No attention paid to any remonſtrances upon the ſubject. Manner in which the confederation was occupied. The great cities requeſted to ſend deputies to Grodno. Addreſs to the army. General addreſs from the confederation to the Poles. Plans of partition formed by the king of Pruſſia, and the empreſs of Ruſſia. They are conſented to *by the emperor. Alarm of the confederation on the rumours of a partition. Note on the ſubject addreſſed by the confederation to the Pruſſian miniſter. Equivocal anſwer. Pruſſian army enters Poland. Manifeſto of Frederic William on this occaſion. Operations of the Pruſſian troops. Conſternation of the confederates. Potocki entreats the empreſs to interpoſe in favor of Poland. Grief of the king. Moderate reply of the confederation to the Pruſſian manifeſto. It is followed by a ſpirited proteſt. Meaſures taken by the confederation to repel the invaders. The Poſpolite ſummoned to prepare for taking the field. Alarming conduct of the Ruſſian general Igelstrom. The count de Sievers ſent from St. Peterſburgh, as ambaſſador in Poland. Slight put upon the confederation by him. Note of the confederation to the empreſs intreating her protection. The maſk partly thrown off by Ruſſia. The count de Sievers haughtily demands the revocation of the order for calling out the Poſpolite. Reply of the confederation. The demand is complied with. Arbitrary conduct of the Ruſſian ambaſſador in various inſtances. Fallacy of his aſſertion that the neighbouring ſtates were in danger from Polish jacobin clubs. The confederation orders prayers for the ſafety of Poland to be put up in the churches, and ſends count Potocki to St. Peterſburgh to negociate with the empreſs. Progreſs of the Pruſſians. Czentochow ſurrenders to them. They take poſſeſſion of Dantzick. Plan of partition at length publiſhed. Manifeſto of Frederic William. Manifeſto of the empreſs. Official notification of the partition preſented to the confederates by the Ruſſian ambaſſador. Its contradictory and ſelf-criminating tenor. Pruſſian notification. The Ruſſian ambaſſador demands and obtains the reſtoration of the permanent council, and the ſequeſtration of property belonging to emigrants. Proteſt of M. Walewſki. Proteſt of count Rzewuſki. Conſequent proceedings of the Ruſſian ambaſſador againſt thoſe nobles. Anſwer of the confederates to the Ruſſian declaration. Ruſſian ambaſſador obtains the removal of the king from Warſaw to Grodno. Meaſures taken by Ruſſia to procure the convocation of a diet to ſanction the Ruſſian and Pruſſian uſurpations. The king iſſues an univerſal for convoking a diet.*

IN the hiſtorical department of our volume for the year 1792,* we brought down the detail of Poliſh affairs to the period when, deſerted and betrayed by Pruſſia, and overpowered by Ruſſia, the Poles were compelled to receive the law from their tyrannical enemy, and relinquiſh that portion of freedom which they had lately acquired. It now remains for us to continue the melancholy narrative, through the ſhort but buſy ſpace of time which intervened between the occupation of Poland by the troops of Catherine, and the final eraſure of that country from the catalogue of independent nations.

As far as crime can be made legal, the confederation of Targowitz had been legalized by the forced conſent of the unfortunate monarch. It was not, however, deemed a ſufficient puniſhment for his paſt offences that he was reduced to ſee the deſtruction of his deareſt hopes in the downfal of his country's liberty; and to give his ſanction to proceedings which his heart and reaſon abhorred. To fill up the meaſure of his anguiſh and ſhame, it was thought neceſſary to make him the inſtrument of holding up to the world his own character in the moſt deſpicable light, as a conſummate hypocrite, and betrayer of his people.

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* See Annual Regiſter 1792, Part I. pp. 65 & 388.

The act by which, while the Ruſſian ſword was at his throat, the king declared his acceſſion to the confederation of Targowitz, was ſtudiouſly drawn up in language calculated to wound his feelings, and tarniſh his fame. After inſinuating that his ſentiments had always been adverſe to a change in the eſtabliſhed order of things, but that he had been compelled to conceal them, it ſtigmatized the principles acted upon by the late diet, as "new and daring maxims, fitted only to diſturb the tranquillity of nations," and merely uſed by ambitious men, for the purpoſe of covering their own ſiniſter deſigns. The laws paſſed by the diet, and the conſtitution which it had eſtabliſhed, were contemptuouſly aſſerted to be inefficient, impracticable, and abſurd; and the revolution, which gave birth to them, was branded with the epithets of impolitic and dangerous. To crown the whole, the enſlaved ſovereign was made to conclude in the following language: "I freely accept, "and join with all my ſoul to, the "new confederation, formed by the "wiſh of the whole country at Targowitz; I conſider as legal only "thoſe meaſures which it may approve; I promiſe to conform to "all the laws which it may paſs; "and I ſwear to ſecond all its plans, "as they can have no other object "than the public good. I the more "willingly accede to all this, becauſe "the reform projected by the confederation offers to the impartial "eyes of good citizens nothing but "what is juſt and ſalutary; and, "above all, becauſe the generous "and diſintereſted protection of her "majeſty the empreſs reſtores quiet "to the republic, becomes to it a "new ſource of proſperity, guarantees its rights in the moſt effectual "manner, and preſerves its indiviſibility." What muſt have been felt by the unhappy monarch, when he ſigned this paper, may be eaſily conceived, but cannot be deſcribed.

Aug. 2, 1792.

In the dutchy of Lithuania, a confederacy, ſimilar to that of Targowitz, had been eſtabliſhed nearly at the ſame time, and under the ſame auſpices. The two bodies now formed an union at Brzeſc, and aſſumed the title of the general confederation. The place choſen for its future reſidence was the city of Grodno.

The firſt ſtep of the ſucceſsful faction was to fill, with its own creatures, all the poſts of the ſtate, whether civil or military. Few of the patriotic Poles, however, waited to receive their diſmiſſion. Count Ignatius Potocki, the venerable count Staniſlaus Nalecz Malachowſki, prince Caſimir Sapieha, count Soltan, the vice chancellor Kolontay, and numberleſs others, reſigned thoſe employments which they held from the crown. In the army, ſeventeen ſuperior officers, among whom were the generals, Wielhorſki, Koſciuſko, Mokronowſki, and Zabiello, threw up thoſe commiſſions which they could no longer retain with honour. At their head was the commander in chief count Joſeph Poniatowſki. He took a final leave of his troops by a printed addreſs, worthy of diſtinguiſhed praiſe, for the affectionate regard which it manifeſted to his companions in arms, and for the ſeverity with which it laſhed thoſe guilty nobles who had betrayed their country to the yoke of a foreign power. The rank which he had held was conferred on count Branicki, one of the principal framers of the confederation of Targowitz.

Count Poniatowſki was not the only noble who had boldneſs enough thus publickly to expreſs his hatred of the late uſurpation. Count Staniſlaus Malachowſki entered againſt it, on the regiſters of the chancery of Warſaw, a proteſt, drawn up in terms at once the moſt pathetic and indignant. With a prophetic ſpirit, the proteſt declared that "the act of "open deſpotiſm, which had been "committed, contrary to the wiſhes "as well as to the intereſts of the "nation, and infringing the ſacred "rights of all claſſes of citizens, was "an audacious enterprize, which "had been preceded by murders and "diſaſters, and *which would inevi-"tably be followed by anarchy, ſer-"vitude, and the total ruin of the re-"public.*" After aſſerting the illegality and nullity of all the recent violent acts, the count concluded his proteſt by this animated apoſtrophe to his fellow countrymen: "O nation which I bear in my bo-"ſom! O my dear compatriots! "I partake of your misfortunes, but "I cannot mitigate them. Alas! "there now is left me only my tears "to offer you: my fidelity, my in-"violable attachment are known to "you. Nothing can deſtroy or di-"miniſh them; but I can no longer "give you proofs of them, ſince I am "bereft of the means."

The example ſet by count Malachowſki was followed, with equal ſpirit, by count Caſimir Sapieha; who was joined in his proteſt by count Soltan, and count Ignatius Potocki.

This courageous and patriotic conduct was rewarded by the gratitude, the bleſſings, and the plaudits of the Poliſh people. As ſoon as the proteſt became public, above four thouſand noblemen and gentlemen, then at Warſaw from the different provinces, waited on the four proteſting nobles, to thank them for their conduct, and make them an offer of ſupport. Not ſatisfied with this mark of reſpect, they carried them triumphantly through the city, amidſt the ſhouts and benedictions of the ſurrounding multitudes. Numbers of the ſpectators, who believed that Staniſlaus had not exerted himſelf ſufficiently in the cauſe of freedom, availed themſelves of this opportunity to manifeſt their diſſatisfaction, by loud cries of "the conſtitution "without the king!"

The king, thus unjuſtly ſuſpected, was, meanwhile, reduced to a mere cypher, and was daily and hourly ſubjected to galling inſult, by the victorious faction. Scarcely was Lewis the ſixteenth treated with leſs reſpect by that national aſſembly which, at length, deprived him of his crown. The general confederation exerciſed an unlimited and undivided authority over every department of the ſtate. One of its firſt acts was, in truth, a virtual depoſition of the Poliſh monarch. By a circular note, the members of the diplomatic body were deſired to addreſs, in future, their communications to the confederacy, which was the legal poſſeſſor of the ſovereign power. The next ſtep was to forbid, till further orders, the ſealing of any patent ſigned by the king, and likewiſe to annul all patents and poſts of honour, granted by his majeſty, ſince the 3d of May 1791. In aid of this laſt ſtroke of injuſtice it was alſo decreed, that all perſons who had been deputed from the provinces to expreſs favourable ſentiments on the eſtabliſhment of the late conſtitution, ſhould be incapable of exerciſing any public function. The royal privilege of nominating miniſters to foreign courts was likewiſe attacked. Staniſlaus having reſolved to recall ſome of his ambaſſadors, and appoint others in their ſtead, was informed that he muſt relinquiſh his deſign, and tranſmit new credentials to thoſe whom he had intended to remove. This was followed up by ſending away two regiments of his guards, to make room in Warſaw for the Ruſſian troops; and by taking from him the right of commanding that part of his guard which was allowed to remain. A requeſt to have the right reſtored was anſwered by a poſitive refuſal. Nor did the perſecution ſtop here. He was denied permiſſion to remove with his family to a ſhort diſtance from the capital, and was forced to diſmiſs his chamberlain, Kownaſki, who had taken an obnoxious ſhare in the late revolution. One prerogative, that of coining money, was yet left; and that one was now invaded. The confederation ordered that new money ſhould be ſtruck, bearing an inſcription reprobating the laſt diet, and holding up to the grateful applauſe of the Poliſh people, and of future ages, the unprincipled proceedings of the dominant faction.

While the confederation was thus circumſcribing, or rather annihilating, the king's authority, it took eſpecial care that nothing ſhould be ſuffered to exiſt which, either judicially or morally, could ſet limits to its own. Every thing was deſtroyed or altered. All the courts of law were ſuſpended, and the adminiſtration of juſtice was thus placed at its mercy. The preſs was obviouſly too formidable to be left unſhackled by thoſe who had ſo much reaſon to dread its cenſure and its influence. A decree was, therefore, paſſed, which, had it not been pregnant with tyranny and miſchief, might have excited laughter by its impudence and abſurdity. It declared that, although no well-informed perſon could poſſibly be influenced by attacks upon the principles of "thoſe who had "eſtabliſhed liberty in Poland," yet, as unenlightened citizens might be miſled, and as unanimity was needful, the confederates deemed it proper to forbid all writings againſt the confederacy of Targowitz and the national conſtitution. Anonymous compoſitions, perſonal ſatires, and "dangerous novelties" in the newſpapers, were equally proſcribed; and, that nothing of this ſort might find its way to the public, all manuſcripts were ordered to be ſubmitted to the inſpection of a ſort of tribunal, compoſed of the officers who conducted the police of the capital. That theſe officers might perform this important duty with ſtrict vigilance, their labour was remunerated by a conſiderable ſalary.

But, though the preſs was thus fettered, the voice of the people was not ſo eaſily to be ſilenced. No opportunity was let ſlip of expreſſing their diſguſt. Potocki, the prime mover and marſhal of the confederation, was the principal object of their hatred. At the Warſaw theatre a ſtriking proof was given him

how

how much they held him in abhorrence. One of the characters in an old Poliſh comedy, deſcribing as an atrocious villain and traitor another character who bore the ſame chriſtian names as the marſhal, the audience burſt into loud acclamations, ordered the actor to ſpeak the phraſe ſeveral times, and inſiſted that the drama ſhould be repeated on the following night. The police, however, interfered, and prevented the piece from being again brought forward.

Some teſtimony of gratitude appeared to the confederates to be due to the power which had enabled them to attain their preſent elevation. An embaſſy, conſiſting of counts Branicki and Rzewuſki, and nine other nobles, was accordingly diſpatched to St. Peterſburgh, to return thanks to the empreſs "for the "generous ſuccour which ſhe had "deigned to afford to a ſeduced and "diſtreſſed nation." The credentials which they carried were filled with the moſt diſguſting flattery, and rather ſeemed to have been drawn up by the ſlaves of an eaſtern deſpot than by men who, in theſe very credentials, prided themſelves on being natives of a free and republican country. The ambaſſadors were admitted to an audience on the eleventh of November. The empreſs received them in the moſt gracious manner; and diſmiſſed them from her preſence highly gratified with their reception, and with the aſſurances which ſhe gave of her continued favour and ſupport.

Far different were the feelings of the Poliſh people with reſpect to the protectreſs of the confederation. Poland was overrun by nearly eighty thouſand of her troops, who treated it in every way as a conquered territory. Seven thouſand of the number were ſtationed in the metropolis. From every part of the kingdom the bittereſt complaints were heard againſt the inſolence, the exactions, and the cruelty of the Ruſſian ſoldiers. Proviſions, forage, waggons, horſes and oxen, were wreſted from the natives, who were ſometimes driven by violence from their houſes, ſometimes maltreated, and ſometimes murdered by their barbarous enemies. In the palatinate of Siradia, a whole village is ſaid to have been conſumed, and the governor of the diſtrict roaſted alive, becauſe he was unable to ſupply the quantity of forage for which a demand had been made.

It was in vain that daily remonſtrances were addreſſed to the Ruſſian commander in chief, general Kochowſky. They were either anſwered evaſively, or paſſed by with a contemptuous ſilence. When to remonſtrance was added the forcible and prudent plea, that long-protracted oppreſſion might, perhaps, excite the people to take vengeance for their wrongs; he replied by threats, defiance, and hoſtile preparations. Recourſe was now had to the empreſs herſelf, who, at length, iſſued a tardy order for one of her counſellors of ſtate to enquire into the validity of the complaints which had been laid before her. This order, as might naturally be expected, was productive of no benefit whatever to the unfortunate ſufferers.

Amidſt all this calamity and diſgrace the confederation was buſied in contriving means to perpetuate its authority, and in forming plans for a new conſtitution. The latter employment was, in reality, ſubordinate to, and in aid of, the former. By men of weak minds power is never relinquiſhed but with extreme reluctance and pain. It becomes, when once obtained, a part of their exiſtence; and when loſt is a conſtant ſource of regret; becauſe, perhaps, without it they feel no ſecurity againſt that contempt which their native inſignificance deſerves.

In order to win over the great cities, which, from their numerous and in part idle and profligate population, are always open to the ſeductive arts of demagogues, marſhal Potocki, in the name of his coadjutors, addreſſed a flattering letter to ten of the largeſt Poliſh towns; calling on each of them to ſend two deputies to Grodno, to make known their reſpective wants and wiſhes. This letter contained much declamation upon freedom and tyranny, ſome of it ſufficiently juſt, and only remarkable as coming from thoſe who had trampled under foot the liberties of their country.

The army was at the ſame time addreſſed from the ſame quarter. This addreſs was drawn up in a ſtyle of affected tenderneſs for the ſoldiery; contained much calumny and cenſure of the late diet, much flattery of its readers, many promiſes, and abundant proteſtations of the immaculate purity of the author's conduct. Some parts of it, however, plainly ſhowed the writer to have ſerious fears that the ſentiments of the army were by no means favourable to the change which had been brought about by himſelf and his faction.

A general addreſs to the Poliſh nation was likewiſe publiſhed by the confederates. In a tone of ſimulated humility they acknowledged the right of their fellow citizens to claim an account of their motives and actions. Aſſuming to themſelves the merit of being wiſe, humble, diſintereſted, and free from malice and the deſire of revenge, they appealed to their paſt, preſent, and future labours, for the proof of their unſhaken firmneſs and unſullied patriotiſm. To conciliate the framers of projects, a numerous body in all countries, they deſired to receive ideas and plans, for the reformation of the ſtate, from all citizens diſpoſed to concur in this great work. After beſtowing the accuſtomed portion of ſlander and invective upon the laſt diet, this curious compoſition ended with an elaborate panegyrick on the empreſs of Ruſſia. "Let the nation," it ſaid, "weigh with the coolneſs of reflection the precious ſervices which have been rendered to it by that immortal ſovereign, the friend of our republic, and it will, doubtleſs, own that after having, without any private views, ſtretched out a ſuccouring hand to ſnatch us from the abyſs in which we were ſinking; after having furniſhed us with all that was needful to ſecure our independence, and to fix our felicity on the firmeſt baſis, the immortal Catherine is entitled to gratitude as unlimited as the benefits which ſhe has beſtowed."

While the confederates were thus baſking in the ſunſhine, and pouring forth the praiſes, of their imperial benefactreſs, a ſtorm was gathering round them, raiſed by that benefactreſs, and deſtined to overwhelm them with remorſe and ſhame, and their country with ruin and deſpair. Their plans, perhaps, did not extend further than to the ſeizure of the reins of government, under pretext of re-eſtabliſhing the ancient and abrogated forms. But their ſhort-ſighted ambition did not ſee that they were, in reality, only the tools of thoſe who pretended to ſecond their deſigns.

The plan of a new partition of Poland had for ſome time been maturing by the empreſs Catherine and the king of Pruſſia. They ſaw that a more convenient opportunity than the preſent, for putting into eaſy execution their ſchemes of plunder, could never be expected to occur. Poland, torn by faction, and lying at the mercy of the Ruſſian troops, had neither internal ſtrength to enable her to reſiſt, nor the ſlighteſt hope of receiving ſuccour from any foreign power. The emperor of Germany, even had he been diſpoſed to lend his aid, was effectually incapacitated from ſo doing, by his being engaged in a burdenſome, and, at this moment, diſaſtrous, conteſt with the French republic. It is nearly impoſſible to form a correct idea as to what line of conduct the emperor would have purſued, had he been at liberty to act. The deſire of enlarging his dominions would, perhaps, have been more than counterbalanced by the dread of aggrandizing, and bringing into ſtill cloſer contact with his own ſtates, two ſuch formidable neighbours; one of which was the notorious and inveterate enemy of Auſtrian greatneſs. It muſt on reflection have been obvious to him that, though he received a ſhare in the ſpoil, his relative ſtrength, after the partition, would be conſiderably leſs than it was before, both in numbers and in local ſituation. But, whatever were his ſentiments, it was impracticable for him, entangled as he was in a war with France, to throw any obſtacles in the way of the partitioning ſovereigns. When, therefore, the project of diſmemberment was communicated to him by the cabinets of St. Peterſburgh and Berlin, he conſented to its being carried into effect, but took no part in the neceſſary meaſures.

Pruſſia firſt threw off the maſk, which Ruſſia thought it politic to wear yet a little longer. As early as the beginning of December, rumours that the Pruſſian troops were on the eve of entering the Poliſh territory had become ſo general, that the confederation thought it neceſſary to requeſt the Pruſſian ambaſſador, count Bucholz, to give them a formal contradiction. The reply of the count was manifeſtly evaſive. He declared that, not having any knowledge upon the ſubject, he would tranſmit to Berlin the note addreſſed to him, and that a ſpeedy anſwer might be expected; but, in the mean time, he would beg leave to obſerve that the wiſhes of his Pruſſian majeſty for the welfare and tranquillity of the republic, were too manifeſt to allow of their being called in queſtion on the bare authority of vague reports and ſurmiſes.

The benevolent wiſhes and intentions of his Pruſſian majeſty were quickly placed in ſo clear a light as to leave no room for any difference of opinion. Early in January an army of ſixteen thouſand men, commanded by general Mollendorf, entered the Poliſh territory. This hoſtile proceeding was attempted to be explained and juſtified by a declaration, iſſued from Berlin *. Never did bad faith, ſtriving to cloak itſelf with the ſemblance of juſtice, labour to ſo little purpoſe as in this ſtate paper. The firſt charge againſt the

Jan. 6, 1793.

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* See Ann. Reg. 1793, State Papers, p. *367.

Poles was, that the revolution of 1791 had been made without the participation of the neighbouring friendly courts, and even without their previous knowledge[*]. As if it were neceſſary for an independent ſtate to aſk permiſſion to make ſuch an internal reform as could not poſſibly be injurious to any foreign power! The friends of the revolution were ſaid to be ſtill hatching plots for the deſtruction of order and public tranquillity; and it was boldly added, though without the ſhadow of proof, that his majeſty's territory had frequently been violated by the conſpirators, and had ſuffered from their outrages. But the argument upon which Frederic William placed his chief reliance was, that French democracy had taken a deep root in Poland, and that Poliſh revolutionary ſocieties had been eſtabliſhed, which maintained a cloſe connection with the clubs of France, and ſeconded all the operations of the French jacobin emiſſaries. Under theſe circumſtances his majeſty, who was on the point of entering into a ſecond campaign againſt France, did not think it prudent to leave behind him a dangerous enemy, whoſe violent and audacious enterprizes might continually embarraſs him; and he had, therefore, reſolved to get the ſtart of that enemy, by ſending into the dominions of the Poliſh republic a ſufficient body of troops to cover his own frontiers, to repreſs the ſeditious and turbulent, to re-eſtabliſh peace and good order, and, finally, to afford an effectual protection to the well-intentioned inhabitants. A promiſe was graciouſly made that the ſtricteſt diſcipline ſhould be obſerved by the troops, and that the ſubſiſtence which they received ſhould be paid for with the moſt ſcrupulous punctuality. That injury might be rendered more poignant by inſult, his majeſty concluded by declaring that, "as his deſigns were ſo friendly, "he flattered himſelf with the hope "that he might reckon upon the "good will of a nation, the proſ"perity of which was not an object "of indifference to him, and to which "he deſired to give proofs of his "benevolence and affection."

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[*] That the reader may ſee, without the trouble of further reference, what were the ſentiments expreſſed by Frederic William when he was informed of the revolution of the 3d of May, we ſubjoin the two diſpatches tranſmitted, by him, on the occaſion, to his ambaſſador, and to the king of Poland.

Extract from a diſpatch, from the king of Pruſſia to count Golz, then Chargé des affaires at Warſaw; officially communicated to the Poliſh diet.

" I received your diſpatch of the 3d of May 1791, with its accompaniment; and I
" have learned, by the laſt, the important news, that the diet of Poland has juſt choſen
" and proclaimed the elector of Saxony as the eventual ſucceſſor to the throne of
" Poland; and that it has aſſured the ſucceſſion to his deſcendants; and in default of
" theſe, to his daughter, and ſuch future huſband as the elector of Saxony and the
" States ſhall fix upon. After the lively intereſt which I have always taken in the happineſs
" of the republic, *and the confirmation of her new conſtitution (an intereſt of*
" *which I have never failed to give ſuch convincing proofs as depended on me) I perfectly*
" *applaud the deciſive ſtep which the nation has juſt taken, and which I regard as infinitely*
" *ſuited to the conſolidation of its happineſs.* The news is the more agreeable to
" me, as I am attached by bonds of friendſhip to the virtuous prince deſtined to form the
" happineſs of Poland, as is alſo the houſe of Saxony to my houſe, by thoſe of good
" neighbourhood, and of the moſt happy union. I am thence perſuaded, that the
" choice of the republic *will confirm for ever the happy and cloſe intelligence which has*
" *ſubſiſted to the preſent moment between the republic and myſelf; and I charge you to*
" *teſtify in the moſt expreſſive manner, my moſt ſincere felicitations to the king, to the marſhals*
" *of the diet, and to all thoſe who have contributed to this great work.*

Letter of the King of Pruſſia to the King of Poland.

" Sir, my brother,

" I have received, nearly at the ſame moment, the two letters, by which your majeſty
" is pleaſed to make known to me the important reſolution juſt taken, by the
" confederated diet of Poland, for fixing the hereditary ſucceſſion of the throne in favour
" of the houſe of Saxony. No one has certainly a better title to communicate to
" me the particulars of this event than general count (Ignatius) Potocki, who has acted
" in it ſo intereſting a part, and who merits, in every reſpect, the honourable teſtimony
" which your majeſty bears in his favour.

" *The eagerneſs I have ſhewn to declare my ſentiments on this ſubject will convince your*
" *majeſty, and the whole Poliſh nation, of the intereſt which I take in this affair. I am*
" *happy to have been able to contribute to the ſupport of the liberty and independence of*
" *Poland, and one of my moſt pleaſing cares ſhall be to maintain and ſtrengthen the ties*
" *which unite us.* I cannot but in particular applaud the choice made of a prince
" whoſe virtues render him worthy of the throne which awaits him. I hope, however,
" that moment is ſtill diſtant, and that your majeſty will, for a long ſeries of years,
" conſtitute the happineſs of your people. Theſe wiſhes are not leſs ſincere than is the
" attachment which I have profeſſed, and with which I ſhall ever remain,

" Sir, my brother,
" Your Majeſty's good brother,
" Frederic William."

" Berlin, May 23, 1791.

The firſt movements of the Pruſſian troops were marked by blood. At the little towns of Kargowa and Sierakow the Poliſh detachments refuſed to withdraw from their poſts, and ſlight actions, in conſequence, took place, which occaſioned ſome loſs of lives to each party. The city Jan. 24. of Thorn was ſummoned by general Schwerin, but the magiſtrates refuſed to admit the enemy. The garriſon, however, being only compoſed of the citizens, no reſiſtance could be made. The gates were ſoon broken open by hatchets and cannon; and the Pruſſians entered with drums beating, and with loud acclamations of triumph.

The manifeſto and the irruption of the Pruſſians fell like a thunderbolt on the heads of the confederacy. But, above all, the blow was felt by the chief artizan of miſchief, Potocki; who ſtood repeatedly and ſolemnly pledged to his country for its independence, and its ſecurity from any further partition. In the firſt agony of his feelings he addreſſed to the empreſs a letter, which was a ſtrange compound of vows of ſubmiſſion and attachment, of ſlaviſh and fulſome panegyrick upon her wiſdom and benevolence, and of ſupplications that ſhe would ſave the republic from ruin, and himſelf from eternal ſhame. What degree of attention his imperial protectreſs paid to his humble appeal we ſhall, in a very ſhort time, diſcover.

The new and heavy misfortune, which had befallen the ſtate, excited in every Poliſh boſom the ſincereſt grief. By no one, however, was it more ſeverely felt than by Staniſlaus Auguſtus. When he received the Pruſſian declaration, his anguiſh on the peruſal of it was remarked by thoſe who were preſent; and he immediately haſtened to one of his country reſidences, to conceal from the public eye the ſorrows and fears which preyed upon his mind.

A reply, in cautious and reſpectful language, was immediately given by the confederates to the Jan. 23. manifeſto of Frederic William. It denied the general exiſtence of a revolutionary ſpirit; recapitulated the meaſures which had been adopted for the ſuppreſſion of all obnoxious ſocieties, and the puniſhment of thoſe who diſturbed the public peace; repelled the charge of violating and diſturbing the Pruſſian territory; and, after aſſerting the ſufficiency of the Poliſh government to keep the factious in ſubjection, concluded by expreſſing a confident hope that, as all his fears muſt certainly be removed by their aſſurances, his Pruſſian majeſty would haſten to give a proof of his friendſhip, by withdrawing his troops from the provinces of the Poliſh republic.

Finding that humility and conciliating conduct were of no avail, the confederation publiſhed a proteſt,* drawn up in more explicit and ſpirited terms, againſt the violence and injuſtice of the Pruſſian monarch. This proteſt opened with what was now grown into a ſort of regular preamble to all official acts—a cenſure of the late diet, and an eulogium upon the empreſs. It then pretty plainly inſinuated that the accuſation of jacobiniſm, which had been brought againſt the Poles by Frederic William was a mere pretext, and that he had wantonly broken the ſacred engagements into which he had formerly entered with the Poliſh republic. Solemnly proteſting againſt his unprovoked aggreſſion, it appealed to the treaties in which the two imperial courts had guaranteed the Poliſh ſtates; but it more pointedly called upon the empreſs Catherine to prevent the conſummation of an act, "by which the ſplendor of her "renown would be obſcured." In concluſion it declared that, to ſave the republic from diſmemberment and ſlavery, the confederates were ready to ſacrifice even the laſt drop of their blood; and that, if they could not preſerve it entire, not one of them would ſurvive to witneſs its deſtruction.

Feb. 3.

The confederation, as far as lay in its power, ſeemed well diſpoſed to ſecond by arms this ſpirited and patriotic language. To general Wyzewſki, who commanded the Poliſh troops on the invaded frontier, orders were ſent to take ſuch meaſures as were preſcribed to him by his duty and his oath. Some regiments of infantry, and ſome cannon, were likewiſe diſpatched towards the ſcene of action, and ſome newly-raiſed regiments of cavalry were placed on the war eſtabliſhment. This was followed by an univerſal, ordering the nobility and their followers, or, in Poliſh phraſeology, the Poſpolite, to hold themſelves in readineſs to take the field on receiving a ſecond ſummons.

The moment was now at hand when the Poles were to know the full extent of the calamity which they had to encounter. Hitherto ſome hope had been felt, though mingled with doubts and fears, that the empreſs would protect the republic from the rapacity of the Pruſſian ſovereign. Even the conduct of general Igelſtrom, who commanded the Ruſſian troops in Poland, had not quite put an end to this deluſion. He had interrupted the defenſive movements of the Poliſh forces, oppoſed the ſending of artillery from Warſaw, and uſed all his influence to diſſuade the officers from making any reſiſtance to the invaders. The pitiful argument which he employed was put in the form of a dilemma. "Either," ſaid he, "Ruſſia conſents to the entry of the Pruſſians, or ſhe does not: in the firſt caſe your exertions will be hurtful; in the ſecond, ſuperfluous." Still it was fondly imagined that this behaviour would be diſavowed and cenſured by his imperial miſtreſs.

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* Ann. Reg. 1793, State Papers, p. *368.

M. Bulgakow, the Ruſſian ambaſſador at Warſaw, having been recalled, was replaced, in the beginning of February, by the count de Sievers. The arrival of the new miniſter in Poland was the period choſen by the empreſs to manifeſt her real deſigns. The confederation experienced, at the very commencement of his miſſion, a mortifying ſlight. It expected that he would preſent to it his credentials, but was informed that, being accredited to the king and the republic, he could not conſider the confederates alone as the legal poſſeſſors of the ſovereign power.

Feb. 6. During his ſhort ſtay at Grodno, on his way to Warſaw, the confederation addreſſed to him a note which he was requeſted to tranſmit to the empreſs. The Pruſſian invaſion was the leading ſubject of complaint. It then adverted to the hoſtile and alarming conduct purſued by general Igelſtrom, but declared that the confederates were convinced that it was wholly unauthorized; as ſhe had always expreſſed far different ſentiments to them, and, doubtleſs, was incapable of contradicting herſelf. Her majeſty was obliquely reminded of the boundleſs confidence which had been placed in her, and of the promiſes which ſhe had given of her friendſhip and ſupport. Vague reports of a new partition, it was ſaid, ſpread terror throughout the country, and rendered it neceſſary, not for their own ſatisfaction, but for that of their fellow citizens, to requeſt that ſhe would give ſuch amicable aſſurances as would diſſipate the conſternation which was generally felt.

The univerſal iſſued by the confederates, to prepare the Poſpolite for taking the field, was received by the Poles with ſuch pleaſure, and ſo much alacrity was ſhown to obey it, that it excited no ſmall alarm in the Ruſſian ambaſſador. If the nation were once allowed to appear in arms, he was aware that the buſineſs of plunder might not be accompliſhed by Ruſſia and Pruſſia without conſiderable difficulty, danger, and expence. To cruſh the riſing ſpirit of the people was, in conſequence, abſolutely neceſſary. With this view he immediately forwarded to the confederation a note of remonſtrance, worded in the moſt haughty and imperious ſtyle. Every line breathed inſult and tyranny. Feb. 18. That ſuch a violent meaſure as ſummoning the Poſpolite had been taken without conſulting him, was conſidered as a heinous miſdemeanour. The meaſure itſelf, it was ſaid, could not be carried into execution without occaſioning diſturbances, which would be fatal to the public tranquillity. The miniſter, therefore, required that the order ſhould be revoked; but as the confederation might not, he perhaps thought, pay much attention to the mere expreſſion of his will, he took care to apprize it that the generals of the Ruſſian troops had ſtrict orders to diſperſe all aſſemblies, even of the Poliſh military force, which, by an inconſiderate zeal, might excite diſturbances, or give riſe to hoſtilities. The concluding ſentence of this mandate deſtroyed any hope which the Poles might yet entertain of eſcaping from the graſp of his Pruſſian majeſty. "The underſigned," ſaid the count, "has received inſtructions to warn the confederation of the neceſſity of acting with prudence under ſuch delicate circumſtances, and of guarding againſt precipitate meaſures, which might provoke the forces of a formidable power."

The reply of the confederation was temperate, and not undignified. The miniſter was reminded that the univerſal, which now ſo much cauſed his ſurprize, had been officially communicated to him at Grodno, during his tranſient ſtay at that place. His objections to the manner of aſſembling the Poſpolite, and his fears of commotion, were ſhown to be completely unfounded; and it was added, in a tone of indirect reproach, that his apprehenſions would have been without a motive, had the confidence placed in the empreſs by the confederates been repaid with an equal confidence, and had they not been thwarted in all the meaſures which they had taken to preſerve the peace and the poſſeſſions of the ſtate. But the moſt honourable paſſage in this note was an anſwer to a part of the ambaſſador's, in which, miſtaking ſome expreſſions in the order for calling out the Poſpolite, he had conſtrued them into an implied offer of amneſty to the Poliſh emigrants, and had choſen to conſider as the ſame perſons thoſe emigrants who had quitted their country on the overthrow of the laſt conſtitution, and the few Poliſh traitors who had declared at Paris their adherence to the jacobin ſyſtem. "It would," ſaid the note "be uſeleſs for the confederation to publiſh an amneſty, or recall the emigrants, as it has neither exiled nor perſecuted any one; and it perſiſts in conſidering perſecution as contrary to its principles, and even to the dignity of its protectreſs, the empreſs of Ruſſia." This laſt clauſe of the ſentence was, in fact, a ſevere ſatire upon the empreſs; who was well known to be exerting all her influence to procure the expulſion of the expatriated Poles from every country in which they had found an aſylum.

Feb. 22.

Reſiſtance, however, the confederates knew would be of no avail. They reſolved, therefore, to comply with the commands of the count de Sievers. The univerſal, which announced to the Poles the neceſſity of their quiet ſubmiſſion to their ſpoilers, ſpoke in a tone of conſcious ſhame and deep deſpondency. No hope, it ſaid, was left for the republic, but in the magnanimity of the great Catherine; and it ſolemnly conjured the citizens to forbear from forming aſſemblies which would haſten the ruin of their country. To prove the force under which it had acted, the confederation joined to this univerſal, copies of the count de Sievers' mandate, and of the reply which had been made to it.

The power which the Ruſſian ambaſſador poſſeſſed he did not ſuffer to remain unexerciſed. The great banking houſe of Tepper, at Warſaw, having failed, its books were ſubmitted to the inſpection of commiſſioners, who diſcovered in them evidence of bribes and penſions having been paid to natives of Poland, by the court of St. Peterſburgh. As ſoon as this diſcovery reached the ears of the count, he ordered the books and papers of the bankrupt to be put under ſeal. At the ſame time he haughtily demanded to know whether the laws allowed perſons to remain in the capital, and particularly citizens of the higher ranks, who had not acceded to the confederation.

In the hope of detecting ſome connection between the French jacobins and the friends to the revolution of 1791, he next ſeized upon the perſon and papers of M. Bonneau, who had been left at Warſaw, by M. Deſcorches, the late French miniſter, and who, undoubtedly, was labouring to ſpread among the Poles the dangerous principles of his turbulent and ſanguinary party. The papers were examined by the crown marſhal; but the reſult of the inveſtigation was not ſuch as the count had expected. The tribunal declared that the papers contained not the ſlighteſt proof of a ſecret correſpondence carried on with Bonneau by any native; nor of the exiſtence of any myſterious clubs or aſſociations; nor, in fine, of any thing which could require the animadverſion of the law. That ſome clubs of the nature alluded to did exiſt, muſt, however, be owned; but they were contemptible in point of numbers, and ſtill more ſo in reſpectability and influence. Had their numbers been multiplied a hundred fold they would ſtill not have been formidable enough to afford a reaſonable pretext for the violence and rapacity of the Ruſſian and Pruſſian ſovereigns.

In the mean time the projects of the two powers became every day more clearly developed. A conſtant intercourſe of letters was kept up between the count de Sievers, and the Pruſſian general, Mollendorf; and forty Ruſſian ſurveyors, the purport of whoſe labours could not be miſtaken, and was hardly concealed, were buſily employed in ſurveying the Poliſh provinces in the neighbourhood of the Dneiſter and the Dnieper.

To avert the calamities which threatened their native land, and which had, in a great degree, been brought down upon it by themſelves, the confederates now ordered public prayers to be put up in all the churches, to implore for the republic the mercy and protection of the Supreme Being. Nor while they were thus properly imploring the interference of heaven, did they neglect to take ſuch earthly meaſures as were dictated by prudence. Count Potocki, as poſſeſſing, perhaps, moſt influence with the empreſs, was inſtructed to proceed to St. Peterſburgh, for the purpoſe of conciliating her ſupport, and forming an alliance between the two countries. The language which his inſtructions commanded him to hold on the ſubject of a partition was preciſe and ſtrong. "In caſe of neceſſity, the marſhal Potocki will expreſsly declare, that the voluntary oath, ſworn by us and by the whole nation, relative to the preſerving entire the dominions of the republic, which entireneſs is guaranteed to us by the moſt ſolemn treaties, does not permit us to make the ſlighteſt conceſſion on that point; and that, therefore, no propoſition of the ſort, from whoever it may come, can be admitted into the compact, which is to be formed with the republic, through the medium of its repreſentatives."

March 7.

The king of Pruſſia meanwhile continued to extend his encroachments on the Poliſh territory. In the palatinate of Siradia his troops entered, by capitulation, the fortreſs of Czentochow. Dantzick, long coveted, was the next object to which he turned his inglorious arms. A manifeſto was publiſhed *, charging that city with an ancient enmity to Pruſſia, and with being an aſylum for emiſſaries of the jacobin faction. On theſe grounds his Pruſſian majeſty juſtified his reſolution to reduce Dantzick under his authority. In ſupport of this manifeſto a large body of troops appeared before the place, and threatened a bombardment. After ſome days heſitation, on the part of the magiſtrates and people, the Pruſſian forces were admitted, on the twenty-eighth of March; and the liberty of Dantzick was ſurrendered to Frederic William, by a formal act of the burgomaſters and council. A ſmall part of the populace ſeized ſome cannon, belonging to the fortifications, and, for a few hours, oppoſed the Pruſſians, but was eaſily defeated.

At length the conſummate treachery and rapacity of Ruſſia ſtood diſplayed to the world in all their hideous nakedneſs. At length Pruſſia gave a deciſive proof of that "benevolence and affection" which had been mentioned in the manifeſto of the ſixth of January. The partition of the dominions of the republic was formally declared by the two courts.

March 25.

The declaration † of his Pruſſian majeſty was publiſhed in the form of letters patent, addreſſed to the inhabitants of the palatinates and other diſtricts, formerly belonging to the crown of Poland. In its contempt of truth and equity it was a worthy rival of the former Berlin manifeſto, the topics of which it re-ſtated and amplified. The prominent feature of this paper was its boldneſs in making aſſertions which were known by all the world to be falſe. The Poliſh nation was declared to have given, at all periods, frequent cauſes of complaint to the circumjacent ſtates, but more eſpecially to Pruſſia. The old and refuted charges of violating the Pruſſian territory, and of refuſing ſatisfaction for the injury, were reinforced by a new ſweeping charge, againſt the whole Poliſh people, of having been conſtantly engaged in pernicious projects. Jacobiniſm was, however, as uſual, the leading pretext. That execrable ſyſtem, as it was juſtly called, was affirmed to have ſpread widely in Poland, the natives of which country were inſultingly deſcribed as peculiarly fitted, by their levity of mind, and their factious and ſtrife-loving temper, to be its moſt violent and dangerous partizans. Poland, it was added, had ſufficient ſtrength to become, by its internal troubles, even formidable to its neighbours. To ſecure, therefore, thoſe neighbours from danger, and to ſave the Poles themſelves from miſery, the co-partitioning powers had reſolved to circumſcribe the republic within narrower bounds, by taking poſſeſſion of thoſe provinces which bordered upon their own dominions. After declaring his confident hope that the Poliſh nation would ſoon meet in a general diet, to terminate this affair in an amicable manner, Frederic William warned the natives of the ſeized provinces to behave like faithful and obedient ſubjects, under pain of being puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. In return, he promiſed to preſerve faithfully all their rights

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* See Ann. Reg. 1793, State Papers, p. *375.

† See Ann. Reg. 1793, State Papers, p. *379.

and privileges, to grant the undiſturbed exerciſe of the catholic religion, and to govern them in ſuch a manner, as to leave the ſound and reflecting part of the inhabitants no cauſe to regret that they had changed their ſovereign. General Mollendorf was appointed governor of the diſſevered provinces, which were incorporated, under the name of Southern Pruſſia.

The Ruſſian manifeſto *, which was publiſhed by general Kretchetnicoff, governor of the territory wreſted from Poland by the empreſs, was compoſed in the ſame ſtyle, and enlarged upon the ſame topics, as the manifeſto of the Pruſſian ſovereign. In one reſpect, however, it was different. The manifeſto of Frederic William inſpired indignation; that of Catherine, indignation blended with a large portion of contempt. To the injuſtice and violence of an uſurper ſhe added the mercenary meanneſs of a petty trader, and the diſguſting cant of a hypocritical pretender to ſanctity. The deſire of preſerving the chriſtian religion from danger, and the deſire of repaying herſelf the enormous expences which ſhe had incurred in labouring to make Poland happy, were equally inſiſted upon by the empreſs as reaſons for taking poſſeſſion of a large part of the Poliſh territories. In one thing alone ſhe manifeſted more regard to juſtice than her royal colleague. Such of her new ſubjects as refuſed to take the oath of allegiance, were allowed three months to diſpoſe of their eſtates, and to quit the country.

Theſe manifeſtos were, as we have ſeen, addreſſed only to the natives of the diſmembered diſtricts. More than a fortnight elapſed before an official notice of the partition was preſented to the confederates. This delay ſeemed to have been malignantly contrived to render their feelings on the occaſion more poignant, by the reflection that they had themſelves been acceſſary to the diſgrace and ruin of their native land. By ſome of them, perhaps by all, it was ſo underſtood. The declaration † of the empreſs of Ruſſia was delivered, by the count de Sievers, April 9. to the confederates at the very period when a year had expired, from the time of their firſt forming themſelves into a body to overthrow the liberties of Poland. At this moment they, no doubt, called to mind the inauſpicious omens under which they began their career, and bitterly lamented that the hiſſings and revilings of the populace of St. Peterſburgh ‡ had not taught them to know, and to ſhun for the future, the load of infamy which conſpirators muſt inevitably bear.

The declaration was of the ſame tenor as the two manifeſtos. But it ſtated, in addition, that the factious had ſo far ſucceeded in miſleading the people, as to inſpire the majority with the ſame hatred and averſion of Ruſſia that was felt by themſelves. The inſolence, the rapacity, the barbarity of the Ruſſians were notorious to every one, they were as obvious as the ſun; yet the empreſs was made to talk of the principles of humanity and moderation which had been obſerved by her generals

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[*] See Ann. Reg. 1793. State Papers, p. *377.

[†] See Ann. Reg. State Papers, p. *381.

[‡] See Ann. Reg. 1792, Part I. page 62, for an account of the manner in which the populace of St. Peterſburgh treated the chiefs of the confederates, on going to court to claim the interference of Catherine in the affairs of their country.

and other officers. She complained that, notwithſtanding this exemplary conduct of her troops, the Poles "had heaped upon them outrages and all kinds of hoſtile acts, and that ſome, more daring than the reſt, had even threatened them with a renewal of the Sicilian veſpers. Such," it pathetically exclaimed, "is the recompence the enemies of that peace and order, which her majeſty wiſhes to re-eſtabliſh and ſecure, propoſe for her magnanimous intentions. From this a judgment may be formed with what ſincerity the major part of the Poles have ſubmitted to the confederation."

In theſe few comprehenſive ſentences, the empreſs ſigned, without perceiving it, a ſentence of condemnation upon herſelf. The univerſal hatred manifeſted by the Poles to the Ruſſians is a ſtrong preſumptive proof of the guilt of the latter. The ſcattered inhabitants of a country are naturally fearful of giving offence to their conquerors. Military diſcipline and parade have an awful and impoſing effect upon them. Being themſelves without a leader, without weapons, without ſkill, without concert, without a knowledge of each other's ſentiments and of their own aggregate ſtrength, they are little diſpoſed to make their ſituation worſe by fruitleſs ſtruggles againſt that which they conſider as an irreſiſtible force. Every individual imagines that in a conteſt he ſhall have to contend with multitudes. If this were not the caſe no invading army could exiſt for a month on a hoſtile ſoil. The general reſiſtance of an unarmed people to an armed enemy, ſeldom, therefore, if ever, takes place till human nature can ſuffer no longer; till patience is worn out, and even fear is overpowered, by heavy and continued inſult and oppreſſion. It is then, and not till then, that the deſire of emancipation and revenge becomes too ſtrong to be kept within bounds by any timid or prudential feelings. It is then that deſpair ſtakes life itſelf againſt the chance of recovering eaſe and freedom.

The empreſs was equally unfortunate in her confeſſion that a majority of the Poles were adverſe to the principles and proceedings of the confederation of Targowitz. It was for the expreſs purpoſe of delivering Poland from a faction, and reſtoring its liberties, that the confederacy of Targowitz was formed, and her armies were marched into the Poliſh dominions *.

As in all former ſtate papers, ſo in this, the danger to be feared from jacobiniſm was the main argument of the empreſs, in behalf of the diſmemberment of Poland. Yet, it ſhould be remembered that the ſovereign who thus ardently declaimed againſt the jacobinical ſyſtem allowed the other European powers to exhauſt their blood and treaſure in a hard and doubtful ſtruggle with that ſyſtem, and had hitherto contributed nothing towards its ſuppreſſion but the waſte paper of her edicts and manifeſtos. Not a ſingle Ruſſian ſoldier had bled, not a ſingle rouble had been paid by the Ruſſian treaſury, in ſupport of the great cauſe of monarchy, religion and ſocial order. She reſerved her armies for a leſs difficult taſk. She kept them to trample, unreſiſted, on a people whoſe crime was hav-

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* See her declaration of War, Ann. Reg. 1792, State Papers, p. *361.

ing laboured to eſtabliſh among themſelves a monarchical government, on a ſolid and liberal baſis.

A declaration ſimilar to that of the empreſs was, at the ſame time, tranſmitted to the confederates, by M. Bucholz, the Pruſſian miniſter.

While the confederates were deliberating and lamenting, a new demand was made by the count de Sievers. May 18. Among the firſt acts of the diet of 1788 was the abolition of the permanent council *, which had been eſtabliſhed in 1773, by the co-partitioning powers of that period, and was intended by them to reduce the regal authority to a mere cypher, and to perpetuate the weakneſs of Poland. The reſtoration of that council was now imperiouſly called for by the Ruſſian ambaſſador. The demand was reluctantly and tardily complied with. The council was reſtored, and the vacancies occaſioned by death were filled up with freſh members.

This requiſition was followed by another, for ſequeſtrating the property of thoſe perſons who had emigrated, in conſequence of their attachment to the conſtitution framed by the late diet. The reaſon aſſigned for this meaſure was, that the emigrants ſtill continued to ſpread the democratical ſpirit, and that it was neceſſary to deprive them of their fortunes, in order to render them harmleſs. In this alſo the Ruſſian ambaſſador was obeyed.

But, though the confederates diſplayed a forced obedience, they all ſeverely felt the ſlavery to which they were reduced, and ſome of them had the boldneſs to expreſs their feelings, in language full of energy. The firſt to make public his diſguſt at the tyranny which they ſuffered was M. Walewſki, the palatine of Siradia, who held the ſtaff of marſhal of the confederation, in the abſence of count Potocki. This proteſt was made in conſequence of the demand for the re-eſtabliſhment of the permanent council. After animadverting upon the proceedings of the two partitioning courts, April 20. and ſolemnly aſſerting the intended patriotiſm of the paſt conduct of himſelf and his colleagues, he concluded in theſe ſpirited terms: "as we have yet the liberty, at "leaſt, of pouring forth our groans, "and of leaving on record proofs of "the purity of our intentions, I proteſt before God, before you, citizens, and before the whole univerſe, that I will oppoſe any project tending to the revival of the "late permanent council, or of any "other of the inſtitutions of the year "1772; all of which I regard as "having been the real ſources of "our preſent misfortunes."

The proteſt of M. Walewſki was followed by a proteſt from count Severin Rzewuſki, one of the three framers of the April 22. confederation of Targowitz. The latter was no leſs vigorous than the former. It diſclaimed, in the ſtrongeſt terms, that its author had any knowledge of the project of partition, and it aſſerted for him the merit of having drawn up the oath, which bound the confederation to preſerve undiminiſhed the territories of the republic. The empreſs herſelf was appealed to as a witneſs that he was guiltleſs of any ſhare in the wrong inflicted upon his country. It concluded by declaring that he was

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* See Ann. Reg. 1792, Part I. p. 4.

was ready to ſubmit, with reſignation, to whatever miſery was in ſtore for him; but that he would never, by conſenting to the propoſed diſmemberment, violate the oath which he had taken to his country and his God.

It was not to be expected that ſuch daring inſtances of rebellion would be ſuffered to paſs unpuniſhed. The count de Sievers was not ſlow in making the two proteſting nobles feel all the weight of his ſovereign's vengeance. The confederation was informed by an official note, that the ambaſſador would have treated the proteſts with contempt, had he not been informed, by a diſpatch from general Igelſtrom, that warlike preparations were carrying on in the arſenal at Warſaw. Grounding himſelf on this falſehood, he declared that "he would himſelf give orders, "to the troops of her Imperial majeſty, to put under ſequeſtration the "eſtates of thoſe two gentlemen, who, "by publiſhing and printing their "proteſts, diſplayed ſo openly their "contradictory ſpirit; and that, "henceforth, he would ſequeſtrate "the eſtates of all thoſe members "of the confederation who ſhould "dare to proteſt againſt the mani"feſtos of the Ruſſian and Pruſſian "courts." In addition to this, the ambaſſador alſo inſiſted upon the removal of M. Walewſki from the office of marſhal, as the ſmalleſt ſatisfaction which could be offered for the crime he had committed.

At length an anſwer was given by the confederates to the Ruſſian and Pruſſian manifeſtos. It ſufficiently teſtified the diſturbed and indignant ſtate of their minds; but it contained nothing which could ſatisfy the partitioning powers*. On the contrary it was fraught with implied charges and reproaches, honourable to the makers, though not likely to be patiently received by thoſe at whom they were aimed. The confederates avowed that the delay in giving in their anſwer had principally ariſen † from the difficulty which they had found in conciliating their own melancholy feelings with the reſpect due to the partitioning monarchs. It appeared, they ſaid, from the tenor of the manifeſto, that the ſeizure of the greateſt part of Poland was not to be conſidered as a ſubject of diſcuſſion and amicable arrangement, even by a diet, but as an irrevocable act; and, therefore, as they had ſworn to preſerve the republic entire, their debates, ſince the late event, had only turned upon the beſt means of preſerving their honour free from ſtain, and of meriting, by a candid addreſs to the people, the compaſſion rather than the reproach of an equitable public. They concluded by declaring ſolemnly, in the face of heaven and earth, that they held themſelves blameleſs of any participation whatever in any of the meaſures which had recently been executed to the prejudice of their country.

April 28.

The great diſtance between the places at which the king and the confederation reſided, the former being at Warſaw, the latter at Grodno, two hundred miles aſunder, was found by the Ruſſian ambaſſador to be ſomewhat of an obſtacle to the rapid execution of his plans. It was, therefore, determined to remove the king to Grodno. To this ſtep the unfortunate Staniſlaus felt an invincible repugnance. He ſhrunk from the aggravated ſlavery to which he was to be ſubjected, and perhaps, alſo, from the painful taſk of joining that body which had overthrown his hopes of ſeeing Poland free, and had compelled him to give his ſignature to an act which wounded his feelings, and belied his conſcience. For ſome time he ſucceeded in avoiding the journey. At length, peremptory orders were ſent for his ſetting out from Warſaw to Grodno. He ſtill reſiſted; and is ſaid to have finally yielded only to the united influence of threats, confinement, and famine.

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* Ann. Reg. 1793, State Papers, p. *383.

† This is omitted in the Engliſh tranſlation of the anſwer.

It was on the fourth of April that his majeſty quitted Warſaw. Crowds of people flocked to the palace on that day, to take a laſt leave of a ſovereign, whom they imagined they ſhould ſee no more; but he was too deeply affected to ſpeak to any one, and he entered the carriage in mournful ſilence. Strong patroles had been diſtributed through the ſtreets, to prevent the populace from oppoſing his departure. When the royal train reached the other ſide of the Viſtula it was joined by a Ruſſian eſcort. On his route the king was met by a courier ſent from the count de Sievers to haſten his progreſs.

There was yet one thing wanting to quiet the delicate ſcruples of the two courts, relative to the poſſeſſion of the provinces which they had ſeized. This was the conſent of the nation, or ſomething to which they could give the name of conſent. It is curious to obſerve thoſe who had violated the moſt ſacred treaties, now looking to a treaty, as a ſecurity for what they had gained by a breach of treaty; and pretending to regard the compulſory vote of a beſieged aſſembly, as the willing voice of the people, and as competent to ſanctify, in the eyes of the world, the groſſeſt perfidy, fraud, and violence.

To gain the ſemblance of conſent it was neceſſary to call a diet; and, to procure the calling of a diet, the uſual means, threats and force, were employed. The confederation was informed that, till the univerſals were iſſued for convoking that body, no payment ſhould be made for any of the ſubſiſtence which had been ſupplied, in immenſe quantities, to the numerous Ruſſian armies. This menace was backed by a proceeding of a ſtill ſtronger kind. Corn is well known to be the chief article of Poliſh export; and the Viſtula almoſt the only outlet for that commodity. In order, therefore, to diſtreſs the country, by ſtopping its commerce, general Igelſtrom cauſed batteries to be erected at the confluence of the Narew and the Viſtula; and laid an embargo upon all veſſels which were bound towards Dantzick. In a few days ſeveral hundred veſſels were thus ſtopped in their voyage down the river.

By theſe means the deſired effect was, at length, produced. The univerſal, for aſſembling the dietines, was ſigned by Staniſlaus Auguſtus, on the third of May. The opening of the dietines was fixed for the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month, and that of the diet for the ſeventeenth of June. Grodno was named as the place of meeting for the diet. To this univerſal was added an addreſs from the confederation to the people, calling on them to chuſe, as their repreſentatives, "men commendable for their virtues and "their firmneſs; men whoſe morals, "religion and patriotiſm, were un-

“corrupted by revolutionary ideas; men who did not believe the merit of eloquence to lie in a wild enthuſiaſm, but in that uniform moderate prudence which was able, in time of need, to diſcover effectual reſources; men, in a word, who by the wiſdom of their councils, might avert from the republic thoſe perils by which it was ſtill threatened.”

CHAP. II.

Meeting of the dietines. Meaſures taken by the Ruſſians to prevent oppoſition. Nuncios arrive at Grodno. Plan of the king for the election of a marſhal not devoted to Ruſſia. It fails. Firſt ſitting of the diet. Violent debates on an innovation introduced by the confederates into the form of an oath. Ruſſian ambaſſador orders five nuncios to be arreſted. Ruſſian and Pruſſian ambaſſadors demand the appointment of a delegation, inveſted with full powers to treat with them. The demand is firmly oppoſed by the king and diet. Anſwer of the diet to the Ruſſian and Pruſſian ambaſſadors. Reply of the count de Sievers. Motion of the king for requeſting the mediation of foreign powers. It is carried. A delegation voted with limited powers, to treat with the Ruſſian ambaſſador. Inſtructions to the delegates. Arreſt of twelve deputies by the count de Sievers, and other meaſures. Imperious note of the count to the diet, on the manner of chuſing the delegates. His declaration againſt the confederates of Targowitz. The diet gives to the king the ſole power of chuſing the delegates. Scandalous conduct of count Potocki. The count de Sievers delivers another menacing note to the diet. Manner in which the diet was kept beſieged. Firſt meeting of the delegation. The count de Sievers ſends two more threatening notes to the diet, inſiſting that the delegation ſhall be inveſted with full powers to conſent to the ceſſion. He is requeſted to grant time, but refuſes. Violent debate in the diet on his demand. Speech of the nuncio Kimbar. Speech of the king. The demand is at length acceded to. Reſolution voted by the king and diet to ſerve as a proteſt. Signature of the treaty. Tenor of the treaty. Extent, population, and revenues of the provinces wreſted from Poland by Ruſſia. Satisfaction felt by the empreſs of Ruſſia on obtaining this acquiſition. She orders an indemnification to all thoſe of her new ſubjects who had ſuffered by the Ruſſian invaſion; and likewiſe ſuſpends, till the 1ſt of January 1795, the payment of all taxes. Ukaſe for terminating law-ſuits, and diminiſhing the number of lawyers. The empreſs appoints a day of thankſgiving and feſtival, in gratitude to Providence for her new acquiſitions. Hopes of the diet that the empreſs would interpoſe to protect the republic from the king of Pruſſia. The Pruſſian ambaſſador demands that the delegation ſhall be authorized to treat with him. Debates of the diet upon the ſubject. Some of the members reproach the king. His defence. The king's ſpeech, treating with ſeverity the conduct of Pruſſia. He moves to requeſt the protection of Ruſſia. His motion is carried. Note addreſſed, in conſequence, to the count de Sievers. His jeſuitical anſwer. Diet not diſpoſed to treat with Pruſſia. Delegation to treat voted at laſt, on the demand of the count de Sievers. Attacks in the *diet upon the king. His defence. Pruſſian treaty preſented to the diet. Unbounded indignation of the diet. The count de Sievers adopts the moſt violent meaſures to procure the acceptance of the treaty. Spirited conduct of the diet. It accepts the treaty, with ſome modifications, but enters a proteſt againſt it. The king of Pruſſia refuſes to allow the modifications. Force again reſorted to by the count de Sievers. The treaty is at length ſigned in its original form. Spirited proteſt of the diet. Contents of the Treaty. Frederic William makes a tour through his new poſſeſſions. The diet demands the reſtoration of the members arreſted by the count de Sievers. He refuſes to comply, and writes an inſulting reprimand to the diet. Treaty of alliance between Ruſſia and Poland. Stipulations of the treaty, rigorous and degrading to the latter country. Staniſlaus declares for the acceptance of the treaty, as the leaſt of two evils. Empreſs of Ruſſia declares her intention to pay part of the debt owing in Holland by the republic. The diet determines to diſſolve the confederacy of Targowitz. Confederation of Grodno formed. Its purpoſe. The diet annuls all the decrees of the confederacy of Targowitz. Laws paſſed by the diet. Reduction of the army. New conſtitution of Poland ſanctioned. The diet reſtores the order of merit, aboliſhed, on the demand of Catherine, by the late confederation. Concluſion of the diet.*

THE dietines met, at the appointed time, for the election of thoſe perſons who were to perform the melancholy office of fixing the ſeal to the diſmemberment and humiliation of their native land. No diſturbance or oppoſition occurred in any part of Poland. Every thing was conducted with that gloomy quietneſs which terror produces, and to which oppreſſors give the name of tranquillity. It would, in truth, have been little ſhort of madneſs in the Poles to manifeſt, at this moment, an intention to reſiſt. Numerous Ruſſian forces were ſtationed in every place where the dietines were held; and, in ſome inſtances, Ruſſian officers had the ſhameleſs indecency to take their ſeats by the ſide of the preſidents, in the hall of election. All thoſe who had, in any manner, expreſſed their approbation of the changes made in the old form of government, were now excluded from participating in the choice of nuncios; and it was, doubtleſs, expected that this meaſure would tend to enſure the return of men whoſe obedience might be relied upon in the enſuing diet. Before the middle of June the whole of the nuncios had arrived at Grodno; and preparations were accordingly made for the opening of the ſeſſion.

Elected, as the nuncios had been, under the influence of fear, and little as was in conſequence to be hoped from the diet, Staniſlaus flattered himſelf that it would not tamely conſent to the ſacrifices required from it by the co-partitioning powers. As the choice of a marſhal of the diet was an object of conſiderable importance, he wiſhed it to fall upon ſome one who was not the devoted partizan of Ruſſia. According to an ancient cuſtom, the office of marſhal of the diet was always given to the marſhal who was at the head of the confederation of the place where the diet reſided. In conformity alſo with another ancient cuſtom, the confederation of Targowitz ought to be diſſolved before the opening of the diet. The king, therefore, deſigned to procure the diſſolution of the old confederacy; and to form, with the members of the permanent council, a new confederation, the marſhal of which would diſplay, in the diet, a proper regard for the intereſts and honour of his country. His ſcheme was, however, fruſtrated. Strangely tenacious of an authority which had been productive to them of little more than ſhame and diſgrace, the confederates thought proper to prolong their union for an indefinite period. This gave riſe to a difficulty, which could only be got over by another irregular proceeding. The confederates had all ſworn never to ſanction a partition; and it was conſequently not poſſible for their marſhal to preſide in a diet which might, perhaps, be compelled to give that ſanction which they had ſeverally pledged themſelves to refuſe. M. Bialinſki, the cup-bearer of the crown, was, therefore, pitched upon to fill the place of marſhal of that aſſembly.

It was on the ſeventeenth of June that the diet held its firſt ſitting. M. Bialinſki was propoſed to the diet, and accepted by that body, as its marſhal. But when the oath, which he was to take, was read, it excited great indignation, and gave riſe to a vehement debate. It was found that the ancient form of words had been departed from in the moſt unprecedented manner. To retain their power, and bind the marſhal to obedience, the confederates had ſubſtituted the words, "I will be faithful to the general confederation," in place of the words, "I will be faithful to the ſtates aſſembled in diet." With this formula, ſo inſulting to the national repreſentatives, the marſhal was willing to comply; but the majority of the nuncios were reſolute in rejecting it, and inſiſting upon the adminiſtration of the eſtabliſhed oath. Another part of the new oath, which declared, contrary to all precedent, that the ſittings of the aſſembly ſhould be held with cloſed doors, was equally oppoſed. The diſcuſſion, or rather conteſt, was tumultuouſly maintained till the third day.

Anticipating much trouble from this mutinous ſpirit, the count de Sievers determined to interpoſe in his uſual manner, and to give a leſſon to the Poliſh repreſentatives. By his orders, five of the nuncios, who had moſt exerted themſelves againſt the intended innovation, were ſeized, and put under arreſt. This act of vigour had the deſired effect. The oath was allowed to be taken by the marſhal, in the terms which the confederates had preſcribed.

Peace and union being thus reſtored to the diet, the Ruſſian and Pruſſian ambaſſadors did not allow a moment to be loſt in notifying their claims and expectations. On the ſame evening that the affair of the oath was ſettled, the count de Sievers delivered a note calling for the immediate appointment of a delegation, inveſted with full powers to conclude a definitive treaty, which ſhould ſanction the recent proceedings of the copartitioning powers. A copy of this note was preſented, at the ſame time, by the ambaſſador of Frederic William.

June 19.

When the diet met, on the following morning, the notes were read; but they did not lead to the reſult which was looked for by the two ſovereigns. They were heard, on the contrary, with impatience and diſguſt. Staniſlaus ſtood foremoſt among thoſe who contended in behalf of their country. His ſpeech, on this occaſion, was firm and deciſive, yet temperate and dignified. He took this opportunity to defend his conduct in acceding to the confederation of Targowitz; and his defence was a ſevere though apparently unaimed attack upon the confederates and their imperial protectreſs. He had, he ſaid, acceded to the confederation, becauſe he hoped that the return of peace and tranquillity to Poland, and the complete ſecurity of the Poliſh dominions, would be the price of his painful ſacrifice. It was impoſſible, he urged, for him to know, or to think, at the moment when he joined them, that the confederates were not authorized by the empreſs to proclaim in the public manner which they had done, that the territories and the rights of the republic ſhould remain inviolate. In the preſent ſtate of things, he could, he declared, only adviſe his compatriots, by preſſing but moderate and amicable remonſtrances, to prevail on the courts of St. Peterſburgh and Berlin to abandon thoſe plans of partition which they had formed, and to which he would never be prevailed on to give his conſent. The ſpeech of Staniſlaus was heard with the loudeſt applauſe, and a vote of thanks to him for it was unanimouſly paſſed by the diet.

In purſuance of his advice, an anſwer was returned to the Ruſſian ambaſſador. The anſwer was reſpectful, and even flattering, to the empreſs, but it made no conceſſion. To prove the injuſtice of a partition, it appealed to the treaty of 1775; to her own declaration of the eighteenth of May 1792; to the boundleſs confidence which had been placed in her; and to the friendly conduct which had been diſplayed, by the Poliſh republic, to the Ruſſian armies. In reply to the often-repeated charge, of the exiſtence of a jacobinical ſpirit in Poland, it obliquely denied the truth of the charge itſelf; and then ſtated, in addition, that the government, anxious to repreſs ſuch a ſpirit, had ſometimes puſhed its precautions and its rigour to an extent leſs warranted by the nature of the caſe, than by a deſire to quiet the ſolicitude of the neighbouring courts. The republic, aſſembled in diet, was willing to enter on any negotiation, founded on exiſting treaties; but it could not conſider the Ruſſian declaration, of the ninth of April, nor the ſubſequent acts ſpringing from that declaration, as implying a definitive alienation of the provinces which had been ſeized; nor could the diet conſtrue the laſt note of the ambaſſador into a demand for the appointment of a delegation authorized to cede thoſe provinces; as not even the diet itſelf was inveſted with powers to legalize a ceſſion which would violate the moſt ſolemn oaths, and treaties guaranteed in the ſtrongeſt manner.

June 2d.

A copy of this reply was, at the ſame time, tranſmitted to the Pruſſian ambaſſador, M. Bucholz, with a ſhort accompanying note, informing him that, as the nation was now aſſembled, and as the cauſes of apprehenſion no longer exiſted which Frederic William, in his manifeſto of the ſixth of January, had ſtated to juſtify the entrance of his troops into the Poliſh territory, the diet relied upon his juſtice to give orders to his armies to evacuate the provinces of Poland which they had hitherto occupied.

To the note, addreſſed to him by

the diet, the count de Sievers ſent a ſpeedy and laconic rejoinder. He gave the aſſembly to underſtand, that he would not enter into any diſcuſſion which might occaſion a delay in carrying the plans of the two courts into execution; and that he ſhould expect an immediate and deciſive anſwer. He took care alſo to warn the members, that the tranquillity and future proſperity of the ſtate depended upon a compliance with the will of the partitioning ſovereigns.

Notwithſtanding the determined language of the Ruſſian ambaſſador the diet ſeemed diſpoſed to perſiſt in its refuſal. The marſhal Bialinſki ſtrenuouſly contended for the appointment of the required delegation, inveſted with unlimited powers; but his motion was warmly and ſucceſsfully oppoſed. It was then moved by the deputy Jankowſki, and ſeconded, in the ſtrongeſt manner, by the king, that envoys ſhould be ſent to all foreign courts to intreat their mediation in behalf of the republic. After a protracted debate, the propoſition was carried by a great majority.

Not diſcouraged by his bad ſucceſs, the marſhal, in three days time, again brought forward his rejected plan. It was received by the diet with the ſame diſpleaſure as before. As ſoon as his ſcheme had been negatived a motion was made for a delegation to treat with the Ruſſian ambaſſador alone; and that only with limited powers, and on ſubjects foreign to the ceſſion of the diſmembered provinces. The king gave his opinion in favour of this meaſure; and it was carried, by a hundred and ſeven voices againſt twenty-four.

More than a fortnight elapſed before inſtructions for the delegates were preſented to the diet, by the chancellors, who had been ordered to form them. They merely authorized the delegates to negotiate, and that not definitively, with the Ruſſian ambaſſador, treaties of alliance and commerce, and the neceſſary changes in the government of Poland. The Poliſh negotiators were alſo ordered to invite the Auſtrian chargé des affaires to be preſent at the conferences with the count de Sievers. The determination of the diet not to conſent to a partition was ſtated to be immutable; and a hope was expreſſed that the Ruſſian miniſter would not again inſiſt upon the ſacrifice which he had ſo often urged.

The diet did not merely approve theſe inſtructions. It rendered them ſtill more forcible by two additional articles, the one of which ordered the delegates to ſtipulate a compenſation for thoſe individuals who had ſuſtained loſſes in conſequence of the reſidence in Poland of the Ruſſian troops; the other directed them to require that the troops themſelves ſhould be withdrawn from the Poliſh territories.

The Ruſſian gold it was well known had been as injurious to the republic as the Ruſſian arms. To prevent, therefore, its pernicious influence on the preſent occaſion, an oath was drawn up, to be adminiſtered to the delegates. By this oath they bound themſelves, in the moſt ſolemn manner, not to accept, under any pretence, any preſent or recompence whatever.

This delay, and theſe ſpirited meaſures, brought down on the diet the vengeance of the count de Sievers. Even before the inſtructions were made known he began to act again upon his ſyſtem of intimidation,

midation. Twelve of the moſt patriotic deputies were put under arreſt, at their own houſes, on the morning of the ſecond of July. On the diet, however, refuſing to proceed without them, they were ſet at liberty the ſame evening. His next ſtep was to ſequeſtrate the property of counts Mniſzeck and Tyſkievich, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their boldneſs in the cauſe of their country. To wind up the whole he gave orders to ſtop the delivery of the proviſions deſigned for the table of the king, who certainly had merited to be the object of this deſpicable attempt at revenge.

In the hope of ſetting ſome bounds to this tyranny, the diet now paſſed a decree, that whenever the liberty of any one of its members was violated, all buſineſs ſhould, from that moment, be ſuſpended till the ſafe return of the arreſted member. A weak barrier, but the only one which it was in the power of the aſſembly to oppoſe to its oppreſſor.

July 6.

Experience ſoon ſhewed in what contempt the reſolutions of the diet were held by the ambaſſador. On the morning of the 11th, having, as a preliminary meaſure, arreſted nine members, he tranſmitted to that body an imperious and menacing note, relative to the manner of chuſing the delegates to conduct the negotiation. The diet had declared its intention of electing them itſelf, and this intention he conſidered as a crime of the firſt magnitude. He inſiſted that they ſhould be choſen, as in the year 1773, by the king and the marſhal, and that the choice ſhould not be delayed beyond the enſuing day. An end, he ſaid, muſt be put to jacobinical oppoſition; and the will of his ſovereign muſt be ſpeedily complied with, or otherwiſe he ſhould be under the neceſſity of expelling from the diet thoſe factious and turbulent perſons whoſe only object was to retard the concluſion of the pending affairs. The oath, which had been framed for the delegates, very naturally rouſed his anger. It touched a part notoriouſly too tender to bear ſo rough an application. He declared, that to talk of corruption was inſulting to him, and diſgraceful to the members; and, therefore, another formula muſt be ſubſtituted in the place of that which was ſo juſtly offenſive. There was, however, one part of this dictatorial note which could not fail to afford pleaſure to the lovers of their country. This part related to the confederates. The power given to the delegates had been worded in a manner which implied that the confederation poſſeſſed, at leaſt, a ſort of co-equal authority with the diet. But the empreſs had of late found that the confederation was not formed of ſuch flexible materials as ſhe had imagined; and was, conſequently, unworthy of her protection. The count de Sievers, therefore, now intimated that, henceforth, the confederation was not to be mentioned in the public acts, as it was ſuperſeded by the diet; and that it was moreover her imperial majeſty's pleaſure that it ſhould be diſſolved.

To reſiſt was impoſſible. The diet, nevertheleſs, did not yield a perfect obedience to the mandate of the ambaſſador; nor did it yield at all without ſhewing plainly that it yielded only to imperious neceſſity. The language of diſguſt and indignant feeling was heard on all ſides. At length the aſſembly, after a long debate, gave to the king the power of chuſing all the deputies who were to treat with the Ruſſian ambaſſador. It was well aware on whom the choice would fall, if the marſhal, M. Bialinſki, were allowed to exerciſe the privilege which was claimed for him by the count de Sievers.

Whatever, in the eyes of the empreſs, might be the demerits of the confederation of Targowitz, there was one member of it who aſſerted, by his traitorous conduct, his claim to the infamy of her patronage. That member was its founder, count Potocki. His reſidence at St. Peterſburgh ſpeedily cured him of thoſe compunctious viſitings of conſcience which he felt when the plan of partition was firſt unfolded. He learned, that which to him could be no difficult taſk, to look on the ruin of his country with the ſteady eye of an unconcerned and inſenſible ſpectator; and he now wrote to the diet a letter, to inculcate the wiſdom of a quiet ſubmiſſion to the ſpoilers of Poland. His devotion to the empreſs was rewarded by the order of St. Alexander Newſki, and other marks of imperial gratitude.

The Ruſſian ambaſſador, on his ſide, omitted nothing to enforce the leſſon of ſubmiſſion. The number of deputies, to form the delegation, was fixed by the diet at thirty-one; but he demanded, with menaces, that ſeven more, on whom, perhaps, he could rely, ſhould be added to the liſt. In this he was foiled. The diet ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon the original number, and it carried its point. Among the foremoſt and moſt eloquent of thoſe who oppoſed the addition, was the nuncio Kimbar. The obnoxious oath was, however, reformed. The deputies were ſworn “ not to ſuffer any perſon whatever to preſcribe to them any thing which could injure the republic.”

The city of Grodno was, during this time, as cloſely inveſted by the Ruſſian troops as a beſieged fortreſs. No one was allowed to leave it, without a written permiſſion from the Ruſſian commander. Even the individuals belonging to the eſtabliſhments of foreign miniſters were expoſed to inſult. The auditor of the pope's nuncio was ſtopped by the centinels and conducted to the guard-houſe. An apology was, indeed, afterwards made for this daring violation of the immunities of diplomatic characters. Yet, by the means which the count de Sievers propoſed, to prevent the recurrence of ſuch a circumſtance, he, in reality, aſſerted his general right to exerciſe a deſpotic authority. He offered to the foreign miniſters a ſort of paſſport allowing them free ingreſs and egreſs. This paſſport, they of courſe, declined, as derogatory to the privileges which they claimed, in virtue of their elevated ſtations.

The delegation met, for the firſt time, on the 13th of July. The treaty of ceſſion was directly preſented to it by the count. It had no authority to treat upon, or even liſten to, ſuch a ſubject, and it, therefore laid the treaty before the repreſentatives of the nation. But the count was not diſpoſed to ſuffer a moment's delay in the attainment of his object. He wrote to the diet, inſiſting that the delegates ſhould be inveſted with unlimited power, to treat immediately, and in a deciſive manner. The diet had not had time to conſider this note, when, the very next day, another was delivered to it, full of the moſt violent threats. July 16. If, within the enſuing twenty-four hours, the full powers required were not given to the delegates, the ambaſſador declared that he ſhould conſider the circumſtance as a declaration of war, and an act of hoſtility, and would proceed accordingly. The property of the oppoſing party in the diet, and the effects for the ſubſiſtence of the king, ſhould be put under ſequeſtration; the revenues of the republic ſhould be ſeized; and the troops of her imperial majeſty ſhould live at free quarters on the Poliſh territory.

The aſſembly heard this note with grief and conſternation. The king moved, and his motion was carried, that the chancellors ſhould wait on the count de Sievers, to remonſtrate againſt ſo precipitate a meaſure; and requeſt time, at leaſt, to deliberate. The miſſion of the chancellors was fruitleſs. The count refuſed to grant a moment, and reiterated his demand in an imperious tone.

On the return of the two miniſters the diet, now driven to the laſt extremity, gave a looſe to its feelings. The tyranny which domineered over it was loaded with reproaches and execrations. Some nuncios, even yet, deemed it better to ſuffer all that could be inflicted than ſubmit to ſee their country enſlaved. Among the moſt diſtinguiſhed of theſe was Kimbar, one of the Lithuanian deputies. After pouring forth a torrent of patriotic and animated eloquence againſt the motion for granting full powers to the delegates, he turned to apoſtrophize his ſovereign. "True virtue," he exclaimed, "can bear every thing. What then, Sire, do you fear? All thoſe who will not ſet their ſeal to the annihilation of their country are menaced with Siberia. But Siberia itſelf will have charms for us; for we ſhall behold nothing there that will not remind us of the devoted attachment we have ſworn to the land of our birth. You, Sire, famous by a continual chain of misfortunes; you who have had, without turning them to advantage, a thouſand opportunities to render your name immortal, and to acquire a claim to your country's gratitude, you ought now to efface the faults ariſing from the inexperience of your early years; you ought to efface them by evincing to us, under grey hairs, more of courage and of vigour.

"Pardon me, Sire, that I aſſume the character of your cenſor; but whoever profeſſes to be attached to you and to the nation; whoever knows how to eſtimate the words which you have juſt uttered to us," 'that the king and the nation are one.' "Whoever remembers the ſacred aſſurance that you once gave us, that you would rather ſee your hand wither than employ it to ſign the partition; whoever thus feels, knows and remembers, will allow that my ſentiments and language are prompted by truth alone. Sire, you may rely upon our affection; the nation loves you; the country has been your cradle; can you, then, have the heart to ſell our fellow citizens, our parents, our brothers, our natal ſoil? It is on you that our compatriots have delighted to heap their favours; and can you dare, in their name, to ſign their bondage! What charms, in your eyes, can a crown poſſeſs that muſt be worn by a ſlave?

“The general opinion is that you were made king by Catherine: Show that you were deſigned by heaven to be a ſovereign; and that you know well how to reign with glory, and to be faithful to your engagements, even at the moment when armed oppreſſion ſtrives by an overwhelming force to bend every thing to its yoke. You, who are our king and our father (yes, I dare call you ſo, and am ſure not only that I ſhall be ſanctioned by the greateſt part of the diet, but that in Siberia itſelf thoſe two titles will never be effaced from our hearts) do you, if it muſt be ſo, conduct us into that Siberia with which we are threatened; even there our virtue will make thoſe tremble who have conſpired our ruin. We, Sire, are your children, we will follow you there, with all the enthuſiaſm of gratitude; and the more you undergo for your devotion to the country, the more dear will you be to us; the more will you be venerated.” At the mention of Siberia numbers of the members interrupted the ſpeaker by loud exclamations of “Yes, we will go to Siberia! Let us go to Siberia!”

The more moderate and grave deputies, however, though equally averſe from the partition, were of opinion, that further reſiſtance, far from ſaving that part of the republic which had been ſeized by Ruſſia, would only expoſe the remainder to a ſimilar fate. The Biſhop of Livonia, therefore, propoſed that the diet ſhould conſent to the demand of the count de Sievers; but that it ſhould at the ſame time, leave on record to poſterity, proofs that it had ſtruggled as long as poſſible to prevent the conſummation of the crime, and that it had finally been compelled to yield by conſtraint, and by imperious and irreſiſtible neceſſity.

This propoſal was ſeconded by the king, whoſe ſpeech on the occaſion did honour to his heart. After touching upon ſome of the points in debate, he replied to thoſe who adviſed him to diſcard every thought of ſubmiſſion, and keep his character unſtained: “I hear,” ſaid he, “the voice of many brave and virtuous citizens, animating me to perſiſt in my refuſal to the demands of the empreſs, that I may, at leaſt, preſerve my reputation in the ſight of my contemporaries and of poſterity. It is not by ſeeking the applauſe of the moment, or looking only to future eulogiums from hiſtorians and orators that our true duty is performed; it is by rigorouſly accompliſhing whatever our full conviction tells us will produce the greateſt advantage to the happineſs of thoſe confided to our care; or whatever will be the leaſt injurious to them under that unhappy concurrence of circumſtances, which leaves us no choice but between bad and worſe. What would be the duty of a general one half of whoſe army had ſurrendered to the enemy? Doubtleſs it would be to ſeek for the means by which the remainder could be ſaved.

“We think, and we declare that we have not the right of abandoning to a foreign yoke, brothers who, till this day, were as free as ourſelves; but, I aſk, is there any "one of us who has a right to render his conſtituents ſtill more unhappy than even thoſe who are fallen under a foreign dominion. What could you reply, repreſentatives of the palatinates, when your brothers interrogated you what you had done for them? If you told them that you had offered to ſacrifice even your lives, would they not ſay to you, have you by ſo doing ſtipulated and obtained that we ſhould henceforth be free, tranquil, and ſecure in our property? Have you delivered us from the onerous burthen of maintaining an army of 150,000 foreign troops? Have you provided the means of ſupporting our civil and military government? What other reply could you make to their queſtions than that you had increaſed their misfortunes?

"If they aſk you, what has been the conduct of their king, tell them that it has always been in uniſon with his principles and his duties; that every thing which bears miſtakenly the name of glory, he ſacrificed to thoſe principles and duties at the inſtant when he was told that the preſervation of the domains of the republic depended entirely on his acceſſion to the confederacy of Targowitz; and that all the ſteps which he has taken, have been uniformly directed to that end, and that alone."

Expreſſing fully and warmly his eſteem and affection for thoſe members of the diet who had manifeſted a patriotic ſpirit, his majeſty declared that it was his duty to reſtrain their ardour within bounds, when it would only lead them aſtray. "Would not that ardour," he aſked, "be taking a wrong direction, if, to the power which at this moment oppreſſes Poland, and to which Poland has no means of reſiſtance, it exclaimed, you may now deſtroy and fetter the three millions and a half of Poles whom we repreſent, ſince you have already made yourſelf the miſtreſs of four millions of our brethren. Is this," ſaid Staniſlaus, "the report which you deſire to make to the nobles of the palatinates; to the citizens of the towns in your diſtricts, towns which already begin to ſink into ruin; to the huſbandmen, that claſs which, though placed laſt in the order of ſociety, is, nevertheleſs, among its firſt benefactors, and of which, in a few months, if affairs continue in the preſent ſtate, the barns will be empty, and the farms entirely deprived of their flocks, their herds, and all the means of future cultivation. I will," he added, "ſpare your feelings the melancholy picture of famine, and of the other ſcourges which would be the natural conſequence of ſuch a resolution."

The army, he reminded them, was diſperſed, and had not even the power to unite in one collected body. As they had not the ability to ſave thoſe who had been ſevered from them, they ought to bend all their efforts to ſave thoſe who were ſtill left under their juriſdiction. To the different friendly European powers they had appealed, but there was now neither time to receive an anſwer from them, nor, under the preſent circumſtances of Europe, a hope that thoſe ſtates could afford any ſuccour. Paying, therefore, once more a tribute of applauſe to ſome of the nuncios who had ſpoken to adviſe reſiſtance; and declaring himſelf in favour of the motion made by the biſhop of Livonia, the king concluded in the following words: "I truſt, that when I am called to appear before the Sovereign Judge, to whom I now appeal to witneſs the purity of my motives, thoſe who ſurvive me will ſay,—he always wiſhed that which was right; he was unfortunate, but he never was guilty."

The motion of the biſhop was carried, by a majority of ſixty-nine voices againſt twenty. The joint reſolution, voted on this occaſion by the king and diet, was, in truth, a proteſt againſt the violence which had compelled them to obey. It ſtated the efforts which had been made to obtain the intervention of friendly powers; the readineſs of the diet and ſovereign to ſacrifice themſelves to their country, if the ſacrifice would be beneficial to it; the weakneſs of the army, and the poverty of the treaſury; and, boldly declaring that humanity alone prevented the diet from engaging in a war which it was unable to ſupport, it called on the Creator to witneſs the oppreſſion which Poland endured, and the innocence of thoſe who were compelled to acquieſce in the injuſtice which was now inflicted upon the Poliſh nation.

It was then decreed by the diet, that the reſolution which it had voted, the notes ſent to it, on the fifteenth and ſixteenth, by the count de Sievers, and the project of the treaty, ſhould be communicated to the miniſters of foreign powers.

The twenty-ſecond of July was the day peremptorily fixed by the count de Sievers, for the ſignature of the treaty. On that day it was accordingly ſigned by the delegation, in the name of the Poliſh republic. No change, no modification whatever, was obtained in any one of the original articles.

The preamble to the treaty commenced by the eſtabliſhed form of attack upon the revolution of 1791, which it aſſerted to be the cauſe of the ſubſequent diſſentions and troubles of Poland. This aſſertion, void of truth, was backed by another which was equally ſo. The empreſs was ſaid to have uſed her efforts "to appeaſe and ſtifle" thoſe diſſentions, but without effect. To ſecure, therefore, the tranquillity of her ſtates, endangered by the Poles, and to obtain that indemnification which ſhe juſtly claimed, for the ſacrifices and expences which ſhe had incurred in ſuccouring the Poliſh republic, ſhe had been under the neceſſity of concerting with the neighbouring powers the beſt means of attaining thoſe important objects.

The treaty itſelf conſiſted of ten articles. A declaration of perpetual peace between the two ſtates, and a promiſe of a complete oblivion of the paſt on both ſides, and of a mutual attention to avoid every ſubject of diſpute, formed the firſt article. The ſecond ſtipulated the ceſſions which the republic was to make as the price of Ruſſian friendſhip. They comprehended two thirds of Lithuania, and a large part of Poland. The limit of demarcation commenced at Druya, on the left bank of the Dwina, cloſe to the borders of Semigallia. Thence it paſſed, in nearly a ſtrait line, through the palatinates of Wilno, Nowogrodek, Brezſc and Wolhynia, by Narocz, Dubrowa, Stolpce, Nieſzwitz, Pinſk, Borowcy, Miroboſcz, Wiſkowice, and Nidawa, to the frontier of Gallicia, between Zbaraz and Wyſzgrudek. Then following the Gallician frontier along the Podhorze to the junction of that river with the Dnieſter, it proceeded down the Dnieſter, and terminated at Jaorlik, the actual boundary of the two kingdoms. By the third article, the whole of this vaſt territory, and likewiſe all the Ruſſian poſſeſſions in Europe, were guaranteed to Ruſſia by the Poliſh nation. In return for this immenſe acquiſition the empreſs " renounced " for ever, as well for herſelf as for " her heirs and ſucceſſors, all rights " and pretenſions, which ſhe might " now or at any future time have " the power to form, either directly " or indirectly, and under whatever " title, denomination, pretext, or " arrangement, and under whatever " circumſtances, to any province, " or to the leaſt portion of the territory now making a part of Poland; and, on the contrary, guaranteed, in the moſt expreſs and " obligatory manner, and promiſed " to maintain, the integrity and ſovereignty of its preſent dominions." By the fifth article Catherine engaged not only not to oppoſe any change which the king and republic might think neceſſary to make in the form of government, but even to extend to that change the guarantee of the preceding article, ſhould ſhe be called on to do ſo. This engagement was, however, a mere mockery, as ſhe took care to ſtipulate that the change ſhould be made on the baſis of the ancient conſtitution. The remaining articles of the treaty related to future meaſures, for the facilitation of commerce, the free exerciſe of the catholic religion in the ceded provinces, and the appointment of commiſſioners to ſettle any diſputes concerning the boundary line of the two contracting ſtates.

By this treaty Ruſſia wreſted from Poland all that remained after the partition of 1773, of the palatinates of Polock and Minſk; the greateſt part of the palatinates of Wilno, Nowogrodek, Brezic and Wolhynia; and the whole of the palatinates of Podolia, Braclow and Kiow. This large acceſſion of territory was eſtimated to contain between four and five hundred towns, ten thouſand villages, and more than three millions of inhabitants. The revenue which it produced amounted to thirteen millions of Poliſh florins.

The empreſs was fully ſenſible of the value of her new poſſeſſions, and ſhe teſtified her conviction in the moſt public manner. One of her firſt acts of government was a decree that all thoſe individuals in the ceded provinces who had in any way ſuffered by the Ruſſian invaſion, ſhould receive a full indemnification for their loſſes. The payment of every ſort of tax or contribution was likewiſe ſuſpended till the firſt of January 1795. It was not, perhaps, one of the leaſt of the favours which ſhe beſtowed on them, that ſhe publiſhed an order for terminating all law-ſuits within the ſpace of a year, and for decreaſing the number of lawyers, who in Poland, as every where elſe, formed a numerous, corrupt, and miſchievous body. Nor were theſe the only ways in which ſhe manifeſted her ſatisfaction. Immediately after the treaty of peace had been ſigned with the Porte in 1791, ſhe had declared her reſolution to name a day which ſhould be obſerved as a day of feſtival and thankſgiving throughout the whole of the empire. That day, however, though two years had elapſed, had never yet been named. It was now fixed for the ſecond of September, and the principal reaſon aſſigned for its being at length proclaimed, was gratitude to Providence for the advantages which accrued to Ruſſia from her recent acquiſitions. In the ukaſe which announced the feſtive day, the right of the empreſs to thoſe acquiſitions was placed on an extraordinary and hitherto unmentioned foundation. The ceſſion of them by Poland was declared to be a reſtitution of ancient domains, which againſt all juſtice had formerly been wreſted from Ruſſia.

The diet had yet performed only one half of its painful taſk. Pruſſia was eagerly waiting to have her ſhare of the ſpoil ſecured by a treaty. The diet indeed had flattered itſelf with the hope that by carrying the point of keeping the two negotiations ſeparate, and by yielding to the empreſs, it ſhould be able to obtain her interference to oppoſe entirely, or, at leaſt, confine within narrower limits, the demands of Frederic William. It is even ſaid that in order to facilitate the ſigning of the treaty of ceſſion to Ruſſia, the count de Sievers did not ſcruple to throw out inſinuations that the empreſs's protection againſt further ſacrifices would be the reward of compliance.

Theſe deluſive hopes were very ſpeedily deſtroyed. Even while the Ruſſian treaty was yet pending, the Pruſſian miniſter, M. Bucholz, frequently and importunately called for the opening of a negotiation with him; and to give weight to his demand the Pruſſian troops were put in motion to penetrate ſtill further into the Poliſh territory. He now repeated the demand in ſtill ſtronger terms.

The debates of the diet, on the propoſition of the Pruſſian miniſter, were marked by a high degree of aſperity. The late events had ulcerated the hearts and ſoured the tempers of many of the deputies. Even the king was not ſpared on the preſent occaſion. To bitter alluſions, hints and charges, however, he replied with a dignified moderation. The example of Codrus having been recommended to him, he mildly anſwered that he ſhould think himſelf happy if the ſacrifice of his perſon might ſave his people; and that time, he truſted, would furniſh proof that he had even endeavoured to make ſuch a ſacrifice for the love of his country. This laſt expreſſion was moſt probably an alluſion to an offer which he is ſaid to have made, to reſign his crown, if by ſo doing he might prevent the diſmemberment of his native land.

Having vindicated his character he proceeded to conſider the queſtion before the diet. On the conduct of Pruſſia he ſpoke with juſt ſeverity, and he appealed to ſome members of the late diet now ſitting in the preſent, to teſtify that he had more than doubted the policy of throwing the nation into the arms of Frederic William, without having a previous ſecurity for his good faith. Poſterity, he ſaid, on reading the letters of felicitation ſent by that monarch to the diet in 1791, would aſk, with ſurprize, if it could be the ſame ſovereign who now reproaching Poland with the revolution which he then applauded, made it a pretext for the ſeizure of her provinces. He then touched upon the fidelity with which Poland had obſerved all the treaties made with Pruſſia, while Pruſſia, on her part, had violated all the engagements which, for the laſt twenty years, had bound her to Poland. The

COLLEG
ARY
RAFAEL, CALIF.

The ſafety, and even defence, of the provinces which ſhe now ſeized was guaranteed by her treaties. It was not on the charge of jacobiniſm, he obſerved, that Pruſſia could rely for a defence of her conduct. That charge had been thoroughly refuted. In concluſion, he recommended that the diet ſhould call on the empreſs to interpoſe her mediation in behalf of the republic. This advice was unanimouſly adopted.

An official note was accordingly drawn up the next day by the chancellors, and tranſmitted to the count de Sievers *. The arguments which it uſed againſt the ceſſion were principally taken from the ſpeech of his majeſty, and were certainly unanſwerable. The generoſity and equity of the empreſs were urgently appealed to, in order to induce her to interpoſe "in the "moſt powerful manner" with the king of Pruſſia; and ſhe was reminded that ſhe had recently received proofs of the confidence repoſed in and the reſpect felt for her by the confederated ſtates.

July 27.

The anſwer † of the Ruſſian ambaſſador was ſhort and ambiguous. On one point only did the count de Sievers expreſs himſelf clearly. The negotiation with the Pruſſian ambaſſador muſt, he ſaid, be opened without delay. The readineſs of the diet to furniſh the delegation with full powers, would, he added, ſerve as the meaſure of the interference of her imperial majeſty, and would induce the king of Pruſſia to make favourable commercial arrangements, and to regulate other important objects. He declared alſo his willingneſs to interpoſe his mediation whenever he ſhould be called on to do ſo. It is manifeſt that this anſwer, though meant to be conſtrued into acquieſcence, did not, in reality grant that protection for which the Poles had aſked.

The diet was by no means ſatisfied with the anſwer returned by the Ruſſian ambaſſador. Long debates took place, and there appeared a general diſpoſition among the members to decline all negotiation with Pruſſia. The count de Sievers, however, once more interfered. On the thirtieth he remitted to the diet a note, declaring that he was authorized to inſiſt upon the delegation being promptly empowered to commence the diſcuſſion with the Pruſſian ambaſſador. In conſequence of this notice the inſtructions for the delegates were the next day prepared. The firſt article ſtated that the negotiation had been brought about by force alone. Nor were the delegates allowed to treat of a ceſſion. Their powers were limited to the drawing up of a commercial treaty, and the requiring information whether his Pruſſian majeſty conſidered himſelf bound or not by the treaty of alliance which he concluded in the year 1790. Circumſcribed as the delegates were in their operations, M. Bucholz nevertheleſs conſented to begin the conferences. The firſt meeting took place on the fifth of Auguſt; but the buſineſs was brought to a ſtand at the outſet, by the delegates objecting to the powers of the Pruſſian miniſter, as not ſufficiently extenſive. It was not until ſome days had elapſed that this obſtacle was removed.

July 30.

The unfortunate monarch was, meanwhile, a frequent object of

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* See n, Reg 1793, State Papers, p. *385.

† Ib. p. *386.

attack to theſe nuncios whoſe zeal for their country got the better of their judgment and candour. In the ſitting of the tenth of Auguſt, eſpecially, he was animadverted upon with ſo much bitterneſs, by M. M. Cymniewſki and Dialinſki, as the cauſe of all the misfortunes of Poland, that it was impoſſible for him to keep ſilence. Nothing could be more moderate, yet more full and convincing than his vindication. Even the aſperity of his aſſailants he attributed to the moſt honourable feelings; to the acuteneſs of their anguiſh, on being compelled to witneſs the diſaſters of their native land, without the means of affording it ſuccour. Retracing all the events of his reign, from his acceſſion to the throne down to the preſent hour, he eloquently demonſtrated that he had never, for a ſingle moment, acted in violation of his duty. If there was any thing which he mentioned with ſome warmth, it was the confederation of Targowitz. That confederation, he ſaid, (as he ſaid on a former occaſion) he joined becauſe a ſolemn promiſe was made him, that, if he did ſo, the republic ſhould not be diſmembered; but in joining it he had ſacrificed all that he held moſt dear. He concluded by returning his thanks to ſome of the nuncios, who had eſpouſed his cauſe, and repelled the imputations which had been caſt upon his conduct.

A more triumphant defence was never made, and it produced its proper effect upon thoſe by whom it was heard. The members with one accord declared their conviction of his innocence, and, in proof of their affection, crowded round him, and requeſted leave to kiſs his majeſty's hand.

The foregoing ſcene had its riſe from a debate on a motion to allow the delegates to commence the negotiation with M. Bucholz, without waiting till he had obtained more extenſive powers. The motion was carried; and the conferences were accordingly re-opened. After ſome preliminary diſcuſſion, a plan of a treaty, drawn up by the two ambaſſadors, was communicated to the delegates; and, on the twenty-fourth, the conferences were cloſed.

When the treaty was communicated to the diet, on the 26th, it was received with a tempeſt of indignation. To ſuch a height did the clamour and diſturbance riſe, that the king was under the neceſſity of breaking up the ſitting. On the following morning, nevertheleſs, the ſame ſcene was renewed. The nuncio Podhorſky, who had read the treaty, and moved for its approval, was driven from the hall, as a deſpicable betrayer of the intereſts of the republic. The treaty itſelf was torn from the hands of the marſhal of the diet, and trampled under foot. It was in vain that the king ſtrove to bring back order to the aſſembly. He was himſelf expoſed to inſult. One of the nuncios even went ſo far as to brand him with the title of a traitor to his country. The aſſembly however, irritated as it was, heard this unjuſt language with ſtrong diſapprobation, undertook the defence of his majeſty, and would have ſent the nuncio before a tribunal, had not Staniſlaus interpoſed, and obtained for him a pardon. The ſitting was terminated by a vote that whoever dared to ſpeak of a ceſſion to his Pruſſian majeſty, or even to move the reading of the project ſhould be conſidered as a traitor, and puniſhed as ſuch.

An angry remonſtrance againſt this indecent and unſeaſonable conduct, as he choſe to denominate it, was tranſmitted, the next morning, to the diet, by M. Bucholz. The remonſtrance was enforced by a notification, that, if the treaty were any longer delayed, M. Mollendorf would be ordered to commence hoſtilities againſt the remaining provinces of the republic. The threats of M. Bucholz were backed by ſimilar threats on the part of the count de Sievers.

Finding that, in ſpite of menaces, the diet ſtill continued firm, the count de Sievers reſolved to employ his uſual inſtrument, brute force, to conquer its obſtinate reſiſtance. The caſtle of Grodno, where the diet Sept. 2. aſſembled, was ſurrounded by two battalions of grenadiers, with four pieces of artillery. Sentinels were poſted at all the doors. Orders were iſſued for examining the arms of the Poliſh guards belonging to the diet, and arreſting any ſoldier who ſhould be found to have powder and ball. Another order, ſtill more inſulting, directed that every deputy, who ſhould be found to have arms concealed about him ſhould be committed to priſon, to be tried as an aſſaſſin. Twelve Ruſſian officers were ſent into the hall, to ſit among the members of the diet, and General Rothenfeld was ſtationed near the perſon of the king, for the prevention of noiſe and tumult.

The pretext for this act of violence was as baſe as the act itſelf. The count de Sievers declared that he had heard a rumour of a conſpiracy againſt the lives of the king, the marſhal of the diet, and the moſt eſtimable of the nuncios, and had in conſequence taken meaſures to inſure their ſafety.

When the whole of his arrangements were made, the count addreſſed to the diet a note, calling on it to grant in the courſe of the day the full powers which were neceſſary for the ſignature of the treaty with his Pruſſian majeſty. At the ſame time, he wrote to the marſhal of Lithuania, M. Tyſkiewitz, a letter, which aſſerted the exiſtence of a conſpiracy, and detailed the military precautions adopted by the writer. "Your excellency," ſaid the ambaſſador in concluſion, "will have the goodneſs to make known that no deputy muſt ſtir from his place, unleſs he is called to the throne, and you will alſo aſſure the deputies, that they enjoy a perfect freedom of ſpeech. It is only diſorder and exceſs which I wiſh to hinder, and whoever is guilty of thoſe ſhall be delivered up to the rigour of the laws."

Under theſe ſiniſter auſpices the ſitting of the diet was commenced. The king was the firſt to exclaim againſt the tyranny which at once oppreſſed and derided them. He treated the conſpiracy as a mere invention, to varniſh over the iniquitous meaſures which were now reſorted to. "The dangers to which we are ſaid to be expoſed, are," he exclaimed, "chimerical. I repeat that I feel no fear, that I want no guard. I call honour to witneſs that I have had no part in this violence; that I have not called round me theſe foreign ſoldiers, who pretend that they are here to protect me; that I have not required, but that I deprecate their injurious aſſiſtance."

The diet, notwithſtanding its dangerous ſituation, ſhowed no diſpoſition to yield a tame compliance. Its firſt ſtep was to declare that it could not deliberate till the Ruſſian officers were withdrawn from the hall, and the Ruſſian troops from the caſtle. A deputation was ſent to the count to apprize him of this reſolution. He, at length, conſented that the officers, with the exception of general Rothenfeld, ſhould retire, but he peremptorily refuſed to remove the troops, before full powers were given to the delegates to ſign the Pruſſian treaty. With this trifling conceſſion the diet was compelled to be ſatisfied. The debate was now opened. It was vehemently maintained till four the next morning, at which hour the motion was put, and the delegation was finally authorized to ſign, by a majority of ſixty-one voices againſt twenty-three.

But though the diet was thus overcome,* its ſpirit remained unbroken. The decree by which it gave the required plenary powers, was full of bitterneſs towards the Pruſſian monarch. It re-aſſerted the illegality of all that had been done by Frederick William; appealed in the face of Europe, to the treaties concluded by his own deſire, which guaranteed the Poliſh ſtates; proteſted that the diet yielded ſolely to irreſiſtible force; and finally declared that even now the king and diet would only ratify the treaty on condition that it ſhould be guaranteed by the empreſs, that the prince primate ſhould continue to reſide in Poland, that, in caſe of the extinction of the houſe of Radzivil, the ſucceſſion to its property ſhould belong to the republic, and laſtly, that a treaty of commerce ſhould be immediately granted by Pruſſia to Poland, under the mediation and ſecurity of the Ruſſian ſovereign.

It may, perhaps, be ſuppoſed that the diet had now performed the whole of its heart-breaking taſk, and that, henceforth, it might direct its attention to objects comparatively pleaſing. This, however, was not the caſe. It was doomed to have its feelings again agonized by a repetition of the ſame injuſtice and coercive force which it had juſt experienced. To the few trivial modifications which the treaty had received Frederic William poſitively denied his aſſent. He inſiſted that it ſhould be ſigned immediately, in its original form. In this he, probably, gratified a ſentiment of revenge, excited by the patriotic reſiſtance which had been made to his unprincipled uſurpation.

The will of his maſter was notified to the Poliſh repreſentatives by M. Bucholz. The count de Sievers had affected during the recent diſcuſſion to approve of the obnoxious reſtrictions, but he now, with a ſhameleſs contempt of conſiſtency, joined M. Bucholz in calling imperiouſly upon the diet for the ſignature of the original treaty. Notwithſtanding the ſtate of bondage in which it was kept, the diet reſolutely refuſed to obey; and the count de Sievers, therefore, determined to act over again the diſguſting ſcene of the 2d of September.

In purſuance of this determination he called into Grodno the Ruſſian battalions, which were cantoned in the environs. With theſe, early on the morning of the 23d, he once more completely inveſted all the avenues of the caſtle. At the ſame time he ſent detachments to the houſes of the

Sept. 23.

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* Ann. Reg. 1793, State Papers *337.

the nuncios, Szyldowſki, Kraſnodemki, Mikorſki, and Skarzynſki, with orders to ſeize thoſe nuncios, and convey them as priſoners to their reſpective palatinates. The other nuncios, in the mean while, were ignorant of the fate of their compatriots. At eleven o'clock, the diet aſſembled; and the arreſt of the four nuncios was, at length, made known to it. Long and warm debates enſued, the reſult of which was a determination of the diet not to proceed to buſineſs, till the arreſted members were at liberty to take their ſeats. This reſolution was communicated to the count de Sievers, who took no further notice of it than to adviſe the diet to open its ſitting directly. The diet, however, refuſed to ſubmit, and ſent a ſecond time to require the freedom of the impriſoned members. To their ſecond requiſition the Ruſſian ambaſſador replied by a written repetition of his former verbal meſſage.

The diet, nevertheleſs, ſtill perſiſted in its refuſal to deliberate. It paſſed the day aſſembled; but in a gloomy ſilence. About nine in the evening, the Ruſſian general Rothenfeld entered the hall, and informed the king that the ambaſſador deſired his majeſty to open the diſcuſſion, without any further delay. To this meſſage Staniſlaus anſwered that it was not in his power to compel the nuncios to ſpeak, if they had determined not to do ſo. The general retired for a few minutes, and then returned, with a peremptory order from the count de Sievers, to enforce obedience. The nuncios were now told that they would not be allowed to quit the ſpot, till they had complied with that which was expected from them, and that if this mode of coercion was not found to be effectual, meaſures of a more rigorous nature would be employed to overcome their reſiſtance.

In ſpite of ſurrounding guards, of the leſſon given by the arreſt of the members, and of threats againſt the whole diet, it was not till nearly four o'clock the next morning that the treaty of ceſſion could obtain a hearing. The diet having, at laſt, been opened, the treaty was read; and the reading of it was followed by the reading of inſtructions for the delegation, which was to affix to this hateful treaty the ſignature of the republic. The full powers of the delegation were ſigned by the king and the marſhal; but they were ſigned with all the marks of a compelled, ſullen, and indignant acquieſcence to the mandates of an irreſiſtible tyranny. Not a ſingle member opened his lips to ſanction the ſpoliation and diſgrace of his country.

Sep. 24.

As ſoon as the ſignature was affixed, the diet and the ſovereign gave vent to their feelings by a pathetic and animated proteſt*, againſt the treaty of ceſſion, and the violence which had been employed to obtain its ratification. After ſtating the compulſory ſteps which had been taken to procure the former aſſent to the modified treaty, and aſſerting that the modifications then inſiſted upon ſeemed to be ſanctioned by Ruſſia, the proteſt concluded in theſe words, "But with grief and ſurprize "we find, by the ſad experience of "this day, that the court of Berlin "is not ſatisfied therewith. We ſee "freſh acts of violence forcing a new

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* An. Reg. 1793, State Papers, p. *337.

"project upon us; and, in order to "ſupport it, the ſame preponderant "power, not contented with inveſting the place of our deliberations "by a foreign armed force, and "addreſſing to us notes full of menaces, ſeize from among us, and "carry off our members, and, by an "unexampled proceeding, keep us "the king, bent under the weight "of age, and under ſuch manifold "misfortunes, and we the ſtates of "the republic, confined and impriſoned in the ſenate. Thus ſituated, "we do declare, in the moſt ſolemn "manner, that unable to prevent, "even with the riſk of our lives, the "effects of the oppreſſive force, we "leave to our poſterity, happier "perhaps than ourſelves, thoſe "means of ſaving our dear country, "whereof we are at preſent bereft; "and thus the project ſent to us by "the Ruſſian ambaſſador, though "contrary to our laws, wiſhes, and "opinions, forced by the above "means to accept, we do accept."

The treaty, thus freely, thus honourably obtained, was definitively ſigned by the delegation on the twenty-fifth of September. In its language, and its ſtipulations, it was nearly a copy of the treaty with Ruſſia. Like that it renounced, in the moſt expreſs terms, all further claims upon Poland, and guaranteed with equal clearneſs, the dominions which yet remained in the poſſeſſion of the republic.

This treaty diſmembered from Poland ſome of its richeſt and beſt peopled provinces. The line of partition commenced at Nowa Rudnia, near the fortreſs of Czentochow, which it included, and proceeded in a ſtrait line, to the river Pilica, not far from Koniecpole. Following the courſe of the Pilica, to between Inowloda and Nowemiaſto, it turned off at a right angle, and paſſing by Rawa and Sochazew, croſſed the Viſtula at Wyſzogrod, and joined the Pruſſian frontier, in the vicinity of Soldaw. This ſpace includes the palatinates of Poſen, Gneſna, Kaliſch, Brezſc, Siradia, Lencyzyca, Rawa, Polock, and Inoroclaw; containing two hundred and ſixty-two towns, between eight and nine thouſand villages, and twelve hundred thouſand inhabitants. The ſovereignty of Dantzic and Thorn were likewiſe transferred to Frederic William. The additional revenue which he derived from the ceded provinces was eſtimated at more than ſix millions and a half of Poliſh florins, and the military force at thirty thouſand men.

As ſoon as the treaty was ſigned, the Pruſſian troops, which had been put in motion to enforce the ceſſion, were ordered back to their former quarters; and Frederic William ſet out on a tour, through his new dominions, during which, by ſmiles, preſents, and promiſes, he endeavoured to conciliate the reluctant affections of thoſe whom he had compelled to ſubmit to his authority.

The firſt ſtep taken by the diet, after the completion of the treaty with Pruſſia, was the preſenting of a remonſtrance to the Ruſſian ambaſſador, on the ſubject of the four deputies, who had been arreſted, and of whom it now demanded the reſtoration to their ſeats. In ſupport of this demand, it urged that the law of the ſixth of July forbad the diet to proceed to buſineſs, during the forced abſence of any of the members.

The anſwer of the ambaſſador was at once contemptuous and threatening. It was, he ſaid, highly diſagreeable

agreeable to him to be under the neceſſity of ſo frequently deſiring the ſtates to occupy themſelves leſs with formalities than with objects which concerned the welfare of the country. His note of the twenty-third abundantly proved, that it was not an injury but a benefit to the nation to ſend away the four deputies, who had diſplayed ſo much blind fury, and who, probably, were gained over by ill-intentioned perſons to retard the final ſettlement of affairs. They were now ſafe at their own homes; but to recal them would only be to compel him to ceaſe to intereſt himſelf in the future welfare of the republic. Laws of formality, he told the diet, muſt ſtill yield to circumſtances, as they had before done; and he added a ſufficiently intelligible hint, that he relied on the wiſdom of the diet to impoſe ſilence on ſix other "enthuſiaſtic deputies" whom he ought, perhaps, to have treated in the ſame manner as their refractory colleagues.

Oct. 14.

The chain of national degradation and dependence was, on the fourteenth of October, finally rivetted by the ſignature of an inſtrument, which bore the name of a treaty of alliance between Ruſſia and Poland. This treaty conſiſted of eighteen articles, admirably calculated to ſerve the purpoſes of Ruſſia, and to take from the Poliſh republic all hope of evermore holding in the European commonwealth the rank of an independent power. The preamble ſtated the treaty to have been ſolicited by the king and diet; and it added, with a ſort of cruel and inſulting irony, that, "her imperial majeſty, guided by her conſtant devoted attachment to the Poliſh nation, and eager to lay the foundation of its preſent and future happineſs, had agreed to the propoſition with ſo much the more pleaſure, as it furniſhed her with an opportunity of manifeſting her good intentions in all their fulleſt extent."

By this treaty it was agreed, that whichever of the contracting parties ſhould be attacked, the other ſhould aſſiſt it, with its whole force; and that no truce nor peace ſhould be concluded but by mutual conſent. The command of the combined army was to belong to the general of the power which furniſhed the greateſt number of troops. This article at once put the Poliſh army under the orders of Ruſſia: as it was plain that the latter would always bring into the field the largeſt proportion of force. The next article ſpoke ſtill more openly. "As in conſequence of the engagements entered into by the two courts, the greateſt burthen of a joint war will infallibly fall on Ruſſia, the king and the republic deem it equitable to allow Ruſſia a predominant influence in foreign courts, with reſpect to the negotiations neceſſary to avoid a war, to declare and carry it on advantageouſly, and to terminate it in an honourable manner." This article was ſtrengthened and enlarged by another, which ſtipulated that "without the knowledge and conſent of Ruſſia, the king and republic ſhould not enter into any negotiation, nor form any treaty or convention with any power, nor take any eſſential ſtep which could have an effect on the tranquillity of the contracting ſtates." As a neceſſary conſequence of theſe articles, Ruſſia was to be allowed to march troops into Poland, to form magazines there, and to keep up garriſons, whenever it ſhould be needful. That nothing might be wanting to mark the ſubſervience of Poland, it was likewiſe provided that no future change ſhould be made in the government, without the conſent, previouſly obtained, of the empreſs or her ſucceſſors. The laws and regulations which the preſent diet might make were excepted from this proviſion, and expreſsly guaranteed; reſerving, however, to future diets the illuſory right to alter and reform them. To draw ſtill cloſer the connection of the two ſtates, Ruſſia engaged to order her miniſters to watch as carefully over the Poliſh intereſts as over her own, at thoſe courts in which Poland had no repreſentative. The two concluding articles of the treaty declared that the nobles of each country ſhould enjoy in the other the ſame rights and privileges as the native nobility; and that Poliſh and Ruſſian traders ſhould likewiſe ſtand on the ſame footing in their reſpective ſtates.

This treaty was not ſanctioned by the diet without much reluctance. Staniſlaus, however, though he felt as deeply as any one the wound which it inflicted on Poliſh honour and independence, gave his opinion in its favour, as being the leaſt of two evils which threatened the republic. What, he aſked, would be the ſituation of the country, if the treaty were rejected? Without an army, without an ally, and encompaſſed by hoſtile powers, it would be expoſed to ſee its remaining provinces divided by a new partition. Some little advantage was to be hoped from the treaty, while every thing was to be feared in caſe of its rejection. "The king indeed, ſaid Staniſlaus, has all to loſe by this alliance; but a king ought to ſacrifice his own private advantage for the ſake of thoſe over whom he reigns. Can a juſt ſovereign weigh in the balance his own perſonal intereſt againſt the hopes and happineſs of his people?"

In return for the numerous and valuable ſacrifices which had been made to her by the republic, the empreſs ſeems to have thought it neceſſary, on her part, to do ſomething, to diſplay her liberality and gratitude. As ſoon, therefore, as ſhe received intelligence that the treaty of alliance was ſigned, ſhe gave orders to her ambaſſador to inform the diet that her imperial majeſty would take upon herſelf to diſcharge a ſum of three millions of florins, forming part of a loan which had been raiſed in Holland for the ſervice of the republic. This mock act of generoſity was, in truth, only a reſtitution of a very ſmall portion of the arrears of impoſts due from the ceded provinces, previous to the ceſſion; of which arrears the diet had, during the negotiation of the treaty, in vain endeavoured to obtain from the count de Sievers a promiſe of payment.

The confederacy of Targowitz had, as we have before ſeen, fallen under the diſpleaſure of the empreſs, who, in conſequence, required its diſſolution. It was ſtill more an object of hatred to the Poliſh nation, by which it was conſidered as the principal cauſe of all the diſaſters which had befallen the ſtate. Even its tardy and fruitleſs repentance did not efface from the minds of the citizens the reſentful remembrance of its early crimes.

It was on the fifteenth of September that the diſſolution of this obnoxious body took place. A new confederation, with the king at its head, was formed by the ſtates, under the name of the confederation of Grodno. The act ſigned by the members of this new union, ſtated the object of the union to be the maintenance of the catholic religion, the liberty and ſovereignty of the nation, the republican form of government, the prerogatives of the throne, and the poſſeſſion of offices and eſtates to thoſe whom they belonged. It reinſtalled the tribunals of the diſtricts and of the diet, and conferred on the king, but for this time only, the power of nominating to ſeveral important charges in the ſtate. The privilege of naming perſons to fill inferior ſituations was given to him without reſtriction. The records of the diſſolved confederacy were ordered to be depoſited in the public archives; and the diet was authorized to alter, or even annul, any of the decrees which the confederates had iſſued. The latter enactment was ſtrengthened and its meaning made obvious, by the appointment of a commiſſion, whoſe buſineſs was to receive complaints againſt the decrees, and to make a report on the ſubject to the diet.

The commiſſion did not fail in the execution of its taſk. It reviewed the whole of the decrees, heard all the complaints which were brought againſt them, and finally preſented to the diet the report which it had been charged to make, with its own opinion as to the meaſures to be purſued. The diet, on its ſide, ſeemed determined that no veſtige of the diſſolved confederation ſhould be ſuffered to exiſt. When the report was brought up to be definitively heard, a motion was made to annul, without exception, all the decrees which had been paſſed by the confederation of Targowitz. The motion was carried, after a feeble reſiſtance from a few intereſted members, and it was alſo voted that an indemnification ſhould be given to all perſons who had ſuſtained injury from thoſe decrees; and that thoſe who had been deſpoiled of their property ſhould have it reſtored to them, without any form of proceſs.

The diet had now time to direct its attention to the internal circumſtances of the country. It eſtabliſhed a committee to decide all caſes of bankruptcy, regulated the adminiſtration of juſtice, examined into the ſtate of the revenue, diminiſhed the amount of ſalaries and penſions, circumſcribed the too extenſive authority of the great officers and hetmans, and paſſed a law to put a ſtop to the progreſs of luxury. Not one of the leaſt enlightened and liberal of its proceedings was the permiſſion which it granted to the proteſtants to erect churches in any part of Poland.

The king was not in a condition to contribute much aſſiſtance to the neceſſities of the ſtate. The little, however, that was in his power he willingly gave. He relinquiſhed the revenues granted to him from the tolls and poſts of Poland and the duchy of Lithuania.

Shrunk as the territories of the republic now were, to leſs than half their late dimenſions, it was no longer poſſible for them to ſupport the burden of their original military eſtabliſhment. The army ſtill conſiſted of twenty-four thouſand men, the greateſt part of whom had for ſome months been without pay, though the great-general of Lithuania had advanced from his private purſe the ſum of four hundred thouſand florins. The diet, therefore, reſolved that the army ſhould be reduced,

duced. The future ſtrength of it was fixed at not leſs than twelve nor more than fifteen thouſand men. The generals were ordered to ſend in, previouſly to the diſbanding, a liſt of the officers ſerving under them, with a ſtatement of their time of ſervice, and the manner in which they obtained their commiſſions.

The conſtitution, under which Poland was henceforth to be governed, is ſaid to have been drawn up at St. Peterſburgh, and ſent to Grodno, for the ſanction of the diet. That ſanction it neceſſarily received. It was impotent for any good purpoſe, but well calculated to perpetuate the weakneſs, anarchy and ſlavery of Poland. All thoſe abſurdities of the old government which had ruined and degraded the country, were carefully retained. For the happineſs of the people not a ſingle enactment was made. An elective crown, a king with ſcarcely the ſhadow of authority, tumultuary diets, and an abaſed population, ſuch were the benefits conferred by this new code; all change, in which, even if called for by the unanimous voice of a diet, was expreſsly forbidden, under the penalty of loſs of life, honour, and property, to whoever ſhould be guilty of ſeeking a reform. The laws, if laws they might be called, were pronounced to be, like thoſe of the Medes and Perſians, "holy, ſtable, and immutable."

Among theſe immutable laws was one which could not fail to excite a bitter ſmile. It declared, that not even the legiſlative power could negotiate reſpecting the ceſſion of any part of the republic; that any treaty of ceſſion ſhould be "null, void, and of none effect;" and that whoever perfidiouſly aided in framing ſuch a treaty, ſhould be declared an enemy of his country.

The very laſt act of the diet teſtified ſtrongly the deep reſentment which that body felt of the injuries which Poland had ſuffered from Ruſſia. The diet of 1791, during the ſhort reſiſtance of the Poles to the Ruſſian armies, had eſtabliſhed a kind of order of merit, in favour of thoſe officers who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the field. Thoſe officers were gratified with the privilege of wearing croſſes and medals, as teſtimonies of their valour. Againſt this mark of reſpect beſtowed on thoſe who had oppoſed her arms, the empreſs, on the ſubjugation of Poland, remonſtrated in the ſtrongeſt terms; and the confederacy of Targowitz, in compliance with her wiſhes, ſtrictly prohibited the croſſes and medals from being any longer worn. The diet now decreed, that the privilege ſhould be immediately and fully reſtored. By ſingling out as the ſubject of a particular decree the revocation of the privilege to which the confederates had been compelled, the diet pointed its meaning in the moſt effectual manner; as it had already, by one ſweeping vote, annulled all the proceedings of the confederates, and thus in reality rendered unneceſſary its preſent decree. With this act, ſo expreſſive of its wiſhes and feelings, the diet cloſed, on the twenty-third of November, its painful and diſaſtrous ſeſſion.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Miniſters nominated by the king. He returns to Warſaw. Anger of the empreſs excited by the decrees which the diet had paſſed, for annulling the decrees of the confederates, and reſtoring the military order of merit. Count de Sievers recalled from Warſaw. Previouſly to his departure he remonſtrates againſt the proceedings of the diet. Remonſtrances repeated by his ſucceſſor, Baron Igelſtrom, commander of the Ruſſian troops. Humiliating proclamation iſſued by the king and permanent council to ſatisfy the empreſs. A deputation appointed to proceed to St. Peterſburgh for the purpoſe of averting her wrath. Ruſſian ambaſſador demands, and obtains, the eraſure from the public records of every thing relative to the conſtitution of 1791; and the ſuppreſſion of all printed works concerning that conſtitution. Oppreſſive conduct of the Ruſſians. Diſſatisfaction and murmurs of the Poles. Meaſures taken by general Igelſtrom to prevent any inſurrection. Some patriots at Warſaw reſolve to attempt to free their country from the Ruſſian yoke. Correſpondence carried on by them with the expatriated Poles. They chuſe general Koſciuſko as their chief. Character of the general. He finds the plan not matured, and adviſes delay. Conduct of Igelſtrom renders it impoſſible to delay any longer. He calls for the reduction of the army. General Madalinſki refuſes to diſarm; and commences the inſurrection. Penetrates into ſouthern Pruſſia. Fruitleſs attempts to arreſt his progreſs. General Igelſtrom concentrates his forces. Koſciuſko appears at Cracow, and is inveſted with unlimited authority. Steps taken by the patriots at Cracow. Proclamations iſſued by Koſciuſko. Manifeſto to foreign powers. Koſciuſko endeavours to conciliate the emperor. He is joined by Madalinſki and colonel Mangette. Part of the Poliſh troops in the Ukraine, which had entered into the ſervice of the empreſs, abandon it, and return to Poland to join the patriots. The remainder are diſarmed. Proclamation iſſued againſt the patriots by the Poliſh government. It does not ſatisfy the Ruſſians. Koſciuſko marches to attack general Deniſſow. Battle of Raſlawice. Defeat of the Ruſſians. Inſurrection extends throughout Poland and Lithuania. Grochowſki and Chomentowſki raiſe the palatinates of Chelm and Lublin. Jaſinſki by a maſter-piece of prudence and courage makes priſoners eleven hundred Ruſſians at Wilna. Rejoicings in conſequence at Cracow. Poſition of Ruſſian and Polish armies. Affairs at Warſaw. Igelſtrom arreſts ſome perſons, and calls on the king and council to arreſt all ſuſpected individuals, but is refuſed. Diſtribution of the Ruſſian garriſon to prevent any attempt at inſurrection. Igelſtrom inſiſts upon the arreſt of twenty-ſix perſons. The patriots now reſolve to begin the conteſt. Inſurrection breaks out with the utmoſt fury. Dreadful combat, which laſts nearly the whole of the day, to the great diſadvantage of the Ruſſians. Patriots favoured by the king. The combat ſlackens during the night. It is renewed the next morning with increaſed vigour. Igelſtrom compelled to retire with the remnant of his force.

force. Loſs ſuffered by the Ruſſians. Proviſional council eſtabliſhed at Warſaw. Tribunal formed for the puniſhment of traitors. Four traitors executed. Defenſive meaſures taken. Return of the principal of the Poliſh exiles. Unjuſt ſuſpicions entertained of the king by the people. Koſciuſko ſends inſtructions as to the manner of eſtabliſhing the government. He deſires that the king may be reſpected and conſulted. National council eſtabliſhed. Situation of Koſciuſko. He orders general Grochowſki to join him. Maſterly manœuvre of that general. Pruſſian army enters Poland, and joins the army of general Deniſſow. Frederic William takes the command. Koſciuſko reſolves to hazard a battle. Battle of Szczekocin. Gallantry of the Poles. The enemy are twice repulſed; but at length the death of general Grochowſki diſheartens the Poles, and compels Koſciuſko to abandon the field. Defeat of general Zajonczeck at Chelm by the Ruſſian general Derfelden. The Pruſſians make themſelves maſters of Cracow. Proclamation of Koſciuſko ordering the Poliſh generals to carry the war into the territories of the combined powers, and offer liberty to the people. Maſſacre of eight priſoners at Warſaw. Thoſe engaged in the maſſacre are ſeverely puniſhed. March of an Auſtrian force into the Poliſh territory. Koſciuſko obliged to retire to Warſaw, and poſt his army in the entrenchments. Commencement of the ſiege. Spirited defence made by the Poles. Some advantages gained by the Pruſſians. A general inſurrection takes place in ſouthern Pruſſia. The combined armies are under the neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege. Retreat of the Pruſſians and Ruſſians.

THE diſſolution of the diet left the government nominally in the hands of the king and the permanent council. Had their power even been unſhackled it could not, at this moment, have been an object of envy or deſire to any reflecting mind. Staniſlaus and his council could have felt little pleaſure or pride in ruling over the fragment of a kingdom, with an empty treaſury, the ſkeleton of an army, and diſcontented ſubjects. But their authority was, in fact, only a mockery and a name. The ſupreme controul over the ſtate was poſſeſſed by the Ruſſian ambaſſador. Poland was covered by Ruſſian troops, and its capital was guarded, or rather watched, by a Ruſſian garriſon.

As ſoon as the diet had ſeparated, the king proceeded, in virtue of the late decree, to the choice of perſons to fill the various departments of the adminiſtration. The preſidency of the permanent council was given to count Ankwitz, who, in the diet, had ſeemed to diſplay both prudence and patriotiſm. Early in December the king returned to Warſaw, and on his return the new magiſtracy of the city was inſtalled, and took the appointed oaths.

The decrees by which the diet annulled all the acts of the confederates, and reſtored to the military the privilege of wearing the croſſes and medals of merit, were conſidered by the empreſs as crimes of the blackeſt die, and they raiſed her anger to the higheſt point. The confederates had indeed excited her diſpleaſure, by the perverſe attachment which, at times, they manifeſted to their country; but her reſentment did not extend to the whole of their laws; many of which had been paſſed in favour of her partizans and deſigns. But, though the abolition of theſe laws was offenſive, the reſtoration of the military diſtinctions was far more ſo. The latter meaſure was looked upon by Catherine, as a direct and perſonal attack upon herſelf; and ſhe felt it with the keenneſs with which the diet probably wiſhed her to feel.

The count de Sievers having completed his great work was recalled to St. Peterſburgh, and his place at Warſaw was filled by baron Igelſtrom, the commander in chief of the Ruſſian troops on the territory of the republic. Before his departure, however, he remonſtrated in the ſtrongeſt terms againſt the reſtoration of the military order, which meaſure he declared was looked upon by the empreſs as a violation of the treaty of alliance, and was the cauſe of his being inſtructed to quit the Poliſh capital. The intelligible threat contained in this declaration was repeated by his ſucceſſor; who alſo brought forward a ſecond ſubject of complaint. At his firſt audience general Igelſtrom not only remonſtrated againſt the order of merit, but added that the empreſs was alſo diſſatisfied that the diet had annulled the decrees of the confederates of Targowitz. He is ſaid to have concluded by informing the king and council, that if meaſures were not adopted to appeaſe the reſentment of the empreſs, ſhe would be under the neceſſity of aſſembling another confederation, and calling another diet.

The king and council had no alternative but obedience, or ruin. They choſe, as might be expected, rather to obey, than to engage the country to reſiſt, without a chance of ſucceſs. A proclamation was accordingly iſſued by the king and council, which afforded a melancholy proof of the fallen ſtate of Poland. All its expreſſions ſhowed how ſtrongly its authors felt the influence of fear. That fear was even ſo overpowering as to prompt expreſſions of flattery to the empreſs, which could not be read by any Poliſh ſubject, without exciting in his boſom a blended feeling of indignation and diſguſt. It was not enough to laviſh on her every epithet expreſſive of greatneſs; ſhe muſt likewiſe be deſcribed as poſſeſſing "a tender "heart, which breathed nothing "but humanity." The ſatisfaction which ſhe required was given to her in the fulleſt extent. The wearing of the croſſes and medals was forbidden under the ſevereſt penalties; and the annulled decrees were re-eſtabliſhed in all their priſtine force. That no effort might be omitted to obtain pardon, a deputation was appointed to wait on the empreſs at St. Peterſburgh, and aſſure her of the ſorrow and the fidelity of the Poliſh people. The cloſe of the proclamation contained however a ſort of apology to the country for the degrading ſteps which the government was compelled to take; and an indirect avowal that they could only be defended on the ground of their being abſolutely neceſſary for the public welfare.

Jan. 17, 1794.

One conceſſion did but pave the way for the demand of another. The proceedings of the diet from 1788 to 1791 had been too hoſtile to the intereſts of Catherine, for her not to wiſh that they might, if poſſible, be blotted even from memory. General Igelſtrom, therefore, was ordered to require that the conſtitution formed, and the laws, and decrees paſſed, by that diet, ſhould be entirely eraſed from the public records, and that all the documents which related to them ſhould be delivered into his hands. This requiſition was complied with by the king and the permanent council. This, however, was not deemed enough. Another note from the general, called for the collection and ſuppreſſion of every ſpecies of publication which had iſſued from the preſs, relative to the conſtitution of 1791; ſo that no memorial of it might remain. Obedience was again yielded. An order, ſuch as he inſiſted upon, was thrice read in the moſt frequented parts of Warſaw; nor did the temples of the Deity eſcape the prophanation of having this order publiſhed from the pulpit, to thoſe who had aſſembled for the purpoſes of religion.

Feb. 7.

Throughout the whole of Poland the Ruſſian troops acted with intolerable tyranny. Impartial in their inſolence, they inſulted alike the noble and the peaſant. Quarters and ſubſiſtence for them were extorted from the Poles, who were paid at ſuch a price as their maſters pleaſed to fix, or left entirely unpaid. In Warſaw eſpecially the article of quarters was found in the higheſt degree oppreſſive. The inhabitants of that city had not only to provide for the officers and ſoldiers in garriſon, but alſo for thoſe officers, and they were numerous, whom a love of diſſipation induced to leave their corps in the provinces, and fly to enjoy the pleaſures of the capital.

In every part of Poland, murmurs, not unmingled with threats, roſe againſt the Ruſſians, from the wearied and over-burthened people. At Warſaw, where a denſe and connected population gave confidence to the diſcontented, diſſatisfaction was more loudly expreſſed. In the coffee-houſes and public places, the citizens openly avowed their hatred of the oppreſſors. Printed bills were often, during the night, poſted up at the corners of the ſtreets, calling on the populace to riſe, and reſcue their country from the tyranny of the Ruſſians. The minds of the Poles were ſtill further irritated by rumours that Ruſſia intended to conſummate the work of plunder by a new and final partition. So general was the fermentation that Igelſtrom found it prudent, in the beginning of March, to order out numerous nocturnal patroles, and to take other precautions againſt the danger which threatened him. A triple line of troops had already been drawn round Warſaw to prevent the entrance of diſbanded ſoldiers from the Poliſh army.

The precautions of the Ruſſian general, far from being too multiplied, were not even ſufficient for the exigency of the times. A ſtorm was gathering round him, of the fury and extent of which he had no adequate conception. In the midſt of the capital ſeveral friends of their country were, at this moment, concerting the means of waſhing out, in the blood of the Ruſſians, by an inſurrection of the entire Poliſh people, the diſgrace and the wrongs of Poland. Their union had been formed at leaſt as early as the beginning of the autumn of the year 1793. In ſpite of the vigilance of the Ruſſians, they contrived to keep up a correſpondence with the provinces, and with thoſe patriotic fugitives who had been compelled to ſeek a refuge in the neighbouring ſtates. Some of the ex-patriated individuals more than once ſucceeded in reaching Warſaw, and holding conference with their friends on the meaſures to be adopted. General Zajonczeck, the companion and confident of the gallant Thaddeus Koſciuſko, was the principal of theſe envoys, and was expoſed to conſiderable peril in the execution of his important miſſion. With general Igelſtrom, who ſuſpected his errand, and, in conſequence, deſired to ſee him, he had a ſerious altercation.

It was to Koſciuſko that the Poliſh patriots looked as the future leader of their armies. This diſtinction he merited by his character, talents, courage, and tried attachment to his country. Brought up at the royal ſchool for cadets, he early ſtudied the military ſcience with ſuch indefatigable attention, and made ſo rapid a progreſs, that he was one of four ſcholars, ſelected annually to complete their education, by travelling to acquire the diſcoveries and improvements which had been made in foreign countries. He returned, perfect in his profeſſion, and was appointed to a company of artillery, in the regiment of the crown. A diſappointment in love is ſaid to have induced him to obtain leave of abſence, and ſail for America, where, during the war, he ſerved under general Waſhington, with diſtinguiſhed valour and ſkill, and received univerſal applauſe. In the ſhort campaign of 1792, between the Ruſſians and the Poles, he commanded a diviſion of prince Poniatowſki's army, and, on every occaſion, manifeſted his activity, bravery and judgment; but it was his conduct at Dubienca*; where, at the head of only five thouſand Poles he maintained an obſtinate conflict with ſeventeen thouſand Ruſſians; it was this that ſet the ſeal to his military reputation, and pointed him out to his fellow countrymen as the propereſt perſon to entruſt with the the laſt reſources and hopes of Poland. Reſigning his commiſſion, when the king acceded to the confederacy of Targowitz, he retired to Leipſic, along with Zajonczeck, and kept up an intercourſe with Ignatius Potocki, the vice-chancellor Kolontay, and others of his compatriots who found an aſylum at Dreſden. It was in September 1793 that the planners of the inſurrection choſe him as their chief and diſpatched two meſſengers to apprize him of their choice, and the plans which they had formed. This intelligence was communicated by Koſciuſko to the fugitives at Dreſden; and Zajonczeck was ſent to Warſaw to confer with the Poliſh patriots, and to enquire whether the means which they poſſeſſed were ſufficient to excite and ſupport the intended inſurrection. As thoſe means were found by Zajonczeck to be much too ſcanty for their purpoſe, Koſciuſko recommended a poſtponement of operations, till more ſtrength was acquired; and that his preſence on the frontier, might not, in the mean time, raiſe alarm, he quitted Leipſic, and travelled into Italy. It is ſaid, but without proof, that from Italy he proceeded to France, where he had an interview with the jacobin rulers, and obtained from them a large ſum of money in aid of the revolution. The fact, nevertheleſs, is not wholly improbable; nor is it an improbable aſſertion which has likewiſe been made, that, as far back as the ſpring of 1793, he viſited Conſtantinople, and ſtrove, but in vain, to induce the Porte to declare war againſt the empreſs Catherine.

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* See Ann. Reg. 1792, Part. I. p. 387.

Circumſtances, however, prevented the Poliſh patriots from waiting till their plans were fully matured; and compelled them to make a premature appeal to the ſword. The reduction of the army, though decreed by the diet, had not, hitherto, been carried into effect. But general Igelſtrom now imperiouſly called for the execution of this meaſure. He had two reaſons for wiſhing the Poliſh army to be reduced to as low a ſtandard as poſſible. The firſt, and the moſt powerful, was his dread that the army was but too well diſpoſed to the cauſe of the patriotic party. The ſecond, was a deſire to obtain for the Ruſſian armies a reinforcement of diſciplined troops; and, with this view, he held out to the diſbanded ſoldiers and officers, the moſt liberal rewards to engage them to enter into the ſervice of his imperial miſtreſs. In conſequence of his demand, the king and council iſſued an order for reducing the army to 15,449 men. The reduction was to be executed at the ſame moment in every part of the kingdom, and was to be concluded by the fifteenth of March.

It now became impracticable for the patriotic party to remain any longer inactive. The diſarming of the troops, if ſuffered to be quietly effected, would deprive the patriots of one of their moſt valuable reſources. At all hazards, therefore, they reſolved to make an immediate effort to ſhake off the yoke. A meſſenger was haſtily diſpatched to Koſciuſko to ſummon him to the field.

General Madalinſki, commander of a brigade of fourteen hundred cavalry, was the firſt who raiſed the ſtandard of hoſtility againſt the Ruſſians. His brigade was quartered between the Bug and the Narew. When the order arrived to diſband, he aſſembled his ſquadrons at Oſtrolenka, on the Narew, and poſitively refuſed to obey. Croſſing the river at Oſtrolenka he commenced his march along the right bank, towards ſouthern Pruſſia. Two ſtrong diviſions, the one to follow in his rear, the other to paſs the Viſtula and meet him in front, were in vain ſent againſt Madalinſki by the Ruſſian general. The active Pole puſhed forward ſo rapidly, that he got the ſtart of his enemies, and, taking the route of Mlava, penetrated into ſouthern Pruſſia. Deſcending the frontier line he drove in all the Pruſſian poſts, ſeized the produce of the taxes, and, at length, croſſed the Viſtula unoppoſed, at Wyſzogrod, about thirty miles from Warſaw.

The progreſs of Madalinſki gave very ſerious alarm to general Igelſtrom, who, knowing the wiſhes of the citizens of Warſaw, was apprehenſive that the Poliſh chief would make an attempt upon the capital. To avert the threatened danger he inſtantly began to concentrate his ſcattered forces. Two diviſions, of conſiderable ſtrength, were recalled from Lithuania, and cantoned in the vicinity of Warſaw, and the garriſon of the city received an addition of nine battalions of infantry, four regiments of cavalry and twenty pieces of artillery. Two corps at Lukow and Lublin, in the palatinate of Lublin, were alſo ordered to unite, and take a poſition on the Viſtula, oppoſite Kaſimierz; and two other corps, at Cracow and Opatow, in the palatinates of Cracow and Sendomir, were, in like manner, withdrawn, to form a junction at Radom, in the latter palatinate. The march of the two corps to Radom, left the Galician frontier without any means of defence. By theſe movements general Igelſtrom hoped to prevent the flame of inſurrection from ſpreading acroſs the Viſtula into the reſt of Poland and into Lithuania; or, failing in this, at leaſt to prevent the inſurgents from acting in concert, as all the paſſages of the Viſtula would be completely in his power.

The retreat of the Ruſſians from Cracow was a fortunate circumſtance for the Poliſh patriots. In the palatinate of Cracow, and its capital, the vice-chancellor Kolontay poſſeſſed great influence, which, by means of an extenſive correſpondence, he had for a long time exerciſed in rouſing the citizens to avenge the wrongs of their country. Every thing was ready for the exploſion; and Koſciuſko was at this moment waiting on the verge of the palatinate. On the very evening of the day that the Ruſſians retired he entered Cracow, and was hailed with tranſport by all claſſes of people. The whole population of Cracow and its vicinity, flew to arms. On the following morning the citizens aſſembled, and ſigned the act of inſurrection. Koſciuſko was conducted to the town-hall, where the nobles were aſſembled; and was there inveſted with unlimited power, under the title of generaliſſimo, to take whatever meaſures he might think conducive to the public welfare. To his virtue and diſcretion every thing was confided, without ſtint or reſtraint. He thus became, in reality, the dictator of Poland.

March 23.

The next ſtep of the patriots was the appointment of a commiſſion, denominated the commiſſion of good order, to carry into effect the plans of the generaliſſimo, and diſpoſe with full authority of the reſources of the palatinate, till the period when the nation ſhould have recovered its freedom. A tribunal was alſo eſtabliſhed for the trial of individuals guilty of treaſon againſt the ſtate.

The commiſſion began the exerciſe of its functions with great activity and ſpirit. It iſſued a decree, commanding that in all the towns and villages a recruit, with arms, ſix day's bread, and a month's pay, ſhould be furniſhed by every five houſes; that each houſe ſhould likewiſe contribute a certain quantity of bread and forage; and that a tax, varying from ten to fifty per cent, ſhould be raiſed on the property of the ſtaroſts and clergy, to provide for the expences of the war.

As ſoon as general Koſciuſko had aſſumed the command, and received the oath of fidelity from the troops and citizens, he iſſued two proclamations; the one addreſſed to the Poliſh people, the other to the army. They were brief, energetic, calculated to excite the enthuſiaſm of the writer in the minds of their readers. No cold neutrality was tolerated by the generaliſſimo. "Whoever is not for "us," ſaid he, "is againſt us; whoever does not join thoſe who have "ſworn to ſhed their blood for the "country, either meditates injury to "that country, or is indifferent to its "welfare; and in the one caſe or the "other is equally criminal." To vanquiſh or to die was, he declared, his firm reſolution, and the words victory or death muſt be the watch-words of all the friends of freedom.

This proclamation was followed by a manifeſto addreſſed to foreign courts, and containing an animated and faithful picture of the inſults and injuries which had been inflicted upon Poland by the partitioning powers. The conduct of the empreſs, and ſtill more particularly the conduct of Frederic William, was branded with the ſtrongeſt epithets that reſentment could inſpire. In concluſion the manifeſto announced the firm reſolve of the inſurgents, "to periſh and bury themſelves "under the ruins of their country, "or to deliver the land of their "fathers from a ferocious oppreſſion, "and a yoke full of ſhame." To accompliſh this purpoſe, it declared that, all prejudices of opinion, which had hitherto divided the citizens, ſhould be diſcarded, and the whole maſs of the population, with equal rights, ſhould join in equal efforts and equal ſacrifices.

As the emperor had yet taken no part in the ſpoliation of Poland, and as his future neutrality was of the utmoſt importance, general Koſciuſko loſt no time in informing the Auſtrian commander on the frontier of Galicia, that the Poles would ſtrictly forbear from any violation of the imperial territory; but that ſhould, through ignorance or inadvertence, the ſlighteſt injury be done, a full and immediate reparation would be made by the Poliſh government.

Koſciuſko was ſpeedily reinforced by the arrival of ſome of his brave compatriots. Madalinſki, after croſſing the Viſtula at Wyſzogrod directed his march, in two columns, towards Cracow, receiving, as he paſſed along, a daily acceſſion of ſtrength. In the palatinate of Sendomir colonel Mangette had already hoiſted the ſtandard of reſiſtance, at the head of the greateſt part of the brigade of Walewſki, and had ſeverely haraſſed the retreating Ruſſians. On the entrance of Madalinſki into the palatinate the whole of the Poliſh troops, throughout the diſtrict, followed the example of their countrymen, joined the two chiefs, and proceeded with them to Cracow, at which place they arrived on the laſt day of March.

The inſurrection extended even to the furtheſt verge of the territory which had been torn from Poland by Ruſſia. In the month of April 1793, the Poliſh troops in the Ukraine had been prevailed on to enter into the Ruſſian ſervice. At the preſent period they were ſtationed, in ſeparate corps, in the palatinates of Podolia, Braclaw, and Kiow; and were watched by Ruſſian diviſions, placed in ſuch a manner as to prevent them from acting in concert. The intelligence of the inſurrection rouſed their dormant ſpirit. One body of fifteen hundred horſe, ſtationed at Nowoi Mirgorod, between the Bog and the Dnieper, quitted that place, and ſucceeded in effecting its retreat into Lithuania, notwithſtanding the immenſe diſtance, and the numerous obſtacles which it had to encounter. Another body, of the ſame ſtrength, conſiſting of Bolinſki's brigade, quartered at Kamiencza, on the banks of the Dnieſter, made a retreat of equal toil and difficulty. It penetrated through the borders of Moldavia and Galicia, and reached Cracow in ſafety. A third corps ſoon followed the firſt into the duchy of Lithuania; and the reſt would not long have remained behind, had they poſſeſſed the ſame facility of eſcape. As it was manifeſt that they would ſeize the firſt opportunity to join their companions, general Suwarrow was haſtily ordered to puſh forward with fifteen thouſand men, for the purpoſe of diſarming them; and this ſervice he performed with no leſs moderation than promptitude. Eight thouſand Poles were diſarmed; a few of them entered into the Ruſſian regiments, the remainder were ſuffered to return to their homes.

The king and the permanent council, meanwhile, were compelled to iſſue a manifeſto againſt the deſigns of the patriots. This manifeſto, however, gave nearly as much diſſatisfaction to the Ruſſians as to thóſe whom it was deſigned to counteract. It did indeed threaten the inſurgents with the vengeance of the law, but it did not conſider their enterprize as guilty in its nature. The preſent moment, it ſaid, was not the moment for ſuch an enterprize. The Ruſſians contended, and not without juſtice, that this mode of mentioning the revolt was, in reality, a recognition of the principle on which it had been undertaken.

The firſt battle in which the Poliſh patriots were engaged afforded a convincing proof that they were no deſpicable enemies. Having completed his arrangements at Cracow, general Koſciuſko marched at the head of about five thouſand regular troops, and a body of peaſants armed with pikes, hatchets, and ſcythe blades, firmly fixed to the ends of pike ſtaves. The whole of his artillery was eleven field pieces. Twelve thouſand Ruſſians, under generals Deniſſow and Tormaſſow were, at the ſame time, advancing to give him battle. General Deniſſow had halted for a day at Skalmirz; but, hearing that the Poles were in motion, he ſent forward general Tormaſſow, with a conſiderable part of the army. The hoſtile forces met, on the morning of the fourth of April, near the village of Raſlawice. The combat commenced at three in the afternoon, by an attack of the Ruſſians upon the right wing of the Poles. Repulſed in this quarter, the aſſailants fell upon the center, but with no better ſucceſs. They were, nevertheleſs, preparing to return to the attack, when general Koſciuſko ordered his ſoldiers to aſſume the offenſive, and fall upon their antagoniſts. This was done with the moſt determined bravery. The Ruſſian batteries had only time to fire twice before they were ſtormed; and the left and center of the Ruſſian infantry were entirely broken. In this onſet the peaſants diſplayed no leſs intrepidity than the regular troops. Three thouſand of the Ruſſians were left on the field. The loſs of the victors was comparatively trifling. Twelve pieces of cannon, and all the ammunition, were taken by the Poles. The right wing of the vanquiſhed made a precipitate retreat; and would, perhaps, have ſhared the fate of the other diviſions had not general Deniſſow come up in time with a reinforcement to reſcue it from danger. At eight in the evening the conteſt cloſed; and general Deniſſow availed himſelf of the darkneſs to withdraw to Kaſimirz, three leagues from the ſcene of action. The victorious army encamped near Slomniki. The glory of this day was ſhared with general Koſciuſko by the generals Zajonczeck, Madalinſki and Mangette, and major Lukke, all of whom diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their courage and conduct.

The ſecond day after his defeat general Deniſſow was joined by a diviſion, which filled up the chaſm in his army, and enabled him to return to the poſt of Skalmirz, in order to hold in check the Poliſh generaliſſimo. Though ſuperior in numbers, he did not, however, think it prudent to try the iſſue of another combat with his triumphant adverſary.

The defeat of the Ruſſians gave the ſignal of inſurrection to the greateſt part of the Poliſh dominions. It doubled the ardour of thoſe who had already taken arms, and it inſpired even the timid with confidence. In the palatinate of Lublin, and the diſtrict of Chelm, which had hitherto remained quiet, the Poliſh troops, and a conſiderable portion of the population, now declared in favour of the patriotic cauſe. Two ſkilful and zealous officers, general Grochowſki, and colonel Chomentowſki, put themſelves at the head of the inſurgents; and attacked, near Lublin, a Ruſſian corps, which they completely routed.

The duchy of Lithuania alſo haſtened to ſhake off the yoke of the Ruſſians. Wilno, the capital, ſet the example to the reſt of the province. That city was garriſoned by eleven hundred Ruſſian troops, under the command of general Atchenief. The hetman of Lithuania, Koſſakowſki, who preſided over the military commiſſion, was, likewiſe, a devoted partizan of the empreſs, and ſpared no pains to keep down, by arbitrary meaſures, the riſing ſpirit of the people. For this purpoſe he determined to put under arreſt ſeveral Poliſh officers, whom he ſuſpected of entertaining ſentiments hoſtile to the intereſts of Catherine. He had not time, however, to put his deſign in execution. General Jaſinſki, one of the menaced officers, had already matured a plan of inſurrection, which was combined with much prudence and ſkill, and carried on with the utmoſt ſecrecy. The whole of the force on which he could rely conſiſted but of five Poliſh companies. With this ſlender band he, nevertheleſs, ſurprized the Ruſſian troops, in the dead of the night, and compelled them to ſurrender at diſcretion. In this daring enterprize his loſs was only one man killed, and a few ſlightly wounded. Among the priſoners made by the Poles was Koſſakowſki, who was ſpeedily brought to trial, and condemned to ſuffer the death of a traitor. As ſoon as Jaſinſki had maſtered the garriſon, the inhabitants aſſembled, and ſolemnly acceded to the act of inſurrection, which had been publiſhed at Cracow. Couriers were immediately diſpatched, to make this fortunate event known throughout the Lithuanian territory. The Ruſſians were almoſt every where attacked, overthrown, and cut off from eſcape. At Grodno, however, the Ruſſian general, prince Sicianoff, ſaved his corps from the common fate, by prudently retiring, as ſoon as he was informed of the revolt, and taking a poſition behind the Niemen, at Honoietz, where he entrenched himſelf ſo ſtrongly as to bid defiance to any attempt to diſlodge him. From Lithuania the inſurrection ſpread into Samogitia and even as far as the duchy of Courland. It was directed in thoſe provinces by the generals Bielak and Giedroye.

It was not till the beginning of May that the joyful tidings of theſe movements arrived at Cracow. On the third of that month a ſolemn Te Deum was ſung in the churches, to celebrate at once the anniverſary of the conſtitution of 1791, and the recent ſucceſſes, which, it was hoped, would lead to the re-eſtabliſhment of that conſtitution, in more than its priſtine vigour. In the evening the city was ſplendidly illuminated.

Koſciuſko, in the mean time, had not been able, ſince the battle of Raſlawice, to do more than keep the enemy at bay, and prevent him from interrupting, in other quarters, the progreſs of the inſurrection. To accompliſh even this, was an important and a difficult taſk. On his right was poſted Deniſſow, with an army conſiderably reinforced ſince its late diſaſter; in the centre, between the Poliſh camp and Warſaw, another army guarded the river Pilica; on his left, a third army was collecting in Sileſia and ſouthern Pruſſia. Strong ſeparate diviſions alſo watched the paſſes of the Viſtula, to prevent the Poliſh commander from having any communication with the inſurgents of Lublin and Chelm.

March 29.

Theſe military meaſures were, however, rendered abortive by the events which occurred in the metropolis of Poland. From the moment that the revolt of Madalinſki was known, the populace of Warſaw manifeſted their wiſhes and feelings with greater boldneſs, and the precautions and ſeverities of the Ruſſian general were, in conſequence, multiplied. To intimidate the citizens he ordered ſeveral perſons to be impriſoned; but this ſtep only irritated the Poles, without reducing them to ſilence. He then called upon the king and permanent council, to ſuſpend the privileges of the Poliſh gentry, and arreſt, without any previous formality, not only thoſe who were charged with actual guilt, but likewiſe all thoſe who were merely ſuſpected, whatever might be their rank, ſex or condition. To carry this arbitrary deſign into effect he offered the aid, if neceſſary, of the Ruſſian troops. The king and council, however, firmly replied that it was not poſſible for them to violate that fundamental law which prohibited the incarceration of individuals who had not been legally convicted.

The garriſon of Warſaw conſiſted of about twelve thouſand Ruſſian troops. As the progreſs of the inſurgents, and the increaſed animoſity of the citizens, after the battle of Raſlawice, gave reaſon to fear that Warſaw might ſhortly be expoſed to danger, either from within or from without, general Igelſtrom diſtributed his forces and his artillery in a manner calculated at once to repel external and internal attack. A diviſion of Poliſh troops was nominally joined in the defence, but the greateſt part of it was ſo placed as to be under the bayonets of the Ruſſian battalions. Fortunately for the patriots the remainder of this diviſion had the charge of the arſenal, the powder magazines and the royal reſidence. General Igelſtrom was ſtrongly preſſed by one of his officers to ſeize the arſenal, and diſarm the Poliſh ſoldiers, but the dread of producing an inſtant revolt, deterred him from following this violent advice. In aid of the preceding diſpoſitions he alſo requeſted a Pruſſian corps, of a thouſand men, to croſs the Viſtula at Sakroczim, and take poſt in the vicinity of Warſaw.

The patriots of the capital had, meanwhile, not been idle. Their plans were formed, and they only waited the favourable moment to try the fate of arms. The approach of the Pruſſian corps, and the fear that it would be followed by others, compelled them to think of commencing the conteſt. But it was general Igelſtrom himſelf who finally determined them to procraſtinate no longer. A memorial, drawn up in the moſt imperious language, and demanding the immediate arreſt of ſix-and-twenty ſuſpected perſons, was ſent April 15. by him to the permanent council. The grand chancellor prince Anthony Sulkowſki, was deputed by the council to wait upon the general and remonſtrate with him, but was received with ſuch inſolence, that his ſmothered feelings brought on a fit of apoplexy, and he was carried ſenſeleſs to his habitation. The patriots were now convinced that any further delay would be impolitic, and that they muſt truſt to their ſwords for their ſafety. Every thing, therefore, was definitively arranged for the grand and deciſive ſtruggle. Yet, for ſome days, and even up to the very hour of the exploſion, Warſaw appeared more profoundly calm than it had done for many months before. It was that kind of calm which precedes and foretels a ſtorm. The Ruſſians, nevertheleſs, regarded it as a proof that they had ſucceeded in ſubduing, by the dread of their vengeance, the refractory ſpirit of the people.

At four in the morning April 17. the thunder of cannon from the arſenal ſummoned the citizens and troops to begin the attack. General Mokronowſki, Czichocky, Sierakowſki, and Hauman, were the principal military leaders. In an inſtant nearly all Warſaw was in arms. The troops and citizens fell upon the Ruſſian poſts in every quarter with an indeſcribable fury. To penetrate to the ſpot where the hated Igelſtrom reſided was the grand object of their efforts. For ſeveral hours the conteſt raged univerſally without a moment's intermiſſion. The Poles, though ſometimes repelled, gained ground on all ſides, while their adverſaries grew weaker and weaker from the immenſe loſſes which they ſuffered. From the ſtreets, lanes, windows and tops of houſes, a heavy and conſtant fire of canon and muſketry was poured upon the Ruſſians. During the early part of the conflict ſeveral ineffectual meſſages were ſent by the king to the Ruſſian general, deſiring him to withdraw from the city. At length, finding his ſituation growing more hazardous, the general diſpatched his nephew to confer with the king; but this young officer was ſlain by the people on his way to the palace.

By noon the Poles had captured the whole of general Tiſchczow's diviſion, and had completely overpowered and nearly deſtroyed the diviſions of general Milaſchewitz, and prince Gagarin. The prince was killed and the general made priſoner. The other diviſions, though not broken, were mouldering away under the fire of their aſſailants. General Nowiczky, who was ſtationed on the right of general Milaſchewitz, now thought it prudent to provide, by a ſpeedy retreat, for the ſafety of the corps which he commanded, and which ſtill conſiſted of two thouſand men, with twenty-four pieces of artillery. He was fortunate enough to effect his eſcape and take up a poſition in the neighbourhood of the city. A fruitleſs attempt was afterwards made by a part of this body to return to the ſuccour of the commander in chief. The whole of it retired at night-fall to the diſtance of two leagues from the capital.

The attack upon that portion of the Ruſſian troops which ſtill maintained their ground continued through the afternoon, though with ſomewhat leſs vigour than in the morning. Towards evening it conſiderably ſlackened. The patriots were employed in ſecuring their captives, in ſlaughtering ſuch of the enemy as had diſperſed to pillage, and in taking meaſures to render the victory ſecure.

The Pruſſians, under general Wolky, had advanced in the morning towards the city, on hearing the cannonade and firing of muſketry. A meſſenger whom the general diſpatched to the king, to enquire whether a ſquadron of hulans, which guarded a powder magazine, was friendly or hoſtile to his majeſty, came back with an anſwer that "the king and the nation were one; "that the Ruſſians alone were their "enemies, and that his majeſty hoped "the Pruſſians would forbear from "committing any act of hoſtility." Late in the evening general Igelſtrom, in the expectation that Nowiczky had fallen back on the Pruſſians, ſent an order for the combined corps to march to his aſſiſtance. Nowicſky, however, had retired in an oppoſite direction; and Wolky did not think himſelf ſtrong enough to encounter the ſucceſsful forces of the patriots.

During the ſhort reſpite from hoſtilities, which was afforded by the night, general Igelſtrom was repeatedly preſſed, in the moſt urgent manner, by ſome of his officers, to take advantage of the darkneſs and momentary quiet, to extricate himſelf from his perilous ſituation. But he ſtill flattered himſelf with the hope, that the diviſion of Nowiczky and the Pruſſians would join him, and enable him to recover the ground which he had loſt. Pride alſo, perhaps, made him averſe from quitting as a fugitive a city in which he had ſo frequently exerciſed the authority of a maſter. It was, nevertheleſs, thought prudent to deſtroy the archives and ſecret documents belonging to the embaſſy.

At dawn of day the patriots recommenced their attack upon the diſpirited remnant of the Ruſſian garriſon. The hopes and the pride of Igelſtrom were, at length, extinguiſhed, and he began to parley with the conquerors. He was anſwered, that he muſt ſurrender at diſcretion. Paſſing from the extreme of confidence to that of dejection, he heſitated, and would, perhaps, finally have yielded, had not general Piſtor haſtened of his own accord, to make the neceſſary arrangements for forcing a way through the ſurrounding enemy. General Igelſtrom now conſented to try the experiment, though he had little hope of a favourable reſult. The experiment was, indeed, a doubtful and perilous one, as the ſtreets were crowded, the windows filled with muſketry, and the tops of the houſes lined by perſons provided with large ſtones to hurl down upon the retiring Ruſſians. Deſperate as it was, it nevertheleſs proved ſucceſsful. By making a circuit through a comparatively unguarded quarter, the Ruſſians evaded the main body of their adverſaries, reached the barriers of the city, and effected their junction with the Pruſſian troops. The party which eſcaped with general Igelſtrom did not exceed four hundred men. A ſmall and forgotten detachment, in an inſulated houſe, ſtill remained behind. It was ſtormed and put to the ſword in the evening; and its deſtruction cloſed a conteſt which, with little intermiſſion, had continued for the ſpace of more than forty hours.

Seven thouſand Ruſſians periſhed on theſe two memorable days. The number of officers who were among the ſlain was uncommonly great; a circumſtance which aroſe from ſo many having quitted their duty in the provinces to enjoy the pleaſures of the metropolis. Three thouſand priſoners fell into the hands of the victors. The loſs ſuſtained by the patriots was trifling when compared with that of their adverſaries. It was ſtated at leſs than five hundred in killed and wounded, and the ſtatement is not improbable, as the Poles were partly ſheltered from the enemy's fire, and moſt of the Ruſſians were either ſlain from the windows, or while they were employed in plundering, or while they were flying from their purſuers.

After joining the Pruſſians general Igelſtrom retired behind the Narew, where he remained for a few days. He then croſſed the Viſtula, called to his aid the corps of general Nowiczky, and, having collected together ſeven thouſand men, he took poſt at Lowicz, in order to keep open his communication with ſouthern Pruſſia, and with the army of general Deniſſow, which was now in the neighbourhood of Opatow, in the palatinate of Sendomir.

From Warſaw meſſengers were immediately diſpatched to inform the generaliſſimo of the happy reſult of the conteſt with the Ruſſians, and to deſire his inſtructions as to the proper ſteps to be taken. In the mean time, the patriots eſtabliſhed a proviſional council, conſiſting of fourteen perſons, eight choſen from among the nobles and ſix from the claſs of citizens, to conduct the public affairs. Zakrewſki, a zealous partizan of the conſtitution of 1791, was appointed civil governor of Warſaw. General Mokronowſki was charged with the military preparations. Immediately upon its inſtalment the council ſent a deputation to aſſure the king of its reſpect and attachment, and to requeſt that he would continue to reſide in the capital. A favourable anſwer was returned by his majeſty.

One of the firſt meaſures of the proviſional government was the arreſt of thoſe perſons who had betrayed their country by eſpouſing the cauſe of Ruſſia. A tribunal was ſpeedily formed for their trial. The firſt victims to juſtice were count Anckwitz, preſident of the permanent council, Ozarowſki, grand general of the crown, Joſeph Zabiello, and Koſſakowſki, biſhop of Livonia, the brother of the hetman who ſuffered at Wilno. They were ſentenced to death, on the evidence of their own correſpondence with general Igelſtrom, which was found in his houſe after his flight from Warſaw.

Under the care of general Mokronowſki the meaſures for putting the city in a poſture of defence were carried on with unremitted vigour. The inhabitants were embodied and exerciſed; and formidable entrenchments were traced, on which, young and old, both men and women, rich and poor, nobles and peaſants, inceſſantly worked, with a truly patriotic ardour.

From all quarters thoſe whom the tyranny of the Ruſſians had driven into baniſhment now began to return. Among theſe illuſtrious exiles were prince Sapieha, the venerable count Staniſlaus Malachowſki, count Ignatius Potocki, prince Joſeph Poniatowſki, and the vice-chancellor Kolontay.

Notwithſtanding the unequivocal countenance which the king had, on the great day of action, given to the patriotic party, the people ſtill beheld him with a prejudiced and ſuſpicious eye. Reports were ſpread that he intended to eſcape, and the capital was thrown into a ſtate of fermentation. Eight members of the proviſional council were under the neceſſity of waiting upon his majeſty to requeſt that he would tranquillize the citizens, by allowing two municipal officers always to attend him, and by appearing in public as much as poſſible. They executed this painful taſk in a reſpectful and even delicate manner. Though wounded to the ſoul by this mark of undeſerved diſtruſt from his ſubjects, the king readily conſented to comply with their wiſhes. Still further to manifeſt his ſentiments he ſent a part of his plate to the mint, to contribute towards the exigences of the ſtate, and applied the remainder to relieve the families of thoſe individuals who had ſacrificed their lives in the late ſtruggle for liberty.

Towards the cloſe of May, count Ignatius Potocki, and the vice-chancellor Kolontay arrived at Warſaw from the camp of Koſciuſko, with his inſtructions as to the mode of conducting the government. The proviſional council was, in conſequence, diſſolved, and a national council eſtabliſhed, conſiſting of eight counſellors, and thirty-two deputies. Kolontay was entruſted with the financial department, Wielowiſki with the military affairs, and Ignatius Potocki with the diplomatic arrangements. It was ordered by Koſciuſko that the council ſhould make a report to his majeſty of their deliberations, and ſhould requeſt his opinion on all ſubjects connected with the welfare of the ſtate. The king was informed of this order by a letter from the generaliſſimo himſelf; and he returned his acknowledgments in language which ſhowed how highly his feelings were gratified by ſuch a proof of attention and confidence.

May 28.

Koſciuſko, meanwhile, was fully employed in making head againſt the numerous enemies whom he had to oppoſe. Entrenched at Polaniec, on the Viſtula, he had in his front the army of Deniſſow, which occupied a ſtrong poſition at Staſzow. The Pruſſian army was alſo rapidly aſſembling in ſouthern Pruſſia and Sileſia, under general Favrat.

In order to diſlodge Deniſſow, and thus make himſelf maſter of the courſe of the Viſtula, the generaliſſimo ſent inſtructions to general Grochowſki, who commanded at Chelm, to endeavour to force his way over the river, and form a junction with the grand Poliſh army. Grochowſki executed this movement in a manner which did him infinite credit. Feigning a deſign to croſs the Viſtula near its confluence with the San, he drew to that quarter the greateſt part of the Ruſſian troops which guarded the river; and, having done this, he left a corps to amuſe the enemy with the ſemblance of preparation, while, by a rapid and ſtolen march of ſeveral leagues, he reached and ſurprized a feebly pro-

-tected poſt in the vicinity of Pulawi, where, with ten thouſand men, he effected his paſſage in ſafety. By the ſucceſs of this ſkilful manœuvre general Deniſſow was placed between two hoſtile armies.

The corps of general Deniſſow would probably have ſuffered ſeverely had not the Pruſſian army, by this time, advanced on the Poliſh territory. It had penetrated as far as Pilica, about eight leagues from the city of Cracow. To extricate Deniſſow from his diſagreeable ſituation, he was ordered to form a junction with the Pruſſians; while the latter made a diverſion on the rear of Koſciuſko. The plan ſucceeded. A Poliſh diviſion, detached from Cracow, was defeated at Skala, and the Ruſſians and Pruſſians united their forces without any oppoſition. The combined armies then encamped in the neighbourhood of Szczekocin, where, in a few days, Frederic William himſelf arrived, to aſſume the command.

Having been reinforced by the diviſion of general Grochowſki, Koſciuſko quitted his poſition near Polaniec, and took another at Jędrzejow, a ſhort diſtance from that which was occupied by the combined armies. His ſtrength did not conſiſt of more than fifteen or ſixteen thouſand regular troops, and ſome thouſand peaſants; but he reſolved, nevertheleſs, to try the iſſue of a battle, in the hope of preventing the enemy from eſtabliſhing themſelves firmly on the Poliſh territory.

With this intention Koſciuſko marched from Jedrzejow to the vicinity of Szczekocin. It appears to have been his plan to attack with his whole ſtrength the corps of general Deniſſow, before it could be ſupported by the Pruſſian army. In this, however, he was diſappointed. The tardy arrival of ſome of his columns rendered it impoſſible for him to begin the conteſt that night; and, when the morning dawned, the Ruſſians and Pruſſians had not only joined, and formed in order of battle, but relying upon their numbers, which amounted to more than forty thouſand men, had reſolved to anticipate the Poliſh general, by becoming themſelves the aſſailants.

June 6.

The battle commenced at eleven in the morning by a heavy cannonade on both ſides. The fire of the Poles was ſo much ſuperior that the Pruſſians ſuffered ſeverely. Frederic William therefore ordered his infantry to advance and attack the enemy. This was done with much gallantry, but without ſucceſs. The left of the aſſailants was broken and compelled to retire. The Pruſſian monarch then directed the cavalry to charge, which it did, though with as little ſucceſs as the infantry had done. It was driven back with great ſlaughter. In repelling this charge the peaſants particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their undaunted bravery. Victory was on the point of declaring for the Poles, when the flight of a part of their left, ſaid to be occaſioned by the fall of general Grochowſki, turned the ſcale againſt them, and compelled Koſciuſko to give up the conteſt. He effected his retreat nearly unmoleſted to Malagoſzez, and from thence to Kielce. The loſs ſuſtained by the Poles did not exceed eleven hundred men; that of the combined armies was ſcarcely, if at all, inferior. Seventeen pieces of cannon were abandoned to the conquerors. The circumſtance moſt to be lamented on this occaſion by the Poles was the death of the gallant Grochowſki, who expired the next day, and was interred at Malagoſzez.

The defeat of the principal Poliſh army was ſpeedily followed by that of the army ſtationed in the diſtrict of Chelm, which, after the junction of Grochowſki with Koſciuſko, had been confided to general Zajonczeck. The latter army was poſted between Chelm and Dubienca. June 10. Here it was attacked by a Ruſſian force under general Derfelden, and, after an obſtinate reſiſtance was obliged to quit the field, with the loſs of fourteen hundred men, and eight pieces of artillery. The diſcomfiture in this inſtance alſo was cauſed by the death of an officer, colonel Chomentowſki, whoſe fall ſpread diſcouragement and confuſion among the armed peaſants of the diviſion which he commanded.

The victory of Szczekocin enabled the Pruſſian monarch to diſpatch an army, under general Elſner, to reduce Cracow, the cradle of the Poliſh inſurrection. The city was not in a ſtate to maintain a ſiege, and Koſciuſko had, in conſequence given orders to Winiaſki, the governor, to deliver it up to the Auſtrians, whenever a Pruſſian army approached its walls. By this politic meaſure he hoped to excite a jealouſy between Auſtria and Pruſſia. In obedience to theſe orders, Winiaſki, as ſoon as he heard of the arrival of the enemy in the neighbourhood, offered to ſurrender the place to the commander of the imperial forces in Galicia, but that officer did not think it proper to accept the offer without conſulting the cabinet at Vienna. June 15. Before an anſwer could be received the Pruſſians had reached Cracow, and prepared for its reduction. General Winiaſki was, therefore, under the neceſſity of evacuating the city, and retiring, with his diviſion, upon the Galician territory. A favourable capitulation was, nevertheleſs, granted to the citizens by the Pruſſian general.

Theſe diſaſters, far from depreſſing the courage of Koſciuſko only ſtimulated him to retrieve them by more than ordinary vigour. From his camp at Kielce he iſſued a proclamation, commanding all the Poliſh generals on the frontiers, to puſh forward, whenever they found it practicable, into the Pruſſian and Ruſſian territory, and offer liberty to the degraded and oppreſſed people. The confiſcated property of traitors was held out as the ultimate reward of thoſe officers who diſplayed a patriotic zeal; but they were ſtrictly forbidden to conſider as lawful booty from the enemy any thing which was not the property of the hoſtile governments.

Though the late reverſes ſuffered by the armies did but excite the ſober and reflecting part of the community to increaſed exertion, they produced a terrible effect on the raſh, iraſcible and ignorant, whom they irritated to acts of fatal and diſgraceful violence. June 27. At Warſaw a furious mob aſſembled before the palace of the national council, charged the criminal tribunal with treaſon, in ſo long delaying juſtice upon the traitors, and demanded that the priſoners ſhould be inſtantly put to death. Several gibbets were ſpeedily erected by the rioters for the execution of their victims. The tribunal, however, inſtead of complying with their demand, immediately ſet at liberty all the priſoners who were only ſlightly ſuſpected, ſent a force to pull down the gibbets, and endeavoured to diſperſe the mob by a promiſe that the trials of the perſons who ſeemed moſt guilty ſhould be brought to a ſpeedy concluſion. Not ſatisfied with this promiſe, the rioters, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the magiſtrates, broke into the priſon, and ſeized nine of the moſt obnoxious individuals, whom they led to the gibbets which had again been erected. At length the magiſtrates ſucceeded in quelling the tumult, though not without imminent danger to themſelves. The preſident Zakrewſki was wounded in ſaving a priſoner from the hands of the ruffians.

This horrible outrage againſt the laws was not allowed to remain unpuniſhed. The principal ringleaders of the maſſacre were executed; others, leſs criminal, were ſentenced to long impriſonment or baniſhment; and thoſe who had borne a ſtill ſmaller ſhare in the ſanguinary tranſaction, were ſent to join the army, in order to give them an opportunity of expiating by their future valour the ſhameful crime which they had committed. An animated proclamation was likewiſe publiſhed by Koſciuſko, ſeverely reprobating the paſt exceſſes, and exhorting the people not to ſully in future the glorious cauſe of liberty and juſtice, for which they were now in arms.

It is impoſſible not to contraſt the different conduct of the Poles and the French, on an occaſion ſomewhat ſimilar. At Paris the maſſacres were allowed to continue three days; at Warſaw they were almoſt immediately ſuppreſſed. At Paris thouſands of individuals notoriouſly innocent were ſlaughtered; at Warſaw nine perſons only, and thoſe notoriouſly enemies to their country, were immolated by the furious mob. At Paris the aſſaſſins were protected and rewarded; at Warſaw they were brought to ſpeedy and condign puniſhment. The parallel might be ſtill further continued, with equal diſadvantage to the character of the French.

The emperor had hitherto taken no part in the conteſt between the Poles and their enemies. But, whether he now foreſaw a new partition and was anxious to ſecure a ſhare in the ſpoil, or whether he really felt ſome alarm for the ſafety of his frontiers, he, at length, under the latter pretext, diſpatched an army into the palatinates which bordered upon Galicia. July 1. His troops, however, committed no hoſtilities againſt the Poles; who, on their ſide, ſeemed to conſider them rather as friendly viſitants than as invaders of the country. This mutual forbearance was carried ſo far as even to give riſe to a report that the Auſtrians were ultimately intended to act as the auxiliaries of the Poles. By Pruſſia, which believed that the emperor wiſhed to appropriate to himſelf the palatinate of Cracow, the Auſtrian army was looked upon with a jealous and malignant eye.

Notwithſtanding the courage and ſkill of Koſciuſko, the overpowering numbers of the combined forces compelled him to fall back gradually towards the Poliſh metropolis. Retiring from Kielce, he firſt took a poſition behind the Pilica, at Warca and Gura, and next at Tarczyn and Piaſeczna, whence he finally withdrew under the walls of Warſaw, and poſted his army in four ſtrongly fortified camps, which had been prepared for its reception. Theſe camps and the other works of the city were defended by a formidable artillery, conſiſting of more than a hundred and fifty cannon and mortars.

The inveſtment of Warſaw, which had for ſome time been partially formed, was completed on the twenty-ſixth of July by the combined Pruſſian and Ruſſian armies, under Frederic William, and Baron Ferſen, the ſucceſſor of general Igelſtrom. A bombardment was immediately commenced, which was anſwered with ſuch ſpirit by the Poles, that the beſiegers thought proper to diſcontinue their fire till the arrival of the whole of the battering train from the fortreſſes of Graudentz and Breſlaw. In the mean time Frederic William made an effort to obtain the ſurrender of the place by the means of negotiation. He was foiled in his attempt. His ſummons was anſwered by defiance, and a letter of exhortation which he addreſſed to Staniſlaus was replied to, by that monarch, in language not merely of firm refuſal, but alſo of keen and dignified reproof.

The trenches were opened on the twelfth of Auguſt, and the ſiege was preſſed forward with all poſſible vigour. Little progreſs was, nevertheleſs, made by the beſieging armies. Not an inch of ground was gained that was not bought at a dreadful expence of human blood. The Poles in every action diſplayed the greateſt bravery, and their numerous ſallies kept the enemy in perpetual alarm. Towards the end of the month, however, the beſiegers began to flatter themſelves with the hope of attaining their object. After a deſperate ſtruggle, they ſucceeded in ſtorming ſix redoubts, and defeating the corps of prince Joſeph Poniatowſki. Several ſallies of the Poles to recover the loſt redoubts, and deſtroy the batteries of the beſiegers, were likewiſe repulſed, though not without much difficulty and ſlaughter on the part of the victors.

Frederic William, notwithſtanding theſe encouraging circumſtances, was doomed to experience once more the mortification of being baffled by an enemy whom he had affected to deſpiſe. Shortly after the commencement of the ſiege of Warſaw an inſurrection broke out at Gombyn in ſouthern Pruſſia, which, at firſt, excited little apprehenſion, but ſoon ſpread, with the rapidity of a conflagration, over the whole of the province. The Pruſſian eagles were every where torn down, the Pruſſian detachments routed, and the ſupplies for the armies intercepted, by the numerous bands of inſurgents. The arrival of the active Madalinſki with a reinforcement gave ſtrength and conſiſtence to this new inſurrection, which now menaced the rear of the Pruſſian monarch, deprived him of the means of ſubſiſting his troops, inſulated him from his dominions, and expoſed him, in the caſe of his ſuſtaining a defeat, to the moſt imminent danger.

Reluctant as he was to quit his anticipated prey, Frederic William was, at length, compelled to give up all thoughts of reducing Warſaw to ſubmiſſion. On the ſixth of September, after having lain nearly two months before the city, he raiſed the ſiege, ſpiked a part of his artillery, and retired, haraſſed by the Poles, towards his own frontier. General Ferſen alſo, too weak to think of oppoſing the patriots, retreated, and took poſt on the confines of the palatinate of Sendomir. The triumph of the Poles on this great occaſion was complete, and their exultation unbounded; nor can it be denied that they merited, by their conſtancy and valour, the ſucceſs which they obtained over their perfidious and inveterate enemies.

CHAP. IV.

Determination of the empreſs to deſtroy the independence of Poland. Policy of holding back her force till the preſent period. Strength and poſition of the Poliſh armies. Exertions made by the empreſs to enſure the ſucceſs of her arms. Famine, in conſequence, in two of the Ruſſian frontier provinces. Actions in Lithuania. Ruſſians twice defeated. They are victorious in a third combat. Wilno taken by aſſault. Proceedings in ſouthern Pruſſia. Madalinſki defeats the Pruſſians at Bromberg. Advance of the principal Ruſſian army, under count Alexander Suwarrow. Character of Suwarrow. Rapid march to encounter the Poles. Poſition of the Poliſh army, under Sierakowſki. Some Poliſh detachments cut off. Sierakowſki takes a new defenſive poſition. He is attacked by Suwarrow, and defeated, with the loſs of three thouſand men, after a gallant reſiſtance. He retires behind the Bug, and takes a poſition near Brzeſc, with the intention of halting only long enough to repoſe his army. Suwarrow again marches to give him battle, and croſſes the Bug, which the Poliſh general had thought it impoſſible for him to do. Battle of Brzeſc. The Poles maintain a long and deſperate ſtruggle, but are, at length, overcome, and nearly the whole of them deſtroyed. Suwarrow halts at Brzeſc to receive reinforcements. Steps taken by Koſciuſko on receiving the news of Sierakowſki's defeat. After poſting a new army to oppoſe Suwarrow, he viſits the Lithuanian army, and orders its general to call in the ſeparate corps, and prepare for action. Maſterly plan of Koſciuſko, to prevent the junction of Ferſen with Suwarrow, and to attack the latter in front, while Mokronowſki attacked him in the rear. The plan is fruſtrated by Ferſen's croſſing the Viſtula. Koſciuſko haſtens to oppoſe him. Error of prince Poninſki. Ferſen attacks Koſciuſko at Maceiowice with a ſuperior force. Sanguinary conteſt. The Ruſſians are at length victorious. Koſciuſko is unfortunately wounded and made priſoner. The chiefs of the patriots raiſe general Wawrzecky to the ſupreme command. They iſſue a ſpirited proclamation to the people. Ferſen writes to the king to demand the releaſe of the Ruſſian priſoners taken in Warſaw. Anſwer of his majeſty. The patriots reſolve to confine themſelves to the defence of Warſaw and Praga. The Poliſh armies ordered to fall back on the capital. Movements of Suwarrow. He hopes to intercept the army of Mokronowſki, but is diſappointed. Defeat of a Poliſh diviſion at Hobylka. Suwarrow determines to attempt carrying the fortifications of Praga by aſſault. Angry correſpondence between generals Zajonczeck and Suwarrow. Meaſures taken by the patriots to enable Praga to make an obſtinate reſiſtance. Ruſſian army appears before Praga, and erects formidable batteries. Preparations for the aſſault. The aſſault is given, and the place is carried with a horrible ſlaughter of the garriſon. Negociation for the ſurrender of Warſaw. Surrender carried into effect. Poliſh army attempts to effect its retreat. It is finally compelled to lay down its arms.

Fate of ſeveral of the Poliſh chiefs. Partition of Poland. Courland united to Ruſſia. Abdication of the unfortunate king of Poland. Concluſion.

THE triumph and the hopes of the patriotic Poles, on the retreat of the Pruſſians, were, unfortunately of brief duration. The brilliant gleam of light, which they hailed as the omen of a glorious day, was deſtined to be ſoon obſcured by utter and irretrievable darkneſs. Frederic William, equally ill-fated, and equally worthy of contempt, in Poland as in France, was indeed diſgracefully driven from before the walls of their capital; but they had now to contend for their national exiſtence, with an adverſary far his ſuperior in all the great indiſpenſable requiſites of vigour, wiſdom and perſeverance. The empreſs Catherine had ſworn to blot out Poland from the liſt of independent nations; and her troops, under experienced generals, were at this moment in motion, from all quarters, to execute her ambitious and unjuſt deſign. She had not hitherto put forth her immenſe ſtrength; and it has been conjectured, with much appearance of reaſon, that a wily policy induced her to hold back from the conteſt, till the defeat and weakneſs of the Pruſſian monarch, left her abſolute miſtreſs of the terms, in a diviſion of the ſpoil.

The military force of the Poles, though animated by a love of liberty, a reſentment of paſt wrongs, and a dread of future ſufferings, was not ſufficiently powerful to cope with the numerous armies of the Imperial ſpoiler. A diviſion of leſs than ten thouſand men watched the Auſtrians, and a Ruſſian corps, on the frontier of Galicia. Sierakowſki, at the head of about fifteen thouſand troops, was poſted, in the palatinate of Brzeſc, to retard the advance of general count Suwarrow, who had more than twice that number. Lithuania, menaced by an army of ſeventeen thouſand men, under prince Repnin, was committed to the protection of a very inferior force, commanded by Mokronowſki, Michael Wielhorſki, George Grabowſki, and Jaſinſki. In Great Poland, Madalinſki and Dombrowſki, whoſe army conſiſted only of a few thouſand ſoldiers, and a crowd of badly-armed peaſants, had to keep in check nearly forty thouſand Pruſſians. The remaining army, of ſeventeen thouſand men, under the orders of Koſciuſko, was kept ready to march to whatever part of the kingdom might appear to be moſt endangered by the progreſs of the enemy.

The utmoſt exertions were made by the empreſs to provide for the ſubſiſtence of the troops which ſhe was pouring into Poland. The frontier Ruſſian provinces were even drained for this purpoſe, and in one or two of them, the conſequence is ſaid to have been a famine, ſo ſevere that thouſands of peaſants died for want of nouriſhment, and numbers continued to protract their miſerable exiſtence only by living on herbs, and bread made of the bark of the birch.

During the ſiege of Warſaw, the Ruſſians had made ſome progreſs in the duchy of Lithuania. In two attacks they were worſted, and ſuffered ſeverely; but having received a large reinforcement, they once more returned to the conteſt. Their third effort was ſucceſsful. On the twelfth of Auguſt the Poliſh army was defeated, and compelled to retire to the neighbourhood of Grodno. The victors carried Wilno by aſſault.

In ſouthern Pruſſia, and likewiſe in eaſtern Pruſſia, into which the inſurrection had ſpread, the Poles maintained the ſtruggle with their adverſaries upon equal terms. Notwithſtanding even the return of the Pruſſian army into theſe provinces, the Poliſh generals, for a long while, not only kept their ground, but excited in the breaſt of Frederic William ſerious fears for the ſafety of his ancient territories. His troops ſuſtained ſeveral defeats; particularly one, on the ſecond of October, at Bromberg, where a conſiderable Pruſſian diviſion was entirely routed, and colonel Szekuli was mortally wounded, and taken priſoner by the troops of Madalinſki.

From another quarter, however, the torrent was, meanwhile, advancing, which was to ſweep away not only the liberty, but the very name of Poland. The principal Ruſſian army, commanded by count Alexander Suwarrow, was in full march, and was rendered ſtill more formidable by the talents and character of its leader, than by its numerical ſtrength. Active, indefatigable, endowed with a penetrating genius, and, above all, accuſtomed to conquer, even when conqueſt ſeemed impoſſible, Suwarrow poſſeſſed an unbounded influence over the minds of his troops, who almoſt believed themſelves to be invincible as ſoon as they beheld him at their head. Such was the general to whom Catherine confided the taſk of ſubduing Poland.

It was on the fourteenth of Auguſt that Suwarrow put his army in motion from Nimierow, in the palatinate of Braclaw. The roads were broken up, and the fords made nearly impracticable, by continued rains; yet with ſo much rapidity did he puſh forward, that in ſixteen days, during which he had halted only two, he reached Nowy Kowel, on the Przypice, a diſtance of more than three hundred miles from the place of his departure. As uſual, he ſhared with the ſoldiers all their fatigues and privations. At Nowy Kowel he was joined by ſeven battalions and twenty-ſeven ſquadrons, under generals Buxhovden and Markow.

Sierakowſki was, at this moment, poſted near Krupzyce; his advanced poſts extending to Kobryn. He was yet unapprized of the near approach of Suwarrow, whom he imagined to be at Warkowice, in the palatinate of Wolhynia. Under the influence of this miſtake, he was preparing to move onwards and cruſh the feeble diviſions of Buxhovden and Markow, the only enemies with which at preſent he expected to have to encounter.

Suwarrow, however, was beforehand with the Poliſh general. After a ſhort halt at Kowel, he began his march towards Kobryn, for the purpoſe of giving battle to the army of Sierakowſki. On the route his van guard, compoſed of Coſſacks, deſtroyed a Poliſh detachment of two hundred men, in the neighbourhood of Divin. From this place the Ruſſian general puſhed forward with a part of his cavalry to Kobryn, ſurpriſed the advanced poſts of the patriots, killed three hundred men, and made a hundred priſoners. The moſt valuable reſult of this ſucceſs, was the capture of a magazine, well furniſhed with proviſions and forage, of which articles the conquerors were in extreme want.

At Kobryn, the Ruſſian commander was compelled to pauſe for a ſhort time, to repoſe his troops, wait for the coming up of his baggage, and make arrangements for his further progreſs. Sierakowſki, on his part, as ſoon as he was apprized of the arrival of the Ruſſians, diſplayed much ſkill and promptitude in taking meaſures to ſtop the career of his formidable antagoniſt. His firſt intention was to fall upon the enemy, but this he relinquiſhed, on the diſcovery of a ſtrong defenſive poſition, which he immediately occupied. In his front the ground, cloſe and wooded, gradually declined till it reached a moraſs, two hundred paces wide, to prevent the paſſage of which five powerful batteries were erected by the Poles. A houſe on the other ſide of the moraſs was likewiſe entrenched, and provided with artillery.

Undeterred by theſe obſtacles, Suwarrow reſolved, at all hazards, to diſlodge Sierakowſki. For this purpoſe the Ruſſian army marched from Kobryn, forded the little river Machawiza, and ſoon arrived in ſight of the patriots, before whom it drew up in order of battle. A warm fire was immediately opened from the Ruſſian cannon and mortars; a ſhell from one of the latter of which falling upon the entrenched houſe, ſet it in flames, and obliged the detachment which held it to withdraw to the other ſide of the moraſs.

Sept. 17.

The Ruſſian army was then formed in two columns, to force its way over the moraſs. The neighbouring dwellings of the peaſants were demoliſhed, and the planks and rafters employed by the ſoldiers to facilitate the paſſage, which was effected in an hour, in ſpite of an animated cannonade from the Poliſh batteries. Sierakowſki had, in the mean time, taken up a new poſition, where he waited to receive the attack. The Ruſſians, after a few diſcharges, advanced againſt him with fixed bayonets. The Poles ſtood the ſhock with the utmoſt intrepidity, and the combat was long and doubtful. At length they were thrown into ſome diſorder, and compelled to fall back. Sierakowſki now thought it neceſſary to commence his retreat. He formed his troops into a ſquare, flanked by cavalry, and retired ſlowly from the field. This ſquare was vehemently attacked in the rear by the Ruſſian infantry, and on both flanks by the cavalry, which had turned it by making a circuit during the battle, but it, nevertheleſs, favoured by the night and the nature of the country, ſucceeded in averting the danger which threatened it, and reached Brzeſc in ſafety. The ſlain and wounded of the Poles were ſaid to amount to three thouſand men, among whom was general Ruſchize, and a large proportion of officers. The loſs of the Ruſſians was ſtated at three hundred; a calculation too ſmall to merit belief, when the advantageous poſt of the Poles, and the ſtubbornneſs of their reſiſtance, are taken into conſideration.

Croſſing the Bug, at Brzeſc, Sierakowſki poſted his army behind that river, and determined to draw nearer to the capital, as ſoon as his troops had been refreſhed by a halt of a few hours. As he was not aware that the victors could approach him by any other route than that of Brzeſc, the bridge at that town was guarded by a diviſion and a formidable battery. The precaution was unfortunately fruitleſs. Two practicable fords exiſted, and theſe were pointed out to the Ruſſian general by a traitorous jew, who likewiſe offered to ſerve as a guide to the Ruſſian forces.

Suwarrow, as we have ſeen, was not one of thoſe leaders who ſuffer the graſs to grow under their feet. It was beſides of the utmoſt importance to him, if poſſible, to cruſh the army which Sierakowſki commanded, as its eſcape would materially embarraſs, if not fruſtrate, his future operations. To purſue it towards the capital would be impoſſible, without carrying magazines to ſupply the Imperial troops; leaving behind ſtrong detachments to keep open the communication; and, even then, running great riſk of having them cut off by the numerous inſurgents in the duchy of Lithuania.

Impreſſed with this idea, Suwarrow followed the retreating Poles with ſcarcely a moment's delay. At two o'clock in the morning of the nineteenth, his army moved from Teiſchen, paſſed the fords of the Machawiza, and by Sept. 19. day-break arrived on the banks of the Bug. The alarm-bells of Brzeſc, and the appearance of the hoſtile columns traverſing the river, firſt announced to Sierakowſki that the Ruſſians were at hand. He inſtantly ſtruck his camp, ranged his troops in order, and ſeemed reſolved to try the event of a battle.

The entire of the army having made good its paſſage, Suwarrow ordered general Chevitch to attack the left of the Poles with the cavalry of the right, while the whole of the line moved forward to the combat. But it was not the intention of Sierakowſki to hazard an engagement; and he, therefore, formed his infantry into three cloſe deep columns, with artillery in the intervals, and began to retire, ſupported by his cavalry.

On perceiving this movement, count Suwarrow commanded general Iſlenieff to fall ſword in hand on the Poles, with the Coſſacks and cavalry of the left. Iſlenieff accordingly charged the firſt column, both in front and flank, but was received by ſuch a dreadful diſcharge of grape ſhot and muſketry, that he was driven back with ſevere ſlaughter. Thrice the attempt was repeated, and every time with the ſame diſaſtrous reſult. At length, however, the column was broken, and partly deſtroyed.

While this was paſſing, the two other columns had occupied an advantageous poſition, on a riſing ground, their front covered by the village of Koroſchin, and their right by a thick wood, in which Sierakowſki haſtily eſtabliſhed a maſked battery of eight pieces of cannon. But, on the approach of the Ruſſian line, the Poliſh general, not finding himſelf ſtrong enough to maintain his poſt, retired in three columns, and endeavoured to reach the wood, where the enemy's horſe would be unable to act. Two of the columns were on the point of accompliſhing their purpoſe, when they were intercepted by the Ruſſian cavalry. Compelled to enter upon the unequal conteſt, they defended themſelves with the moſt deſperate courage. The Ruſſians, nevertheleſs, at length, gained the aſcendant. The firſt column was nearly annihilated; the brave men who compoſed it periſhed in their ranks, and diſdained to aſk for quarter. Of the ſecond column, a conſiderable part effected its eſcape. The victors now fell upon the third column and the battery, and were ultimately ſucceſsful, after another conflict, as obſtinate and as ſanguinary as the former had been. Even yet the reſiſtance was not at an end. The broken Poliſh troops rallied in the village of Dobrin, renewed the combat, and could be finally overwhelmed only by ſuperior numbers and a formidable artillery. At two in the afternoon, the battle, which had continued ſix hours, was cloſed, and the Ruſſians remained maſters of the field. By this terrible and deciſive blow nearly the whole of Sierakowſki's army was deſtroyed. Ten thouſand Poles are ſaid to have been ſlain. Such was the fury with which both parties fought, that not more than five hundred priſoners were taken by the conquerors, whoſe other trophies conſiſted of twenty-eight pieces of cannon, and two ſtandards. The loſs ſuffered by the Ruſſians, though far inferior to that of their adverſaries, was undoubtedly conſiderable.

Weakened even by his victories, Suwarrow was compelled to halt at Brzeſc, in order to repoſe his troops, and receive reinforcements. This poſition gave him the advantage of depriving the capital of one of the ſources on which it principally relied for its ſubſiſtence. It likewiſe prevented the Poliſh army from raiſing recruits in a quarter which had hitherto diſplayed an extraordinary degree of ſpirit in arming for the patriotic cauſe.

The inſtant that the news of Sierakowſki's defeat arrived in the capital, Koſciuſko, not leſs active than Suwarrow, took meaſures for averting the diſaſtrous conſequences. Quitting Warſaw, he haſtened to the diviſion of Knetchevitch which was poſted at Sielce, midway between Brzeſc and the capital. To this diviſion, conſiſting of two thouſand men, and the fugitives from the late battle, he joined a diviſion of ſix thouſand, and ordered the whole to occupy a ſtrong poſt at Loſchiz, under the command of Sierakowſki, to oppoſe in front the progreſs of the Ruſſian general. Having made theſe arrangements, he ſat off on the ſame day to Grodno, to confer with Mokronowſki. This general he directed to call in all his ſeparate detachments, proceed to Bielſk, and hold himſelf in readineſs to move, on receiving further inſtructions. From Grodno the generaliſſimo returned to the Poliſh capital.

The plan on which Koſciuſko intended to act was ſuch as could have been formed by none but an able general. Since the combined forces had been compelled to raiſe the ſiege of Warſaw, general Ferſen had remained on the left bank of the Viſtula. It was his wiſh to croſs the river, and effect a junction with Suwarrow. He was, however, ſo cloſely watched by prince Adam Poninſki, who was poſted on the right bank, that he had hitherto been unable to accompliſh his deſign. In order to prevent the junction of his two adverſaries, Koſciuſko now occupied a central poſition at Lukow, about mid-way between Brzeſc and the Viſtula, and he hoped, by rapidity of movement, to be enabled to give each of the Ruſſian commanders ſuch a deciſive blow as would free the patriotic cauſe from all danger, during the preſent campaign. Suwarrow, as the moſt formidable, was the firſt object of his attention. That general he determined to attack in front, with all the force he could muſter, while Mokronowſki, at the head of the united Lithuanian diviſions, made an attack on the rear. Thus aſſailed by ſuperior numbers, and placed between two fires, the Ruſſian commander would, he flattered himſelf, be inevitably overthrown.

This well-concerted plan was unfortunately rendered abortive, by circumſtances over which the generaliſſimo had no controul. At the moment when he had fully prepared for the conteſt with Suwarrow, and only waited the arrival of Mokronowſki at Bielſk, he was called, fatally for his country, to the banks of the Viſtula, where the vigilance of Poninſki had, at length, been baffled by the ſkill of his antagoniſt.

Poſted at Koſienice, Ferſen employed more than a fortnight in ſecretly procuring the neceſſary materials to effect the paſſage of the river. When every thing was ready, he, by a maſterly manœuvre, contrived to delude the Poliſh prince, and to make him believe that he intended to croſs with the main body of the Ruſſian army, not at Koſienice, but at Pulawi, ſeveral leagues higher up the Viſtula. Falling completely into the ſnare, Poninſki hurried towards Pulawi, and, in the mean time, the whole of the Ruſſian force paſſed from Koſienice to the right bank of the Viſtula, without any oppoſition.

On commencing his march to Pulawi, prince Poninſki diſpatched a meſſenger to apprize Koſciuſko of the movements of the enemy. Under the influence of the error into which he had been led, he informed the generaliſſimo that a Ruſſian diviſion had croſſed at Koſienice, but that it was only a feeble part of the hoſtile army.

Deceived by this intelligence, Koſciuſko immediately marched with little more than nine thouſand men, and ſome of them recruits, to fall on the inſulated diviſion which had accompliſhed its paſſage. When he arrived, however, near the enemy, he found that he had to encounter, not a feeble corps, but the whole of the Ruſſian army, which was nearly twice as ſtrong as his own. But to recede was now impoſſible; and he therefore occupied a poſition at Maceiowice, entrenched himſelf, and ſent orders to Poninſki to join him without a moment's delay.

Ferſen, whoſe ſuperior numbers inſpired him with the hope of vanquiſhing the principal defender of Poliſh liberty, reſolved to make an attack upon the army of Koſciuſko, before the diviſion of Poninſki could advance to its ſuccour. At nightfall he diſpatched general Deniſſow by a circuitous road, with a conſiderable body of troops, and eight pieces of artillery, to turn the left flank of the Poles; and at midnight he himſelf marched with the remainder of his force, conſiſting of fourteen battalions, thirty-three ſquadrons, and thirty-ſix field pieces.

The movements of the Ruſſians were ſo well combined, that the two generals arrived together, at break of day. Oct. 10. The Poliſh camp was directly aſſailed in all quarters. The aſſailants, notwithſtanding, met with the moſt determined reſiſtance. For ſeveral hours they were unable to make the ſlighteſt impreſſion upon the gallant patriots. Koſciuſko, on this trying occaſion, diſplayed prodigies of valour and ſkill. Wherever the battle raged moſt furiouſly there was he found, animating and leading forward his ſoldiers. But, at length, the numerical ſuperiority of the Ruſſians prevailed over the deſperate bravery of their antagoniſts. The conflict, which had been unremittingly ſuſtained from the dawn of day, was concluded at one in the afternoon, not by the flight, but by the deſtruction of the Poliſh army. Six thouſand of the Poles lay dead on the field; ſixteen hundred, the greateſt part of them wounded, were made priſoners by the victors. Not more than fifteen hundred men effected their eſcape to Warſaw. The loſs of the Ruſſians was not leſs than three thouſand men.

Diſaſtrous as this defeat muſt, under any circumſtances, have been to the patriotic cauſe, it was rendered tenfold more diſaſtrous by the great leader of the patriots falling into the hands of the enemy. Foiled in a laſt attack which, with the remains of his cavalry, he made upon the enemy, Koſciuſko, dangerouſly wounded in the head and neck, endeavoured to accompliſh his retreat. He was purſued by ſome light-mounted troops and Coſſacks, one of the latter of whom pierced him in the back with a lance. Falling ſenſeleſs from his horſe, he was on the point of being put to death by the barbarians, when one of his officers, who lay bleeding on the ground, ſaved him, by diſcloſing his name.

Among the priſoners made by the Ruſſians were alſo the generals Sierakowſki, Knechevitch, Kaminſki, and Sennewitz, with one hundred and thirty officers of various ranks.

This melancholy event, though it plunged the patriots in the deepeſt affliction, neither depreſſed their courage, nor diminiſhed their efforts. The ſupreme council immediately conferred the ſupreme command on general Wawrzecki, an intimate friend of Koſciuſko, and a man who enjoyed a large ſhare of the public confidence. He was at this moment in Lithuania, whence he was recalled to the capital to aſſume the rank which had been conferred on him. The council likewiſe addreſſed to the Poles a temperate and firm proclamation, exhorting them to perſevere, with unſhaken ſpirit, in the defence of their country. Providence, it piouſly told them, had been pleaſed to try their conſtancy, by the loſs of their beloved leader, but it was their duty to beware of deſpair, and of burying with his fate the hopes of their native land. Preſerve, it ſaid, the ſpirit of unity, redouble your zeal and courage, and God will ſtill bleſs the goodneſs of your cauſe. The members of the Supreme Council promiſed, on their part, to remain at their poſt, to defend Liberty, in conjunction with their fellow-citizens, or to periſh with her. An affectionate addreſs was, at the ſame time, ſent to Koſciuſko, to condole with him on his misfortune, and to aſſure him of the unalterable attachment of his coadjutors in the cauſe of freedom.

Oct. 14.

Shortly after the battle of Macceiowice, general Ferſen addreſſed a letter to the Poliſh monarch, demanding the releaſe of all the priſoners taken at Warſaw during the conteſt with the Ruſſian garriſon, who, as he had the boldneſs to declare, had been detained in contempt of the moſt ſacred rights of nations. He concluded by expreſſing a hope that in the courſe of the year he ſhould perſonally be able to pay his reſpects to the King, and he requeſted his Majeſty to accept, what he called, his anticipated homage.

The anſwer of the King was conciſe. It refuſed the demand, expreſſed a readineſs to conſent to an exchange of priſoners, and declared that the reſolution of the nation to continue the ſtruggle remained unaltered by the recent defeat.

The chiefs of the patriots now determined to concentrate their forces, and to confine themſelves principally to the defence of Warſaw and the ſuburb of Praga. This ſuburb is ſituated on the right bank of the Viſtula, and had been covered by numerous and ſtrong entrenchments. The patriots were not without hopes that the advanced ſtate of the ſeaſon would enable them to baffle any attempt which the Ruſſians

ſians might make to beſiege either the capital or the ſuburb of Praga. In conſequence of this arrangement, Madalinſki, Mokronowſki, and the other generals, were ordered to fall back upon Warſaw.

The moment that Suwarrow received intelligence of Koſciuſko's defeat he prepared to profit by it. Derfelden and Ferſen were directed to move forwards towards Warſaw, to which city he alſo commenced his progreſs. To Derfelden was committed the taſk of impeding the retreat of Mokronowſki, whom Suwarrow himſelf hoped, by a rapid movement, to prevent from reaching the capital in ſafety.

The main deſign of the Ruſſian general was fortunately fruſtrated by Mokronowſki's celerity of movement. Derfelden, who followed cloſe on the footſteps of the retiring Poliſh army, was unable to prevent it from croſſing the Bug in perfect order. All that he could effect was the taking of a few priſoners from the rear guard. Suwarrow too, who had advanced to Wengrow, in the expectation of cutting off Mokronowſki from the capital, found, to his great diſappointment, that the Poliſh commander was already beyond his reach.

From Wengrow Suwarrow proceeded to Staniſlawow, at which place he was joined by the army of Ferſen. Here he learned that a Poliſh force was poſted at Kobylka, on the road to Praga. This force conſiſted of the third and weakeſt column of Mokronowſki's army, and a diviſion of two thouſand men, which had fallen back from Staniſlawow on the approach of the Ruſſians.

With his uſual promptitude, Suwarrow inſtantly reſolved to attack this corps, for which purpoſe he accordingly marched at the head of a conſiderable part of his troops. He found the Poles drawn up in an advantageous poſition. Their cavalry was broken by that of the Ruſſians, after a ſhort though ſharp conteſt; but their infantry ſtood its ground firmly, drove back the aſſailants, and then, forming into three columns, began to retire towards Warſaw. Suwarrow, however, was determined not to relinquiſh his prey. General Iſlinieff was directed to fall on the firſt column with very ſuperior numbers. He obeyed, and, after a furious combat, ſucceeded in deſtroying or making priſoners the whole of the column. The ſecond column had, meanwhile, repelled a Ruſſian diviſion, and joined the third column, on the high road to the capital. To complete his victory, Suwarrow followed and brought to action theſe two columns. Completely enveloped, the Poles, nevertheleſs, defended themſelves, for more than an hour, with the moſt aſtoniſhing bravery. Quarter was not aſked for by theſe gallant ſoldiers, and nearly the whole of them were cut to pieces. Of three thouſand men only four hundred were made priſoners, among whom were thirty officers. Nine pieces of artillery were taken by the Ruſſians.

At the cloſe of the battle Suwarrow encamped near Kobylka, where he was ſpeedily reinforced by the arrival of the diviſion commanded by general Derfelden.

We have already ſeen that the lateneſs of the ſeaſon was the circumſtance upon which the patriots chiefly relied, to enable them to protract their ſtruggle againſt the oppreſſors of their country. It is probable, too, that the event would have juſtified their hopes, had the Ruſſians adopted the tardy meaſure of a ſiege, or a blockade.

By moſt generals one or other of

thoſe meaſures would, doubtleſs, have been adopted, but it was the cuſtom of Suwarrow to attain his end by the ſhorteſt and boldeſt means. The extreme daringneſs of his conduct would, indeed, have deſerved the name of raſhneſs, had it not been, as in truth it was, under the guidance of ſound diſcretion. He had learned, and it is a leſſon which all generals ſhould learn, that, for the accompliſhment of any eſſential military object, it is wiſer, and even more humane, to make a ſingle great ſacrifice, than a multitude of ſmaller ones. It is a falſe humanity which ſpares the lives of ſoldiers, on important and deciſive occaſions, to waſte them in petty ſkirmiſhes, or in hoſpitals. The wants, the ſuffering and the ſickneſs, of a lingering ſpiritleſs campaign, are more fatal than the bayonets and the cannon of half a dozen battles. Suwarrow well knew this, and he determined therefore to follow a different plan. Iſmael, ſtill ſtronger than Praga, had been carried by aſſault; and he doubted not that he ſhould be able to conquer Praga by the ſame operation. Orders were conſequently iſſued for the conſtruction of a ſufficient number of faſcines, hurdles and ſcaling ladders; and the troops were ſeduloufly exerciſed in the various manœuvres which it would be neceſſary for them to execute at the moment of attack.

During the ſhort pauſe from hoſtilities which was occaſioned by the preparations for more vigorous warfare, two officers were ſent, on miſſions of benevolence, from Warſaw to the Ruſſian camp. The one of theſe officers, major Biſcheſſki, was diſpatched to obtain for his brother, who had been wounded and taken at Kobylka, permiſſion to return to the capital. The requeſt was ſeconded by a letter from his Poliſh Majeſty, and was, in conſequence, granted. Major Muller, the ſecond officer, was accompanied by a ſurgeon for Koſciuſko, but, as the generaliſſimo was already removed into Ruſſia, Suwarrow declined ſending the ſurgeon after him, aſſuring Major Muller, at the ſame time, that every attention was paid to the captive hero. Major Muller was alſo accompanied by a Ruſſian phyſician, who had been a priſoner in the capital, but was releaſed by the ſupreme council, that he might attend upon count Valerian Zubow, who had lately been wounded, and in whoſe ſervice he had formerly been.

An angry correſpondence, at the ſame period, took place between count Suwarrow and general Zajonczeck, to whom Mokronowſki had reſigned his command. This aroſe from the reſtoration of Koſciuſko's equipage having been demanded by Zajonczeck in terms which were not thought by Suwarrow to be ſufficiently reſpectful. The reply of the Ruſſian general was ſhort and inſulting. It certainly did him no honour. He conſidered, or affected to conſider, the Poles as revolters, and their principles as jacobinical, and he declared that he would not in future receive any meſſengers that did not come in the name of ſincere repentance, to implore forgiveneſs for the paſt events. Count Suwarrow had forgotten that the Poles owed no allegiance to his ſovereign; and that patriotiſm and a hatred of oppreſſion could not be converted into crimes by the bayonets of all the barbarous hordes of a barbarous empire.

The patriots had ſpared no pains to put the ſuburb of Praga in a condition to make an obſtinate defence. It was even ſaid to be ſtronger than

Warſaw was during the recent ſiege. The ſuburb itſelf was entrenched, and, at ſome diſtance, in front of theſe entrenchments, was another and ſtill more formidable line of batteries and redoubts. The intermediate ſpace was ſufficiently extenſive to allow the troops to make the requiſite movements without conſtraint or confuſion. The force of the garriſon was about twenty-eight thouſand men. The ramparts were furniſhed with a hundred and four pieces of cannon and mortars, for the moſt part of a large calibre.

Every thing being prepared, the Ruſſian army marched in three columns from Kobylka, early on the ſecond of November, and at noon arrived in the vicinity of Praga, round the entrenchments of which place it drew up in a ſemicircular form, out of the reach of the Poliſh artillery. To induce the Poles to believe that a regular ſiege was intended, three batteries were, during the night, erected, the firſt conſiſting of twenty ſix cannon, the ſecond of ſixteen, and the third of forty-eight. From theſe batteries a heavy fire was the next morning opened, to which the Poles replied with equal ſpirit. The day was ſpent by the Ruſſian generals in reconnoitring the works, and by the troops in preparing for combat.

Three o'clock on the following morning was the time fixed on for the commencement of the deſperate enterprize of the aſſault. The right of the Ruſſian army, conſiſting of two columns, was to be led by general Derfelden; the center, formed alſo in two columns, was committed to general Potemkin; and the right compoſed of three columns, was given to general Ferſen. As the right wing of the Poles was known to be the ſtrongeſt, the Ruſſian left was ordered to begin the aſſault half an hour later than the other diviſions, that the Poles might, in the mean time, weaken their right by ſending ſuccour to the quarters, which they ſuppoſed to be in the greateſt danger.

At the appointed hour the ſignal was given, and the columns ruſhed forward to the aſſault, amidſt a ſhower of muſket and grape ſhot from the Poliſh batteries. In ſpite of a gallant reſiſtance, they penetrated into the intrenchments, in every quarter. The conflict was terrible, but the numbers of the aſſailants enabled them, at length, to overpower their antagoniſts, and make good their ground on the ſpace between the works and the ſuburb. The ſuburb itſelf was next attacked, and, in like manner, carried. In all the ſtreets and ſquares a horrible carnage was made of the Poles, who defended themſelves with the fury of deſperation. Vaſt numbers were drowned in attempting to paſs the Viſtula, the bridge over which had been broken, to prevent the victors from penetrating into Warſaw. Praga was given up to maſſacre and pillage, and ſuffered all that barbarity could inflict.

The combat was cloſed by nine in the morning. Thirteen thouſand Poles, and among them the flower of the young men of the capital, remained on the field of battle. To theſe muſt be added more than two thouſand who periſhed in the Viſtula. The priſoners were numerous. Among the ſlain were the generals Korſeck, Kwaſchneſski, Grabowſki, and Jaſinſki. The latter, one of the beſt of the Poliſh officers, took leave of his friends in Warſaw, the night before the aſſault, aſſuring them that if the Ruſſians were not repulſed, they would ſee him no more, it being his firm reſolution to conquer or die. He did not live to ſee the utter defeat of his friends, for he was killed in defending the firſt intrenchment. The Ruſſians calculated their loſs at fifteen hundred men, killed and wounded; a very improbable eſtimate, when we conſider the ſtrength of the works, the courage of their defenders, and the time which the conteſt laſted.

The defence of Warſaw being, by the loſs of Praga, rendered almoſt impracticable, the magiſtrates, on the morrow after the aſſault, commenced a negotiation for its ſurrender. General Suwarrow received the deputies with much kindneſs. He promiſed a complete oblivion of the paſt, and ſecurity of perſons and property for the future, on condition that the troops laid down their arms, and returned to their homes. To this the magiſtrates replied that they had no authority over the army, but that the citizens ſhould immediately give up their arms. They requeſted, at the ſame time, that eight days might be allowed to the army to evacuate Warſaw. To this requeſt a poſitive refuſal was given by the Ruſſian general. The articles were, at length, arranged, and count Suwarrow, on the ninth of November, entered Warſaw in triumph.

While the negotiations were carrying on, general Wawrzecki formed the plan of retiring from the city, with the king and the Ruſſian priſoners. The latter part, however, of his plan he was not able to put in execution. Fearing the vengeance of the Ruſſians, the magiſtracy ſucceſsfully oppoſed the departure of Staniſlaus. Wawrzecki now began his retreat. His army ſtill conſiſted of between twenty and thirty thouſand men, but unprovided with magazines, and diſpirited by the late ſiniſter events. From Warſaw he bent his march towards the frontiers of Galicia, hoping to be able to maintain his ground in that quarter. But the indefatigable Suwarrow had already taken meaſures to fruſtrate the deſigns of the Poliſh chief. The Poliſh army was aſſailed and haraſſed on every ſide by the Ruſſian forces, which had croſſed the Viſtula, and ſeized upon all the paſſes. Day after day one or other of the retreating diviſions was compelled to lay down its arms; and, on the ſeventeenth of November, general Wawrzecki, finding that there was no hope of being able to reſiſt, capitulated with the remains of the army, and the Ruſſians were left uncontested maſters of the whole of Poland.

The fate of many of thoſe gallant chiefs who had taken the lead in vindicating the liberties of their country was truly melancholy. They had acted too noble and courageous a part to be forgiven by the oppreſſors of Poland. Wawrzecki, Ignatius Potocki, Gedroye, and ſeveral others, were ſeized, ſent into Ruſſia, and rigorouſly impriſoned; Madalinſki ſuffered the ſame treatment from the Pruſſian ſovereign, and Kolontay and Zajonczeck, from the Auſtrian. Koſciuſko, the ſoul of the Poliſh confederacy, was confined in the fortreſs of Scluſſelburgh, and treated with great ſeverity, till his chains were broken by the acceſſion of the grand duke Paul to the throne of Ruſſia.

The diviſion of the ſpoil, ſo honourably obtained, gave riſe to much difficulty and diſpute. Pruſſia was anxious to ſecure the poſſeſſion of Cracow, and the territory bordering upon the lately acquired provinces, while Auſtria, on the other hand, was reſolved to add this part of Poland to her own dominions. To accompliſh her purpoſe, Auſtria entered into a negotiation with Ruſſia, the reſult of which was a treaty, regulating the partition of Poland in a manner conſonant to her wiſhes. To this treaty, ſigned on the third of January 1795, the Pruſſian monarch was invited to accede, and a ſhare of the conqueſt was offered as the reward of his acquieſcence. As he was not in a ſituation to enforce his claims, he finally gave his conſent to the propoſed arrangement. So much contention, however, aroſe, that it was not till towards the cloſe of the year, that by another treaty the limits of the Pruſſian and Auſtrian provinces were definitively ſettled.

To Ruſſia fell, of courſe, the largeſt ſhare. Commencing near Zbaroz, the line of partition paſſed along the Galician frontier to the Bug, down which it deſcended to Nimierow, and then proceeded in nearly a ſtrait line to the Niemen, the courſe of which it followed to the Pruſſian frontier, which, as far as the ſea, now became the boundary between the two ſtates.

To Auſtria was allotted the palatinates of Lublin and Sendomir, with a part of the palatinate of Cracow, of the diſtrict of Chelm, and of the palatinates of Brezſc, Podlakia and Mazovia. To this territory the name of Weſtern Galicia was given by the imperial government.

The remainder of Poland compoſed the lot aſſigned to Pruſſia. It conſiſted of the largeſt part of the palatinates of Podlakia and Mazovia, ſituated on the right of the Bug, nearly half the palatinate of Troki, and a ſmall diſtrict belonging to the palatinate of Cracow. Warſaw, from before which he had been diſgracefully driven, was included in the ſhare of the Pruſſian monarch.

The territory of Ruſſia received a further augmentation by the voluntary ſubmiſſion of the duchy of Courland to the authority of the empreſs. Diſguſted with their mean and avaricious duke, and ſtimulated by the intrigues of the Ruſſian emiſſaries, the aſſembled ſtates of the duchy ſigned, on the twenty-eighth of March, an act by which the ſovereignty of the duchy was tranſferred to Ruſſia. A penſion of fifty thouſand ducats was given to the depoſed duke.

Stripped of his dominions, the aged and unfortunate Staniſlaus reſigned a crown which from the moment it was placed on his head had been productive to him of little but anxiety, mortification and diſguſt. His abdication was ſigned at Grodno on the twenty-fifth of November. He ſhortly after retired to St. Peterſburgh, and did not long ſurvive the loſs of his kingdom. Juſt, beneficent, and ſincerely deſirous of the welfare of his people, he deſerved to have reigned under more happy circumſtances, and on a more tranquil throne.

In this manner, after nearly a fourth of a century had elapſed from its commencement, was conſummated the partition of Poland; an act of the moſt baſe and flagrant iniquity, in palliation of which not even the tyrant's plea, the plea of neceſſity, can be urged with the ſmalleſt regard to truth. It was the genuine offspring of wanton power and inſatiable ambition, operating upon unoffending and defenceleſs weakneſs. Nor was the policy of the meaſure, at leaſt as to Pruſſia and Auſtria, leſs cenſurable than its morality. The exiſtence of Poland was, for many reaſons, beneficial to the conterminous ſtates. By its deſtruction, though each of them gained an acceſſion of territory, Auſtria and Pruſſia were in reality weakened, both in numbers and local poſition, when oppoſed to Ruſſia; that reſtleſs, encroaching, and formidable neighbour, which, for the peace of Europe, ought never to have been allowed to advance beyond its ancient frontier. Pruſſia and Auſtria, two jealous rivals, were likewiſe brought into cloſer contact with each other, and freſh opportunity was thus given to light up the flames of war, by a renewal of their quarrels. The former, actively as ſhe urged the final partition, was the ſtate by which it was moſt to be deprecated, and which had the greateſt intereſt in maintaining the independence of Poland. But the worſt political effect produced by this act of robbery was its effect upon public opinion. It furniſhed to thoſe who were in fact the enemies not merely of monarchy but of all regular government, too ſtrong an argument in ſupport of their aſſertions, that kings were utterly deſtitute of principle, and that, to ſatisfy their luſt of dominion, they would ſtoop to the uſe of means and pretexts the moſt deſpicable and groundleſs, ſacrifice, without remorſe, the lives and fortunes of their ſubjects, and ſpread ruin and bloodſhed through ſuch of the ſurrounding nations as were not ſufficiently powerful to defend themſelves with vigour enough to make aggreſſion dangerous to thoſe who attacked them. "Hereafter," ſaid Mr. Burke, in the year 1796, "the world will have "cauſe to rue this iniquitous mea"ſure, and thoſe moſt who were "moſt concerned in it." This prediction has already been fatally verified, and it is to be feared that we have yet to witneſs its complete and more fatal accompliſhment.

CHAP. V.

French revolution. Proceedings of the convention. Revocation of many of the revolutionary laws. Slowneſs of the convention in bringing to juſtice the leaders of the terroriſt faction. Commiſſion of twenty-one members, to examine the charges againſt Barrere, Billaud, Collot and Vadier. Report of the commiſſion appointed to examine the papers of Roberſpierre. Feſtival in commemoration of the king's murder. Report of Cambaceres, on the family of Louis the ſixteenth. Horrible ſpeech of Brival. Salary of the members of the convention doubled. Gratuities to men of talent. Law for redeeming the pledged clothes and bedding of the poor. It is revoked. Inſolence of the jacobin faction. Duhem committed to priſon. Hatred of the people to the jacobins. Buſts of Marat overthrown. They are replaced. Sections petition the convention to puniſh the accuſed jacobins. Meaſures againſt the jacobins. Decree for expelling Marat and others from the pantheon. Indignities heaped by the Pariſians upon the buſts, pictures, &c. of Marat. Report of the commiſſion of twenty-one, declaring that there is ground for bringing the four jacobin members to trial. The outlawed Girondiſts are reſtored

ſtored to their ſeats. Jacobins prepare for an inſurrection. They are aided by a dreadful ſcarcity in Paris. The convention decrees a kind of martial law. Commencement of the inveſtigation into the conduct of the accuſed deputies. Their former colleagues defend them. Lecointre, their accuſer, goes over to their party, and attacks the Girondiſts. Attempts made to put an end to the enquiry. Steps taken by the jacobins to bring about an inſurrection. Counter meaſures of the convention. The inſurrection breaks out on the 1ſt of April. It is quelled. The convention decrees the tranſportation of the four deputies to French Guiana, and arreſts ſeveral deputies concerned in the inſurrection. It alſo orders the terroriſts to be diſarmed. The jacobins plan a ſecond inſurrection. The plan is, in part, detected. Trial and execution of Fouquier Tinville. Joy of the Pariſians on his execution. Trial and execution of Joſeph Le Bon. Reſtoration of the property of condemned perſons. Maſſacres in the ſouth of France. The jacobins muſter all their ſtrength for another inſurrection. Inertneſs of the government. Manifeſto of the jacobin faction. Inſurrection of the twentieth of May. The rabble ſucceed in ſtorming the hall of the convention. Aſſaſſination of Feraud. Admirable courage of Boiſſy d'Anglas. Decrees to re-eſtabliſh the reign of terror, paſſed by the jacobin deputies. The moderate party rally ſome of the battalions of the ſections, and defeat the jacobins. Arreſt of ſeveral deputies. The jacobins of the ſuburbs again march to attack the convention. The other ſections march to its defence. Cowardly behaviour of the convention. The rabble diſperſe. The audacity of the inſurgents at laſt compels the convention to act with vigour. Decrees againſt the jacobins. Suburb of St. Antoine inveſted by an armed force. It ſubmits. Revolt at Toulon. It is quelled. Arreſt of ſeveral jacobin deputies. Proceedings of the military commiſſion for the trial of the inſurgents.

FROM the melancholy cloſe of a revolution, undertaken, on the pureſt principles, to ameliorate the condition of a long oppreſſed and degraded country, and conducted with a ſacred regard to property, humanity and religion, we muſt now turn to follow the triumphant progreſs of a revolution of a very different nature, a revolution which originated in the weakneſs of ſome, and the wickedneſs of others, and which from the moment of its commencement had been ſupported by the daring and hourly violation of all laws, both human and divine.

In our laſt volume we traced, to the cloſe of the year 1794, the proceedings of the party dominant in France, after the fall of Roberſpierre. The tenure by which that party held its power was its preſumed intention to puniſh the agents, and to deſtroy the ſanguinary and oppreſſive code, of the fallen tyrants. In the latter part of this two-fold duty it proceeded with much more vigour than in the former. The convention progreſſively repealed many of thoſe decrees which, during the reign of terror, it had not merely obſequiouſly paſſed, but clamorouſly applauded. It ordered that the ſecrecy of letters ſhould no longer be violated; aboliſhed the maximum; abrogated the horrible decree which forbad the taking of Engliſh priſoners; enacted that no perſon ſhould be ſent to the revolutionary tribunal without a previous report; reſtored to the widows and children of the victims of the late tyranny, their apparel and perſonal effects; and firſt ſuſpended, and then annulled, all the numerous and atrocious laws for the deſtruction of the city of Lyons, and the ſpoliation and ſlaughter of its brave and unfortunate inhabitants.

In bringing to trial thoſe who had diſgraced the French name, and covered France with carcaſes and ruins, the governing faction was more tardy. This taſk it ſeemed to perform with a reluctant ſlowneſs, as if it felt, and it probably did feel, that, while it impeached the crimes of the accuſed deputies, it brought its own participation in thoſe crimes to the remembrance of the people. Towards the end of December a commiſſion, conſiſting of twenty-one members, had been appointed to inveſtigate and report on the charges againſt Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Vadier and Barrere. Above two months elapſed during which this commiſſion gave no ſigns of exiſtence. From another commiſſion a report was, in the mean time, made upon the papers and correſpondence of Roberſpierre. This report, which was drawn up by Courtois, was of great length, frequently affected and bombaſtic, yet in parts highly eloquent, and ſtrongly inculpated thoſe perſons whoſe conduct was now under conſideration. It was referred to the commiſſion of twenty-one.

While men, the ſcourge and the ſhame of human nature, were thus allowed to remain unpuniſhed, the memory of the innocent and murdered Lewis was treated with the baſeſt indignity. On the motion of Barras the convention decreed that the 21ſt of January ſhould be a feſtival to celebrate the anniverſary of the king's death. The feſtival was accordingly held. Nothing in it was remarkable but the unbluſhing falſehood of the ſpeech which was delivered on the occaſion, by the preſident of the convention. This man did not ſcruple to deſcribe the king as "a perjured "tyrant, who, loaded with the fa-"vours of a credulous and confiding "people, had made uſe of them to "organize a civil war, reſtore fa-"naticiſm, and bring down famine "and every kind of miſery upon a "nation which had committed no "fault but that of giving credit to "his oath."

As this feſtival was ſaid to be in commemoration of the downfal of tyranny, one of the conventional deputies thought the moment a fit one to propoſe that the convention ſhould declare, in the preſence of the people, that it would do juſtice on the authors of the ſyſtem of terror, and that it would puniſh whoever endeavoured to reſtore that ſyſtem. He added, likewiſe, a propoſal that the anniverſary of the overthrow of Roberſperre ſhould be a feſtival day. The latter propoſition was decreed, but the two former were rejected, for a reaſon certainly not obvious, namely, that a declaration was unneceſſary, the convention being perfectly willing to attend to its duty.

That nothing of malignant inſult might be wanting, Cambaceres, on the enſuing day, brought up a report which had been directed to be made on the family of the late monarch. This report ſpoke with contemptuous inſolence of its objects, and concluded by recommending their continued impriſonment.

One of the deputies, named Brival, a monſter in the ſhape of a man, expreſſed his diſapprobation of this meaſure. He called indeed only for the baniſhment of the Bourbons, but it was abundantly obvious that their mere baniſhment would not ſufficiently gratify his ſanguinary ſpirit. "After having cut down the "tree, it was neceſſary," he ſaid, "to extirpate the roots, which "could produce nothing but poiſoned fruits;" and he added that "while previouſly to the month of "Thermidor, ſo many uſeleſs crimes "had been committed, he was aſtoniſhed that the remains of an impure race had been ſpared." This infamous ſpeech was frequently interrupted by the murmurs and cenſures of ſeveral of the members.

Thoſe men who declaimed againſt the extravagancies of courts, and the expence of a monarchy, were not averſe, however, from receiving an ample remuneration for their own labours from the national treaſury. The pay of the deputies to the national convention had originally been fixed at fifteen ſhillings per day. By a decree of that aſſembly it was now doubled, and a yearly additional burthen of two hundred thouſand pounds was thus impoſed upon the people. A retro-active effect, for the laſt four months, was alſo given to the law. In the hope, perhaps, of obtaining popularity, two or three of the jacobin deputies made a fruitleſs reſiſtance to the meaſure.

This donation made to itſelf by the convention was probably rendered palatable to the public by two others, which were ordered nearly at the ſame period. The firſt of theſe was deſtined to the relief of literary men, and celebrated characters, either in the fine arts or liberal profeſſions. To each individual, according to his claims, was given a ſum of one, two, or three thouſand livres. The ſecond largeſs was of more general effect. A decree was paſſed for reſtoring to the poor, at the expence of the nation, all the bedding and clothing which they had pledged for ſums not exceeding a hundred livres. This decree, however, after having been in operation a few days, was repealed, on the ground of its having given riſe to numberleſs abuſes and frauds.

The jacobins, though overthrown, did not "bate one jot of heart or hope." In the convention they ſtill ſpoke the language of contumely and menace, and out of it they laboured to provide the means of ſatiating their vengeance. The boldeſt of them in the convention were ſometimes on the point of coming to blows with their antagoniſts, and Duhem, one of the moſt violent of the number, openly threatened to aſſaſſinate a member who had brought an accuſation againſt him. A motion was made to ſend him to priſon, but it was overruled. Emboldened by impunity he carried his threats ſtill further, and plainly told the ruling party that its reign was nearly at an end. Even this was allowed to paſs unpuniſhed. At length a new and glaring inſult effectually rouſed the anger of the aſſembly, and he was committed for three days to the abbey priſon, though not without a violent ſtruggle on the part of his friends. In the debate, which took place on this ſubject, Legendre and Andrew Dumont particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the boldneſs with which they attacked the partizans of the ſyſtem of terror.

The public voice, in the mean time, became every day more clamorous for juſtice upon the authors of ſo many calamities and crimes. The Pariſian youth, denominated by their enemies the "army of Freron," and "the gilded million," carried on againſt the jacobins, and every thing connected with jacobin principles, a vehement and unintermitting hoſtility. Foremoſt among the objects of their hatred was Marat, the apoſtle and martyr, as he was called, of jacobiniſm. The buſts of this miſcreant, which polluted the theatres, were overthrown by them amidſt the loud acclamations of the ſpectators. The committee of general ſafety ordered the buſts to be replaced, and made to the convention a report upon the ſubject, aſſigning as a reaſon for the order the decree which had given to Marat a place in the pantheon. The report was diſmiſſed by the convention with manifeſt ſigns of impatience and diſguſt at hearing the name of the demagogue. Thus encouraged, the young men, on the following evening, again precipitated the buſts from the pedeſtals, and broke them to pieces in every theatre in Paris.

The patience of the citizens of Paris was, at laſt, quite exhauſted by the ſlowneſs of the convention in bringing its accuſed members to trial. They reſolved to make an effort to ſtimulate its ſluggiſh juſtice into action. The ſections were accordingly aſſembled, various energetic petitions and addreſſes were drawn up, and for ſome time ſcarcely a day elapſed without a deputation appearing at the bar to intreat that the convention would quicken its proceedings, and avenge the wrongs of the people.

Animated by the ſupport of the ſections, and alarmed for their own ſafety, the perſons holding the reins of government now adopted ſome meaſures to repreſs the jacobins, who were loudly threatening a new inſurrection. Babœuf, the worthy ſucceſſor of Marat, daily in his paper ſtimulated the people to riſe againſt the convention, which he denominated the ſenate of Coblentz. The ſame language was held in ſeveral private meetings, and in two clubs, ſitting in the ſuburbs of St. Antoine, and St. Marceau, and compoſed chiefly of the members of the diſſolved jacobin club. It was propoſed to envelope in one maſſacre the ſeventy-three deputies who had been reſtored to their ſeats, and thirty other members of the convention. This intended maſſacre was ſtyled a purification of the aſſembly. Informed of theſe deſigns, the committee of public ſafety ſhut up the clubs and arreſted Babœuf. Theſe meaſures were followed by a decree, on the motion of Andrew Dumont, that the honours of the pantheon ſhould not be given to any perſon, nor his buſt erected in the public places, till ten years after his deceaſe, and that all former decrees, voting thoſe honours, ſhould be annulled. The buſts of Marat, Lepelletier, and others, were accordingly removed from the ſtations which they occupied. This decree occaſioned more rejoicing than the news of the moſt ſplendid victory would have done. In all quarters the buſts and pictures of Marat were treated with the utmoſt indignity. They were broken to pieces, ſuſpended to the lamp irons, and covered with blood. His effigy was likewiſe burnt, and, to ridicule the ceremony of conveying his remains to the pantheon, the aſhes of the effigy were collected, depoſited in the meaneſt of domeſtic utenſils, carried in proceſſion by a hump-backed man, and thrown into the common ſewer, amidſt the joyous ſhouts of the ſurrounding multitude. To complete the whole, the monument which had been erected to him in the ſquare of the Carouſel was demoliſhed, and on the ſpot a temporary ſhop was eſtabliſhed, from which a vender of books publiſhed a pamphlet, bearing the title of the "Crimes of Marat."

In ſpite of the appeals of the ſections three more weeks paſſed away, without the commiſſion of twenty-one appearing to make the ſmalleſt progreſs. It would, perhaps, have delayed ſtill longer, had it not been repeatedly and pointedly called on by Thibadeau, Legendre, and Merlin of Thionville. The latter, in particular, ſet no bounds to his indignant eloquence. "The "French people," exclaimed he to the convention, "demands ven-"geance from you; innocent blood "demands it from you; you will "hear its cries till the day when the "ſhades of the victims are ſatisfied. "You have cruſhed one part of the "ancient government; you muſt "cruſh the other, or never will you "have liberty. Your own ſafety de-"pends upon it. Puniſh the leaders "of the ſanguinary horde. The day "on which this is done will bring "tranquillity and peace to the "republic."

The report, thus emphatically invoked, was preſented by the commiſſion on the ſecond of March. When Saladin, the reporter, entered the hall of the convention, he was greeted by a general burſt of applauſe from the ſpectators in the galleries, which was renewed on his opening his papers. The report was of great length, and was decidedly hoſtile to the members accuſed. It concluded by declaring that there exiſted grounds for their being put upon their trial. Not a ſingle individual ſpoke in their defence, and the decree for their arreſt was paſſed without a diſſentient voice. They were preſent during this ſcene. Barrere made a ſhort ſpeech in exculpation; Collot d'Herbois an harangue in praiſe of the conduct of himſelf and his colleagues; Billaud Varennes and Vadier remained ſilent.

In order probably to ſtrengthen themſelves for the conteſt with the jacobins, the moderate party reſolved to reſtore to their ſeats the outlawed deputies. The way was opened for this meaſure by petitions in favour of the deputies from ſeveral of the ſections of Paris. After hearing a report from the committees, the convention, on the eighth of March, decreed the reſtoration. On the following day, Lecointre, who had been abſent when the decree was adopted, made a furious attack on the reſtored Girondiſts, and moved a reſolution the effect of which would have been to annul the decree. He could not, however, find one member to ſecond his motion. The convention, on the contrary, paſſed another law to forbid the celebration of the thirty-firſt of May, and ordered preliminary ſteps to be taken towards the puniſhment of Pache, Bouchotte, and others who had played a prominent part in the inſurrection of that epoch. The deputies, on their reſuming their ſeats were hailed with loud plaudits, and the convention was felicitated upon this event by ſeveral of the ſections.

The indignation of the jacobins

was raiſed to the higheſt pitch by the decrees for the arreſt of their friends, and the reinſtatement of their outlawed enemies. They reſolved, at all hazards, to ſave Barrere and his fellow criminals from the puniſhment which awaited them, and they were not without ſanguine hopes of obtaining ample revenge for the numerous and galling indignities to which they had lately been expoſed. All their accuſtomed arts were put in practice, to egg on the populace to violence. The walls of Paris were covered with poſting bills of the moſt inflammatory nature. In theſe bills the people were told that it was time for them to awake, and bring about another thirty-firſt of May; the convention was repreſented as full of traitors; and the rich were held out as counter-revolutioniſts, in league with the government to famiſh the poor. Theſe manœuvres were but too well ſeconded by the circumſtances of the times. Paris ſuffered under a ſcarcity, which bordered upon famine. The convention was compelled to limit the quantity of bread for each labouring perſon to a pound and a half per day, and to reſtrict all other perſons to a pound. To procure even this miſerable pittance it was generally neceſſary for individuals to wait ſeveral hours, and ſometimes all the night, at the doors of the bakers. At one period not more than two ounces could be obtained by each applicant. The neceſſaries of life, down to thoſe of the moſt trifling kind, were alſo raiſed to an exorbitant price by a ſpirit of ſpeculation, which converted an infinite number of perſons into dealers, ſo that each article was repeatedly bought and ſold, and each time at an advanced rate, before it reached the conſumer. Aſſignats were, at the ſame moment, ſinking rapidly to the loweſt ebb of depreciation, in ſpite of the continued, and almoſt ludicrous, efforts of the legiſlature to ſuſtain their credit, by repreſenting as next to inexhauſtible that fund on the ſecurity of which they were iſſued.

In this ſtate of things, had the multitude not already been habituated to revolt and bloodſhed, it would have been no difficult taſk to rouſe their fury againſt thoſe whom they were taught to conſider as the cauſe of their miſeries and privations. The convention was, in conſequence, addreſſed daily by perſons calling themſelves petitioners, but whoſe petitions were, in reality, inſults and menaces. Repelled from the bar, theſe petitioners ſometimes endeavoured to break open the doors, and re-enter the hall by force. Frequent conteſts took place in the ſtreets, between the aſſembled jacobins and the Pariſian youth. The moſt ſerious of theſe occurred on the twenty-firſt of March, when the convention would certainly have been attacked, had not the jacobins, after a ſharp ſtruggle, been diſperſed by their antagoniſts.

The convention now thought it prudent to provide for its ſecurity. It paſſed, on the motion of Sieyes, a law, in the nature of a martial law, againſt ſeditious mobs. By this law the puniſhments of chains, tranſportation and death, were dealt out with a liberal hand to all offenders, but eſpecially to ſuch as dared to inſult or attack the repreſentatives of the people. Proviſion was likewiſe made to prevent a ſucceſsful inſurrection from becoming as fatal as it had once before done. The decree enacted that in caſe the convention ſhould be diſſolved by a revolt, the deputies who were fortunate enough to eſcape ſhould aſſemble at Châlons ſur Marne, and exerciſe the national authority. This decree was outrageouſly oppoſed by various members of the threatened faction.

At length the convention, gaining, perhaps, confidence from its late precautions, entered upon the charges againſt the four deputies. Freſh difficulties were, however, thrown in its way at the very outſet. Carnot, Robert Lindet, and Prieur, who had been the colleagues of the accuſed members, aſſumed their defence, and demanded to ſhare the reſponſibility of thoſe acts which had given riſe to the preſent proſecution. Lindet took the lead, and read a vindication which occupied the aſſembly for ſeven hours, and excited its diſguſt and anger. It dwelt on the merits of the criminals, praiſed the revolution of the thirty-firſt of May, ſtigmatized the Girondiſts as traitors, and drew a parallel between the reign of terror and the exiſting order of things, highly to the diſadvantage of the latter. Carnot followed, and manifeſted the ſame principles, though in more meaſured language. Prieur ſpoke only to bear teſtimony to the purity of his companions. Two days were devoted to theſe ſpeeches, and to the virulent diſputes which they occaſioned between the contending parties.

The accuſed deputies themſelves next appeared on the ſcene. There was great arrogance in the defence of Collot d'Herbois, and great art in that of Barrere; but in neither was there any thing which tended to eſtabliſh their innocence. Billaud Varennes anſwered briefly, and with as little effect. The jacobins in the convention ſupported their criminated friends with all their powers, and the debates were long and acrimonious. Lecointre, who, with a ſtrange perverſity, had gone over to the party of which he had recently been one of the firſt and bittereſt aſſailants, brought againſt ſome of the Girondiſts a charge of treaſon, which was almoſt unanimouſly ſcouted by the aſſembly. Among thoſe who on this occaſion took a conſpicuous part in combating the partizans of the late tyranny was Legendre. He confeſſed and blamed his paſt errors with an honourable frankneſs, and detected, with much acuteneſs, the falſehoods and ſophiſms of his antagoniſts.

In the midſt of the diſcuſſion two attempts were made to get rid altogether of the queſtion. One member propoſed, by a ſort of oſtraciſm, to remove from the convention all thoſe individuals whoſe preſence was hurtful to the public peace. His propoſition met with no ſupport. Another motion, though it was received at firſt with more favour, ultimately ſhared the ſame fate. This was brought forward by Merlin, who moved the ſpeedy convocation of the primary aſſemblies, to chuſe a new legiſlative body. It was rejected after two days debate.

Theſe motions were the reſult of fears, which were not without foundation. The partizans of the ſyſtem of terror, having determined that their leaders ſhould not be torn from them without a ſtruggle, were now ſharpening their arms and collecting their forces. The veteran legions of ſedition, the rabble of the ſuburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau, were again ſummoned to perform their accuſtomed ſervices, and they obeyed with that alacrity which they had always diſplayed on the proſpect of confuſion, plunder and blood.

The convention was not unapprized of theſe proceedings, and it took ſome ſteps to avert the danger. Among them was a decree, to forbid the meeting of the ſections at any other time than during the middle of the day, nocturnal meetings having repeatedly been found to be uſeful to the factious alone.

Relying, perhaps, on their numbers, the conſpirators were at no pains to conceal their wiſhes. Every day added to their inſolence, and produced ſome freſh diſturbance. On the laſt of March a deputation from the ſuburb of St. Antoine went to the convention, where their ſpokeſman, in a moſt daring harangue, reminded the convention that inſurrection was one of the moſt ſacred of duties. Bread, the conſtitution of 1793, the liberation of the impriſoned patriots, and the re-opening of the clubs, were the demands which he made. His ſpeech was warmly cenſured by ſeveral deputies, who in return were hiſſed and hooted by many of the ſpectators in the galleries.

Having thus thrown down the gauntlet, the jacobins quickly proceeded to action. On the enſuing day, while Boiſſy d'Anglas was making a report, an immenſe crowd of men, women and children, burſt into the hall of the convention. At the head of the mob were the men who conducted the inſurrection of the thirty-firſt of May. On the hats of the inſurgents was written "bread, "and the conſtitution of 1793." The arrival of the rabble was hailed with loud acclamations by the jacobin deputies, and the ſpectators in the galleries. All was now confuſion and clamour. A thouſand voices at once called out for bread, the conſtitution, and the liberation of the impriſoned patriots. When the tumult a little ſubſided, Huguet, one of the jacobin members made a ſpeech to enforce the claims of the mob. He was followed by a notorious terroriſt, who had taken an active ſhare in the inſurrection of 1793. Every ſentence of his harangue breathed pillage and murder. "Holy mountain," he exclaimed, "who haſt ſo long combated for the "republic, the men of the four-"teenth of July, of the tenth of "Auguſt, and of the thirty-firſt of "May, call upon thee in this critical "moment; thou wilt find them al-"ways ready to ſupport thee, always "ready to ſhed their blood for the "republic." The call was not made in vain. Duhem, Chales, and others of the terroriſt faction vociferouſly ſupported the demands of the crowd, and inſulted the preſident and the convention in the groſſeſt manner. In the mean time Anguis and Penieres, two members of the moderate party, were fired at in the ſtreets by the inſurgents, and taken priſoners. The former was wounded.

In this deſperate emergency the ruling party acted with a commendable promptneſs and ſpirit. The alarm bell was rung, and the battalions of the ſections were ſummoned to the aſſiſtance of the convention. Well knowing that their proſcription would be the conſequence of the triumph of the jacobins, the Pariſian youth and the well affected citizens inſtantly flew to ſuccour the aſſembly. General Pichegru was placed at the head of this force, and Paris was declared in a ſtate of ſiege. The battalions on their way diſperſed the rabble in the ſtreets, and rapidly advanced towards the hall of the convention.

Finding their ſchemes fruſtrated by this unexpected vigour, the terroriſt deputies who had excited the revolt, thought it prudent to command their friends to retire. Their influence, and ſtill more the dread of the ſectional troops, ſoon cleared the hall, and left the ruling party at liberty to adopt meaſures of puniſhment and revenge.

Thoſe meaſures were not delayed. It was evident that a timid and temporizing conduct could only be productive of fatal conſequences, and that nothing ſhort of the complete humiliation of one of the factions would put an end to the conteſt. The convention, therefore, which had hitherto ſo tediouſly heſitated to commence an inquiry into the crimes of the accuſed deputies, now ruſhed to the oppoſite extreme, and reſolved to chaſtiſe them with inſtant and arbitrary ſeverity. Calling for no additional proof, not ſuffering any further defence, and accumulating in itſelf the incompatible functions of accuſer, jury and judge, it, on the evening of the revolt, abruptly cloſed the trial, by decreeing, on the motion of Andrew Dumont, that Barrere, Vadier, Billaud Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois ſhould immediately be tranſported to French Guiana. It followed up this blow by ordering the arreſt of Ruamps, Choudieu, Fouſſedoire, Chales, Huguet, Duhem, Amar, and Leonard Bourdon, the latter of whom was emphatically deſcribed by Freron as "tired of his long abſtinence from blood." To theſe were, in the courſe of a few days added Moyſe Bayle, Thuriot, Cambon, Granet, Hentz, Maignet, Craſſous, Levaſſeur de la Sarthe, and the original impeacher of the terroriſts, Lecointre of Verſailles. Legendre ſtrove, but in vain, to ſave the latter, by pleading that, like the greateſt part of his family, he was not in his ſenſes. The caſtle of Ham was the priſon fixed on for this horde of jacobins.

On the enſuing morning when the condemned and arreſted deputies were ſetting off to the places of their deſtination, an immenſe mob collected to oppoſe their departure. It was not without a ſkirmiſh that general Pichegru, whoſe life was twice in imminent danger, ſucceeded in carrying his orders into execution. Vadier, however, had already contrived to eſcape in diſguiſe, and Barrere had ſubſequently the ſame good fortune. Billaud and Collot underwent their ſentence.

The convention was warmly felicitated upon its victory by the ſections of Paris, and it ſeemed well diſpoſed to improve the advantage which it had gained. It paſſed a law that not more than twenty petitioners ſhould be admitted at once to the bar, and that previouſly to their admiſſion their credentials ſhould be ſubjected to a ſcrutiny. But the moſt deciſive ſtep which it took was a decree which commanded that, throughout the whole extent of France, thoſe who were known as terroriſts ſhould be inſtantly diſarmed. This law was backed by others, the object of which was to procure a ſufficient force for the protection of the legiſlative body.

The indefatigable jacobins were, meanwhile, preparing to recover the ground which they had loſt. They framed a new conſpiracy, at the head of which were Thuriot, Cambon, and other deputies, who by ſecreting themſelves had evaded the order for their arreſt. Their plan was to call out the rabble of the ſuburbs, make themſelves maſters of the arſenal, open the priſons, confine the committees of government, ſurround the convention, and inſiſt upon the eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution of 1793, the incarceration of the ſeventy-three and the outlawed members, together with ſome others, and finally the reſtoration to the terroriſt faction of its former authority. This plan was fortunately betrayed to the government by one of the ſubordinate agents, and many of the conſpirators were, in conſequence, ſeized. The convention, on hearing a report upon the ſubject, arreſted Maribon Montaut, who was concerned in the plot, decreed that the fugitive deputies ſhould incur the penalty of tranſportation if they did not ſurrender, and ordered the revolutionary tribunal to ſit permanently till it had brought to a concluſion the trial of Fouquier Tinville.

Fouquier and his accomplices in judicial murder had already been three weeks before the tribunal. The greateſt latitude was allowed them in their means of vindication, and they availed themſelves of it to the fulleſt extent. Fouquier, violent and daring, frequently indulged himſelf in invectives againſt the auditors, who manifeſted their indignation; and he ſometimes even declaimed againſt his judges, whom, notwithſtanding their patience, he accuſed of wanting impartiality. Neither in his defence, which was extemporaneouſly and rapidly ſpoken, nor in thoſe of his accomplices, which were for the moſt part written, was there any lack of talent or of art, but the weight of proof againſt their authors was too heavy to admit of their producing any effect. At length, on the ſixth of May, after a trial of ſix weeks, the tribunal pronounced a verdict of guilty againſt Fouquier and fifteen of his accomplices, and ſentenced them to death. As ſoon as the ſentence was made known the greateſt part of the criminals gave way to the moſt furious paſſion, and loaded the tribunal with imprecations. Fouquier, and with ſome reaſon, bitterly exclaimed againſt the injuſtice of puniſhing with death the mere inſtruments of ſo many crimes, while on the authors of thoſe crimes was inflicted merely the penalty of tranſportation.

The execution took place on the following day. All Paris crowded to enjoy the laſt agonies of thoſe who had given to every family in the metropolis cauſe to weep the loſs of a huſband, a wife, a parent, a child, or a friend. Thouſands of voices poured forth ſarcaſms, reproaches, and maledictions upon the culprits, but eſpecially upon Fouquier Tinville. He, however, appeared no ways daunted by this ſtorm of public hatred. Unbounded fury had taken poſſeſſion of him. His countenance livid, his muſcles contracted, and his eyes bloodſhot with rage, he ſat and darted looks of alternate contempt and defiance upon the people. Sometimes, in anſwer to their inſults, he cried out, in alluſion to the ſcarcity, "Vile "rabble, go and ſeek for bread," and ſometimes vented the moſt horrible predictions. When the axe fell, the ſpectators, with one accord, inſiſted upon ſeeing the head, which was accordingly held up by the executioner, and gazed on by the multitude with ſhouts of delight

The ſame evening the convention appointed a commiſſion to examine the conduct of the ſcourge of Arras, Joſeph Le Bon. It was not until the nineteenth of June that the commiſſion made its report, and declared that there was ground of accuſation againſt him. Several days were employed by the aſſembly in hearing his reply. Some of the facts he denied, and ſome he extenuated, but he admitted generally that he had ruled with a rod of iron, and he endeavoured to juſtify himſelf by throwing the blame upon thoſe before whom he now ſtood. To this mode of vindicating his barbarities he every moment recurred. "I am reproached," he cried, "with revolutionary inſtitutions, and arbitrary acts. But I did nothing without the order or the authority of the members of the committee of public ſafety. I thought thoſe men were virtue perſonified. I deemed them patriots, becauſe they continually talked of the love of our country. If they had commanded me to throw myſelf into the fire I ſhould have done it. I approved that which you approved; I blamed that which you blamed. You now make it a crime that I was not cold when you were burning. Open the reports of St. Juſt, which you diſtributed ſo profuſely. I believed that you approved their maxims, I could not avoid believing it. And what do we find there? We read that thoſe who wiſh to deſtroy the ſcaffolds are afraid of being ſentenced to aſcend them; that indulgence is ferocity when exerciſed towards the faction of the moderates. If the convention has been led away by too great an effervescence, may not I alſo have been miſled? I have proved to you", ſaid he, in another part of his reply, "that I have done nothing but manifeſt an implicit obedience to your laws. I was compelled to execute them, under the penalty of being myſelf the victim if I diſobeyed. Re-peruſe your decrees of that period, and ſee if I could avoid obeying them, without being ſent to the ſcaffold. Had I reſpected you leſs, citizens, I ſhould not be here in chains."

This kind of vindication was doubtleſs ſeverely felt by all his auditors. As far as regarded them, it was certainly unanſwerable. Some of them were ſo ſtung by it as to diſplay a ſhameful want of equity, by moving to hurry him through his defence in the courſe of a few hours. Several documents, which he claimed as abſolutely neceſſary, were likewiſe withheld from him. On the tenth of July the convention unanimouſly voted that he ſhould be ſent for trial to the tribunal of Amiens. The trial laſted nearly two months, and ended in his conviction. Dreſſed in a red ſhirt, the badge of an aſſaſſin, he was led, on the ſixteenth of October, to the guillotine, and, in this laſt ſcene of his life, verified the trite aſſertion, that cruelty and cowardice are generally connected. At the ſight of the inſtrument of death he fainted, and was obliged to be carried to the ſcaffold.

A great act of juſtice, towards the families of thoſe who had been ſlaughtered by the revolutionary government, was at length performed by the convention, after repeated and animated debates. It decreed, with ſome exceptions, that the unſold property of all perſons condemned ſince the tenth of March 1793 ſhould be reſtored to their heirs, and that for ſuch property as had been ſold a compenſation ſhould be made. Boiſſy d'Anglas, Doulcet, Louvet, and Legendre were among the moſt active ſupporters of this meaſure. The latter, in particular, pleaded for the reſtitution with an affecting eloquence, which made a deep impreſſion on his hearers.

It would have been a happy circumſtance for the interests of humanity had the convention been leſs tardy in bringing to puniſhment the numerous and ſanguinary agents of the fallen tyranny; men who had rejoiced in the taſk of ruining and ſlaughtering their fellow countrymen. This tardineſs had the fatal effect of giving birth to freſh crimes, by which the former criminals became the victims, and the victims criminal in their turn. In the ſouth of France private revenge was exerciſed to a wide and ſhocking extent. Irritated by the impunity which their late oppreſſors enjoyed, the people roſe againſt them, and diſgraced themſelves by acts of cruelty and aſſaſſination. At Lyons one of the priſons was broken open, and ſeventy notorious jacobins were put to death. "This," ſaid one, "is the murderer "of my father;" "this man," exclaimed a ſecond, "maſſacred my "brother," and "this," cried a third, "has robbed me of all my kindred." Each ſingled out the object of his hatred, and no mercy was ſhown. To another priſon the priſoners themſelves ſet fire to eſcape the more terrible death which awaited them. This was followed by the formation of bands of young men, who ſeized in the ſtreets at noon day, and plunged into the Rhone, all thoſe individuals who had rendered themſelves notorious by their blood-thirſty conduct during the two preceding years. The ſame ſyſtem was, in a ſhort time, extended throughout the whole of the ſouth. At Marſeilles, Aix, Taraſcon, Arles, Orange, and many other places the priſoners were butchered, and the unimpriſoned terroriſts were purſued and ſacrificed with unrelenting fury. Iſnard, who had been ſent on a miſſion to Marſeilles, excited to madneſs the rage of the Marſeilleſe youth, by his horrible eloquence. On his arrival the jacobins were ſtill exerciſing a deſpotic authority over the city, and the young men complained to him that they had no arms to defend themſelves againſt their perſecutors. "No arms!" he exclaimed, "open "the graves, arm yourſelves with "the bones of your fathers, and "march againſt their murderers!" Theſe words were the ſignal of deſtruction. The convention was finally compelled to paſs ſevere laws for the repreſſion of theſe exceſſes; but a long time, nevertheleſs, elapſed before tranquillity was fully re-eſtabliſhed in the ſouthern provinces.

A ſtorm, more dark and terrible than any of the former, was at this moment gathering round the party which held the reins of government. The jacobins, far from being diſcouraged by the recent detection, which had merely reached to the ſubalterns in the conſpiracy, were only ſtimulated to greater exertions for the accompliſhment of their projects. They were reſolved that the next combat ſhould be deciſive. Accordingly, by all thoſe arts which they ſo well knew how to practice, they laboured to ſecure the aſſiſtance of the lower order of the people, and their efforts, aided by the almoſt total want of bread, were but too ſucceſsful. Proud of the numbers which flocked to their ſtandard they no longer doubted of a complete triumph. The governing faction, meanwhile, ſeemed wrapped in a ſecurity the moſt profound and unaccountable.

The evening of the day preceding that which was choſen for the conflict gave plain and alarming "note "of preparation." Numerous bands, principally of females, paraded the ſtreets, clamoured againſt the convention, and threatened to puniſh it on the morrow. In the night the jacobin declaration of war was profuſely poſted all over Paris. To the departments it had already been ſent. It bore as a title the words "inſurrection of the people to obtain bread, and re-conquer its rights." The motto, meant, perhaps, as an irony, was "reſpect to property." This manifeſto was of conſiderable length, drawn up in groſs and daring language, and detailed minutely the conceſſions to be required from the aſſembly, and the manner in which the mob was to act. The citizens, men and women, of each ſection, were directed to "march from all points in a fraternal diſorder," without waiting for the march of the neighbouring ſections. "Bread and "the conſtitution of 1793" was to be the rallying cry. The demands to be made were nearly the ſame as thoſe which have already been enumerated.

The inſurrection burſt forth, with the utmoſt fury, on the twentieth of May. At five in the morning the alarm bells were rung, and the drums beat to arms, in the ſuburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau. Men and women hurried through the ſtreets ringing little bells, and ſounding kettles and pans, to ſummon their companions to join them. By the time that the mob arrived at the hall of the convention it conſiſted of thirty thouſand perſons of both ſexes, groteſquely armed with muſkets, ſabres, pikes, pitchforks, and clubs.

It was nearly noon before the convention aſſembled. In leſs than an hour it was inveſted. Iſabeau opened the ſitting by reading the manifeſto of the jacobins. The galleries had been early filled with women, moſt of them intoxicated, who, as ſoon as the reading of the paper was finiſhed, teſtified their love of its principles by thunders of applauſe. The united committees of government had already diſpatched orders to ſuch of the ſections as were faithful to get their battalions under arms. They now propoſed, and the convention adopted, a ſeries of meaſures to cruſh the revolt. The commune of Paris was made reſponſible for any attack upon the national repreſentation, and the leaders of the inſurrection were outlawed. A proclamation was likewiſe addreſſed to the citizens of Paris, and ſeveral deputies were appointed to viſit the ſections, and counteract the plots of the revolters. While theſe ſteps were taking the convention was inſulted and vilified, in the moſt outrageous manner, by the women in the galleries. It was, at laſt, compelled to direct the galleries to be cleared, which was done, though not without half an hour's reſiſtance on the part of the enraged occupants.

The inſurgents ſoon commenced their attack. The doors were broken open, and the crowd ruſhed in with cries and imprecations. Repeatedly driven out, they repeatedly forced their way back; but, the battalion of one of the ſections having arrived to its aid, the convention ſucceeded in repulſing the rabble. The calm, however, was but of ſhort duration. Having taken breath for about two hours the aſſailants renewed their efforts with redoubled fury, defeated the guard, again broke open the doors, trampled upon the repreſentative Feraud, who implored them to retire, and finally remained maſters of the hall. They ſeated themſelves in the ſeats of the deputies, and for a long time all was tumult and noiſe. They were joined by the jacobin members.

The preſident's chair was filled by Boiſſy d'Anglas, againſt whom numbers of the revolters levelled their muſkets. Feraud ruſhed to cover the body of the preſident with his own, but, as he aſcended the ſteps, he fell by a piſtol ſhot. He was inſtantly dragged into the ſaloon, and pierced with a thouſand wounds. His head was then cut off and paraded on a pike through the ſtreets. The ſimilarity in the ſound of his name to that of the obnoxious Freron was the cauſe of his murder.

A momentary ſilence being obtained, a cannoneer began to read the plan of the inſurrection. He was every inſtant interrupted by the beating of drums, the ſhouts of applauſe from his party, the wild and ſanguinary motions which were made, and the threats and abuſe which were poured forth againſt thoſe deputies who were hoſtile to the terroriſts. This ſcene laſted more than four hours. During all this time the preſident, Boiſſy, diſplayed a calm and majeſtic courage, which was truly worthy of admiration. Though a thouſand pikes and bayonets were preſented to his breaſt, and the balls frequently whiſtled round him, he ſat with an unchanged countenance, refuſed to put the rebellious propoſitions to the vote, and, whenever he could make himſelf heard, reproached the inſurgents with their violation of the laws. The pale and bleeding head of Feraud was brought in, and held up before him, to intimidate him, by the ſavage aſſaſſins. He bowed to it reſpectfully, but betrayed not a ſingle ſign of fear. His friends, at length, by a gentle violence, compelled him to withdraw from his dangerous ſtation, and his enemies, awed by or admiring his firmneſs, allowed him to paſs uninjured.

By nine in the evening the greateſt part of the deputies had eſcaped from the hall, leaving only from ſixty to eighty of their colleagues, chiefly inveterate terroriſts. Theſe, in conjuction with the rabble, aſſumed the legiſlative authority. Deputies, intoxicated women, and men with bottles and glaſſes in their hands, ſat and voted together, and paſſed decrees with ſuch rapidity that the ſecretary was allowed ſcarcely ſufficient time to commit them to paper. All the laws inſiſted upon in the manifeſto, and many others of the ſame nature, were decreed by acclamation. The reign of terror was completely reſtored. The command of the armed force was given to Soubrany, and a new committee of general ſafety was formed, conſiſting of Duroy, Duqueſnoy, Prieur de la Marne, and Bourbotte.

But, while the jacobins were thus indulging in the exerciſe of their recovered ſovereignty, their proſcribed antagoniſts were not idle. The committees of government which ſat in a neighbouring houſe, and had repelled the mob, were joined by the deputies who had quitted the hall.

and they rallied round them the battalions of the ſections of Lepelletier, Butte des Moulins, and Brutus. The jacobin force, on the contrary, was much weakened. It was midnight, and numbers of the inſurgents had retired to their homes. Putting themſelves at the head of the battalions of the ſections, Legendre and Anguis marched to attack the revolted deputies and their adherents in the hall of the convention. Their approach was firſt announced to the inſurgents, by the return of the newly appointed commiſſioners, Bourbotte and his companions, who were driven back into the hall while proceeding to the ſpot where they were to commence their functions. Almoſt at the moment of their return the battalions entered on all ſides with fixed bayonets. The aſtoniſhed crowd made but a ſhort oppoſition, and then took flight in all directions, ſome through the doors, and ſome through the windows. Only the jacobin deputies were left behind, to encounter the rage of their victorious enemies. Their conſternation, on being thus ſuddenly deſerted, was plainly viſible in their faces.

The ſcattered pages which contained the mock decrees were firſt burnt amidſt loud acclamations. The convention then decreed the arreſt of Rhul, Fayau, the elder Pinet, Borie, Peyſſard, Lecarpentier, Albitte, Goujon, Prieur, Duroy, Duqueſnoy, Romme, Bourbotte, and Soubrany, all of whom had taken a marked ſhare in the inſurrection of the day.

This blow, ſevere as it was, did not diſhearten the jacobins. A new combat would, they hoped, give them an ultimate triumph. The night was ſpent in collecting all their ſtrength. On the following day nearly the entire population of the ſuburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau once more marched againſt the convention, but with the addition of cannon. A battalion of heavy cavalry, which had been diſpatched to oppoſe their march, went over to their ſide. The battalions of the faithful ſections with their artillery haſtened, on the other hand, to defend the aſſembly. The two parties drew up in battle array againſt each other, the lighted matches were ſuſpended over the cannon, and every thing indicated that a horrible conflict was on the point of taking place. At this important moment, the convention, either giving way to fear, or apprehenſive of placing itſelf too much in the power of its defenders, whoſe republicaniſm it doubted, came to the reſolution of parleying with the inſurgents. It appointed a deputation to explain and fraternize, and, as the conſtitution of 1793 was one of the demands of the inſurgents, it decreed that a commiſſion ſhould, within a few days, preſent a project of the organic laws which were neceſſary to put that conſtitution in activity. The ſpokeſman of the mob was next admitted to the bar. In the name of his colleagues, and in haughty language, he required, bread, the conſtitution, and the liberation of the patriots, and he declared that the people were determined to die at the poſt which they now occupied rather than deſiſt from any one of their claims. The murmurs which were called forth from ſome of the members, by this inſolent harangue, he noticed with expreſſions of anger and defiance. The preſident, Vernier, replied in terms ſtudiouſly equivocal, but which bore the ſemblance of conceſſion. The fraternal embrace was likewiſe given to the orator. Satisfied that every thing was henceforth in their power, and that they had only to command when they pleaſed the ſacrifice of their victims, and thinking it uſeleſs, therefore, to run the riſk of a battle, the jacobin leaders diſmiſſed the rabble of the ſuburbs to their reſpective homes.

The baſe and daſtardly conduct of the convention produced its natural effect. On the following day, as the aſſaſſin of Feraud was conducting to the guillotine, he was reſcued by the mob, and carried in triumph to the ſuburb of St. Antoine. This outrage rouſed the convention at once to a ſenſe of its peril and its duty. It ſaw that it had no alternative but to act with vigour or to periſh. A decree was inſtantly paſſed that, under pain of being declared in a ſtate of rebellion, and treated accordingly, the citizens of the ſuburb ſhould give up the aſſaſſin, and likewiſe ſurrender their cannon. Another decree outlawed, and condemned to be immediately ſhot, all perſons wearing ſeditious badges, and a third decree interdicted women from forming groups in the ſtreets, and made impriſonment the penalty of diſobedience. The ſections which eſpouſed the cauſe of the aſſembly were ſummoned to march, and reduce the inſurgents.

The ſummons was obeyed with that alacrity which is inſpired by the deſire of avenging paſt injuries, and depriving an enemy of the power of inflicting injuries in future. In execution of the decrees, thirty thouſand men, with a formidable train of artillery and mortars, advanced to the ſuburb of St. Antoine, cut off its communication with that of St. Marceau; inveſted it on all ſides, and threatened a bombardment, if within the ſpace of an hour, the decree of the convention were not fully obeyed. The repreſentatives who accompanied the army, among whom were Barras and Freron, copying the ferocity of their antagoniſts, even deliberated whether they ſhould not, without ceremony, ſet fire to the ſuburb. This propoſition was, however, overruled; General Menou, who commanded the forces, having poſitively refuſed to ſhare in the reſponſibility of ſo terrible a meaſure. That ſuch a propoſition ſhould have been made, is a circumſtance which reflects no ſmall diſgrace upon thoſe from whom it had its origin.

The inſurgents had unpaved and barricaded the ſtreets, and made other preparations for reſiſtance, but at the ſight of the formidable army which inveſted them, their courage failed, and, before the limited time was expired, they ſubmitted to be diſarmed, and to reſign their leaders and cannon. The aſſaſſin of Feraud was diſcovered, and, finding that it was impoſſible to eſcape, threw himſelf from the roof of a houſe, and was daſhed to pieces. This day conſummated the defeat of the jacobin faction.

The ramifications of this conſpiracy were widely ſpread. At Toulon the jacobins, on the nineteenth of May, roſe in arms, to the number of ſeveral thouſands, releaſed their impriſoned companions, ſeized upon the arſenal, and endeavoured, but without effect, to obtain poſſeſſion of the fleet. Having ſecured their conqueſt, they marched towards Marſeilles, where they hoped to obtain a powerful reinforcement. Their intention was to collect all the partizans of terror in the ſouthern provinces, and then proceed to Paris. They were luckily foiled by the vigour of the repreſentatives on miſſion in that quarter, who aſſembled a ſmall army and attacked them, on their march from Toulon to Marſeilles. The rebels were entirely routed, and the repreſentatives entered Toulon, without encountering any further oppoſition.

Several of the jacobin deputies who had fomented the revolt at Toulon were arreſted by the convention. But that aſſembly did not confine its vengeance to them alone. Within a week it put under arreſt no leſs than twenty-five of its members, who were notorious for their ſanguinary principles. Many of theſe had, during the reign of terror, been ſent on miſſion into the departments, where they exercifed their power with a degree of tyranny ſcarcely to be conceived, and almoſt rivalled Carrier and Le Bon. The decree for the tranſportation of Barrere, Vadier, Billaud, and Collot was repealed, as being too lenient, and another decree was paſſed for bringing them to trial before the criminal tribunal of the department of the Lower Charente. But Collot and Billaud had already failed. Pache, Bouchotte, Haſſenfratz, and many others were comprehended in this decree. The populace of the ſuburbs was completely diſarmed; not even a pike being left.

By a maſter ſtroke of policy in the ruling faction the means of being formidable were alſo withdrawn from the ſections. Their cannon, of which each ſection poſſeſſed two pieces, were freely offered to the convention by the ſections themſelves. This meaſure was artfully brought about by the ſecret agents of the government, who perſuaded the Pariſians that the retention of their artillery could anſwer no beneficial purpoſe, and might be productive of miſchief, as the cannoneers were, in general, of jacobinical principles. To complete its plan of holding for the future the capital in entire ſubjection, the convention availed itſelf of the late revolt, as a pretext for bringing, oſtenſibly as a guard, a body of regular troops into the vicinity of Paris. Theſe troops, the number of which was afterwards, from time to time, ſilently increaſed, were encamped at Marly.

The military commiſſion, which had been eſtabliſhed to try the inſurgents of the twentieth of May, exerciſed, meanwhile, its functions with great activity. It condemned to death, impriſonment in chains, or tranſportation, nearly eighty individuals. Among the perſons condemned to die were Romme, Bourbotte, Duroy, Duqueſnoy, Goujeon, and Soubrany. As ſoon as their doom was pronounced, they poignarded themſelves; but Soubrany, Bourbotte and Duroy, not having effectually accompliſhed their purpoſe, were carried bleeding to the ſcaffold, and underwent the ſentence of the law. Romme, who appeared entirely deprived of life, was recovered by the care of his friends, and afterwards eſcaped from France.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Death of Lewis the ſeventeenth. Suſpicions that it was occaſioned by poiſon. The French rulers reſolve to exchange the princeſs royal for the deputies and ambaſſadors in the hands of the Emperor. She is removed from her priſon to a country houſe. General wiſh for a ſtable government. The convention, at firſt, affects to treat the anarchical conſtitution of 1793 with great reſpect. Gradual change in its conduct. The jacobins call loudly for the eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution of 1793. Commiſſion of ſeven appointed to prepare laws to put it in execution. Report of the commiſſion. It recommends the formation of a commiſſion of eleven perſons, to reviſe the conſtitution, and make arrangements for its execution. The members are choſen from among thoſe who are hoſtile to it. Debate on giving ſtrength and unity to the preſent temporary government. Uſe which is made of it. Addreſs of one of the ſections reprobating the conſtitution of 1793. Conteſt in conſequence between the moderate party and the jacobins. Report from the commiſſion of eleven, preſented by Boiſſy d'Anglas. He attacks the code of 1793. Preſents the plan of a new conſtitution. The new conſtitution is debated, and finally decreed. Outlines of the form of government eſtabliſhed by it. Cenſures paſſed upon it. State of public opinion in Paris. The convention manifeſts a want of confidence in its late defenders. The leaders of the ruling faction releaſe the impriſoned terroriſts. Decrees of the convention that two thirds of its members ſhall ſit in the new legiſlature. Charge of cowardice brought againſt the citizens of Paris. Precautions of the ruling faction to ſecure the re-election. Indignation of the citizens of Paris, at the decrees and the charge brought againſt them. Bitter language uſed by the political writers. Petitions of the ſections. Attack upon Tallien. Meeting of the primary aſſemblies to deliberate on the conſtitution and the decrees. Proceedings in the Pariſian aſſemblies. The decrees rejected by the ſections. Bold meaſures of the ſections. The convention declares the conſtitution and the decrees to be accepted by the nation. The ſections ſtill continue their reſiſtance. The convention takes rigorous meaſures againſt them. It arms the terroriſts, and determines to reduce the ſections to obedience. Abortive attempt to diſarm the ſection of Le Pelletier. The citizens fly to arms, and march againſt the convention. After a dreadful conteſt they are entirely defeated. Proceedings of the convention againſt the vanquiſhed. Tallien denounces ſeveral of his colleagues. The convention orders the arreſt of Saladin and Rovere. Fears entertained of an intention, on the part of ſome of the leaders of the convention, to ſuſpend the conſtitution, and renew the reign of terror. Laſt acts of the convention. It declares its authority at an end. Its character.

WHILE, for the poſſeſſion of the government, the two factions were thus tearing each other to pieces, their victim, the legitimate ſovereign of France, was releaſed from his captivity by death. The young and unfortunate Lewis the ſeventeenth expired in the Temple, on the eighth of June, after an impriſonment of nearly three years. In the report which was made upon the ſubject, to the convention, a ſcrophulous complaint was ſtated to be the cauſe of his untimely end. But, among the public, the ſuſpicion was very ſtrong and general that his days were cut ſhort by poiſon, and circumſtances were not wanting to give it probability. It does not, however, appear that this ſuſpicion was well founded. The character of many of the republican leaders authorizes, it is true, a belief, that if they could have gained any thing by his aſſaſſination, they would not have heſitated to perform it; but, in this inſtance, policy would probably forbid the commiſſion of a crime, which would be worſe than uſeleſs. The death of the infant Lewis did not extinguiſh all claims to the crown of France; it only removed the crown from the head of a priſoner to that of a perſon free, and more capable of aſſerting his rights, and ſo far it was diſadvantageous; and it, likewiſe, deprived them of a hoſtage which, in caſe of their being vanquiſhed, might have enabled them to negotiate with effect for their ſafety and their intereſts. Yet, though the deſtroyers of the throne may, perhaps, ſtand acquitted of having poiſoned the young monarch, they were not the leſs his murderers. The difference was merely in the manner. Inſtead of accompliſhing the deed by an act of violence, they accompliſhed it, more cruelly, by long-continued and ſyſtematic barbarity. Rigorouſly immured, as he was, ſecluded from the ſight of every perſon who could afford him conſolation, expoſed to the brutality of his jailors, fed for a conſiderable time on groſs and improper food, and taught the uſe of ſpirituous liquors, his conſtitution, naturally delicate, ſunk under ſuch accumulated attacks. Thoſe who ſanctioned his being treated with ſo much inhumanity it is not unjuſt to conſider as the authors of his death.

Either prompted by pity, or yielding to the public voice, which loudly called for her releaſe, the rulers of France reſolved to reſtore to freedom the orphan daughter of Lewis the ſixteenth. On the laſt day of June the committees of government made a report to the convention in which they propoſed to exchange the princeſs royal for the deputies, who had been delivered up to the Auſtrians by Dumourier, and the ambaſſadors, Semonville and Maret, who had been taken priſoners. They likewiſe propoſed to allow the members of the Bourbon family to retire from the territory of France. Theſe propoſitions were decreed, not merely without oppoſition, but with applauſe. The propoſed exchange did not take place till towards the end of the year. In the mean time the princeſs was removed from her priſon to a country houſe, and thoſe perſons who were believed to be moſt agreeable to her, and moſt capable of affording her conſolation, were choſen for her attendants and companions.

The want of a ſtable government, qualified to give peace and repoſe to the haraſſed people, was widely and ſeverely felt. Though the tyranny of the jacobins was overthrown there was no ſecurity that it might not again acquire the aſcendant, and cover the country with ſcaffolds and blood. Nor was it poſſible to carry on, for any length of time, the buſineſs of the ſtate, under the preſent anomalous order of things. From all corners of France a cry was heard for the eſtabliſhment of a regular conſtitution, or, at leaſt, of ſome code, even though imperfect, which might ſecure the citizens from a repetition of the ſufferings they had ſo lately undergone.

A conſtitution, abſurd and dangerous in the higheſt degree, framed in a few days, by the jacobins, to anſwer their own purpoſes, and ſuſpended at the moment of its completion, was indeed in exiſtence. This was the anarchical conſtitution of 1793, of which the people had been compelled, under penalty of the guillotine, to declare their free acceptance. The convention, however, for ſeveral months after the fall of Roberſpierre, continued to treat this ridiculous and wicked code with the profoundeſt reſpect, as the choice and future guide of the nation. Profeſſions of attachment to it were largely and frequently made; and Andrew Dumont having ſpoken of it as unchangeable, the whole aſſembly roſe, in token of aſſent to his doctrine. The marble tablets on which it was engraven having been removed from the hall while ſome repairs were making, they were replaced with great ſolemnity, amidſt loud acclamations. The return of the outlawed deputies was, as might be expected, the ſignal of a change. It was not to be ſuppoſed that, even had the work of their adverſaries approached to perfection, the members of the Girondiſt faction would look upon it with a favourable eye. Yet they did not think it prudent to venture ſo far as to propoſe its rejection. In the convention they, for a while, contented themſelves with inſinuating objections to ſome of its articles, and with urging the neceſſity of avoiding precipitate meaſures, which might occaſion its failure when put in activity. The writers in their intereſt not having the ſame reaſons for caution, daily criticized it with the utmoſt ſeverity and effect, and ſoon left it no other partizans than the jacobins, who ſaw in it the infallible means of perpetuating their tyranny. To prevent theſe means from being wreſted out of their hands they now thought it indiſpenſable to exert themſelves. Two of the ſections of the ſuburbs were ſent to the convention to require that the conſtitution of 1793, which they ſtyled the palladium of the people, ſhould be immediately organized. To this their friends in the aſſembly added the demand that a copy of it, together with the declaration of rights, ſhould, conformably to one of its articles, be fixed in every public place. This inſidious demand called forth the firſt open and decided attack upon the conſtitution itſelf, ſeveral parts of which were cenſured by Thibadeau, in an eloquent and argumentative ſpeech. The example thus ſet by Thibadeau, was, in the courſe of a few days, followed by Pelet, who diſplayed equal vigour. Both the orators were heard with ſigns of approbation.

No one, however, had yet the courage to move that the conſtitution of 1793 ſhould be abrogated, and a new one formed. A commiſſion of ſeven members was named to prepare the laws and arrangements, or organic laws as they were termed, which were neceſſary to put the conſtitution in a ſtate to be executed. Of theſe ſeven a majority was of the Girondiſt party. The nomination took place two days ſubſequently to the abortive revolt of the firſt of April, in which the conſtitution of 1793 had been one of the rallying cries of the revolters.

The commiſſion, having deliberated for a fortnight, made a report, which was obviouſly intended to pave the way for important changes. Without directly reprobating the conſtitution, the report adroitly demonſtrated its radical viciouſneſs, and the dangers to which it might give riſe. Repreſenting the taſk as one which required much time, and infinite labour and ability, the reporter recommended the eſtabliſhment of a commiſſion of eleven members, inveſted with extenſive powers, to fill up the chaſms of the code, and frame its organic laws. The project, which he preſented, of a decree to this effect, was ſanctioned by the convention. The decree invited the citizens to addreſs to the commiſſion their reflections upon the ſubject, and ordered that the beſt of the plans ſhould be printed at the public expence.

The commiſſion was appointed on the twenty-ſecond of April. It conſiſted of Cambacéres, Merlin of Douay, Sieyes, Thibadeau, Lareveillere-Lepaux, Leſage of Eure and Loire, Boiſſy d'Anglas, Berlier, Daunou, Creuzé-Latouche, and Louvet, of the department of Loiret. The latter, who muſt not be miſtaken for his nameſake, the author of the Centinel, and friend of Roland, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf previouſly to the trial of Louis the XVI. by denying the right of the convention to judge that monarch. The appointment of theſe perſons, nearly if not all of whom were decidedly hoſtile to the jacobins, ſufficiently indicated what would be the fate of the jacobin conſtitution.

While the commiſſion was employed on its taſk, an intereſting debate took place in the convention, on the means of ſimplifying and invigorating the preſent proviſional government, the powers of which were diſſeminated among numerous committees, and were conſequently languid and inefficient. From a variety of plans which were brought forward, that of Cambacéres was finally choſen by the aſſembly. This diſcuſſion, which laſted ſeveral days, gave an opportunity to many of the members to prepare the nation for the changes which were meditated. The idea of dividing the legiſlature into two houſes, and giving ſtrength to the executive department of the ſtate, was ſtated by Lanjuinais and Boiſſy d'Anglas, and received with applauſe. The latter did not heſitate to ſtigmatize as tyranny the exerciſe of all uncontrouled authority, like that of the convention.

Hitherto, though the conſtitution had been cenſured as an imperfect work, not one of the members had had the boldneſs to tear the maſk from it, and hold it up in its proper light, as the production of a few deſpots, who had called in the aid of the ſcaffold to compel the legiſlature and the people to grant it their ſanction. This undeniable truth was at laſt drawn out by the language which a deputation, with a petition from one of the ſections, held at the bar of the aſſembly. The ſpokeſman of the ſection having deſcribed the code of 1793 as the "decemviral conſtitution, dictated "by terror, and accepted under its "empire," the jacobin deputies took fire at this political blaſphemy, contended that the petitioners were royaliſts, and inſiſted upon their being arreſted. They aſſerted that the conſtitution had been debated by the aſſembly, and accepted by the people, with perfect freedom of action. This daring aſſertion was more than the patience of their hearers could bear. It was immediately belied by a hundred indignant voices, which atteſted the veracity of the petitioners, and reduced the jacobin faction to ſilence. The revolt of the twentieth of May ſhortly after occurred, and carried to its higheſt pitch the hatred of a conſtitution, the eſtabliſhment of which the rebels had placed among the foremoſt of their demands.

At length, on the twenty-firſt of June, the commiſſion of eleven preſented to the convention the reſult of its labours. Boiſſy d'Anglas was its organ, and he performed his office in a manner which fully atteſted his talents. His ſpeech, developing the principles upon which the commiſſion had acted, was a very eloquent compoſition, more free from rhetorical flouriſhes than is uſual with French orators; and though it contained many ſophiſms, and laid down many erroneous and even pernicious maxims, it contained alſo much found ſenſe, and cloſe unobjectionable reaſoning. Againſt the conſtitution of 1793, Boiſſy directed all the force of his logic and eloquence. He pointed out minutely its numerous and dangerous faults, and laviſhed on it every expreſſion and epithet of opprobrium and hatred. Deſcribing it as conceived in the boſom of crime, impotent for good, and only powerful, dreadfully powerful, for evil; he called on the convention to be no longer abuſed by vain words, but to complete its triumph, and after having immolated the tyrants, to bury their odious work in the ſame tomb which had devoured them. As ſoon as he had concluded his ſpeech, the plan of the new conſtitution was read, and was hailed with loud and reiterated acclamations. A day was fixed to diſcuſs it; and the members abſent on leave or miſſion were recalled to aſſiſt in the diſcuſſion.

The debates on this ſubject continued nearly two months. The conſtitution was ſcrutinized article by article, and many important amendments and additions were made to it. Sieyes endeavoured to interweave into it one of his abſurdities, under the title of a conſtitutional jury; the object of which was to ſecure the conſtitution from being overturned. For a moment the ſcheme met with admirers, but its folly was ſoon demonſtrated, and it was unanimouſly rejected. The deliberation was finally cloſed on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, and the conſtitution was declared to be completed.

This new code contained fourteen titles * or chapters, and, like its predeceſſors, was prefaced by a declaration of rights. Experience, however, having taught that the former declarations had been "an "arſenal for the ſeditious," the terrible maxim which conſecrated inſurrection was omitted in the preſent. The rights were alſo modified and checked by the addition of a declaration of duties.

By this code the executive power was lodged in the hands of five perſons, not under forty years of age, nominated by the legiſlature, and called the directory. This body, of which one member was yearly to go out by lot, was charged to ſuperintend the execution of the laws,

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* See State Papers, p 268 *.

and to provide for the ſecurity of the republic, and was authorized to direct the coining of money, appoint generals and admirals, and diſpoſe of the naval and military forces. It was allowed to propoſe meaſures to the legiſlature, but not plans drawn up in the form of laws, and its members were amenable to a high court of juſtice, if they exceeded the limits of their authority. It could neither make war, nor definitively conclude a treaty.

The legiſlature was divided into two councils; the firſt, conſiſting of five hundred members, was called the council of five hundred; the ſecond, conſiſting of half that number, bore the name of the council of elders. To the former was given the ſole faculty of propoſing laws, to the latter, that of rejecting them. Both the councils were to be renewed annually by thirds.

The mode of chuſing deputies to theſe councils, was by primary and electoral aſſemblies. Each primary aſſembly, compoſed of citizens domiciliated in the ſame canton, nominated, according to its population, a certain number of electors, to form the electoral aſſemblies, which were to appoint the members of the legiſlative bodies.

The juſtices of peace and their aſſeſſors, the preſidents of the municipal adminiſtration of the canton, and, in certain caſes, the municipal officers of communes, were alſo to be appointed by the primary aſſemblies. The electoral aſſemblies were to chooſe the members of the tribunal of annulment, the high jurors, the adminiſtrators of department, the preſident, public accuſer and regiſter of the criminal tribunal, and the judges of the civil tribunals.

This conſtitution underwent a ſtrict ſcrutiny from the literary and enlightened part of the public. It was in many points ſeverely blamed, and eſpecially in thoſe which related to the executive power and the legiſlative bodies. The directory was truly ſaid to be compoſed of jarring elements, and to want that vigour which was neceſſary to enable it to hold, with a firm hand, the reins of government. The objectors predicted that, in the end, it would either be trampled upon by the councils, or by a violation of the laws, would obtain the means of compelling the councils to be ſubſervient to its dictates. From the Pariſian wits it received the ludicrous title of "the brotherhood "of the ſceptre." With regard to the councils, that proviſion which reſtricted to the one of them the framing of laws, and to the other the rejection of them, was conſidered as highly abſurd in its principle, and as calculated to give riſe to fatal quarrels between the two diviſions of the legiſlature. Imperfect, however, as the conſtitution was, the people of France deemed it more prudent to give it their ſanction, than to run the riſk of again encountering all the horrors of revolutionary tyranny. They flattered themſelves too, that, when they had got rid of their preſent tyrants, they ſhould have the power to apply a remedy to its numerous imperfections. But in the hope of ſhaking off the authority of thoſe who had oppreſſed and diſgraced them, they were to experience an unexpected and cruel diſappointment.

During the time that the convention was occupied in diſcuſſing the conſtitutional code, it was hourly becoming more odious to the people, and eſpecially to the Pariſians. A great majority of the individuals of the ruling faction were aware that the ſuccour which they had obtained from the ſections on the twentieth of May was not given to them through affection, but merely to prevent the jacobins from reſtoring the reign of terror. Now that they had completely overthrown the chiefs of the hoſtile faction, they felt a greater dread of their allies than of thoſe who had been the tools of their enemies. Believing, or affecting to believe, that the Pariſians were tainted with royaliſt principles, they endeavoured to obtain an antidote to the danger, by rallying round themſelves the impriſoned partizans of the fallen tyrants. They releaſed numbers of the terroriſts, whom they diſguiſed under the name of the patriots of 1789. It was in vain that at the bar of the convention the ſections demanded the trial of the criminals; they were liſtened to with impatience, and anſwered with arrogance. By the journaliſts, many of whom poſſeſſed ſplendid talents and extenſive influence, this conduct was reprobated with all the energy of indignation; and all the forgotten crimes of the offending deputies were dragged to light, and deſcanted upon with unrelenting ſeverity. The young men of Paris alſo let ſlip no opportunity of manifeſting their diſguſt at the ingratitude with which their late ſervices were repaid. The government, in return, paſſed laws reſtrictive of the liberty of the preſs, impriſoned ſome of the journaliſts, and encouraged its partizans to thwart and humiliate as much as poſſible the Pariſian youth. This gave riſe to daily conteſts, in the ſtreets and public places, between the two parties.

Convinced that the formation of an entirely new legiſlature would ſend moſt of them back to obſcurity, or perhaps, even expoſe them to puniſhment for their crimes, the members of the convention adopted the daring reſolution of compelling the nation to continue to them that authority which they had ſo ſhamefully abuſed. This flagrant violation of the rights of the people was a fit climax to all their paſt proceedings. It was, however, cloaked under the pretext of the public good. To abandon at the preſent moment the care of the conſtitution to others than its authors would, it was ſaid, be to expoſe it to deſtruction, and the country to imminent danger. To avert this calamity, Baudin, in the name of the commiſſion of eleven, brought up a report, which propoſed that two thirds of the members of the next legiſlature ſhould be choſen from among the members of the convention. On the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt this plan was ſanctioned by a decree, to which, on the thirtieth, an explanatory and ſupplementary decree was added. The convention was even diſpoſed to retain in its own hands the choice of members, but, at length, after three days diſcuſſion, it thought proper to relinquiſh it to the electoral aſſemblies, reſerving only the right of completing the two thirds, in caſe the aſſemblies ſhould fall ſhort of electing the full number. Remarkable as the whole of Baudin's report was, there was nothing in it more ſtriking than the boldneſs with which it urged againſt the citizens of the capital a charge of having, by their daſtardly abandonment of the convention, been the cauſe of its numerous crimes. This offenſive charge was ſtated and enlarged upon in the moſt galling manner.

The ſixth of September was the day fixed for the primary aſſemblies to meet, for the purpoſe of ſanctioning or rejecting the conſtitution and the decrees. By a ſtroke of policy it was contrived that the armies ſhould be conſulted upon the ſame ſubject before the primary aſſemblies had begun their deliberations. The ſanction of the military was eaſily obtained, and was oſtentatiouſly proclaimed, to intimidate the citizens. The ſoldiery of the camp near Paris, whoſe pay had been raiſed, and for whoſe officers a ſumptuous table had been kept at the national expence, were the firſt to ſignify their aſſent to the code and the decrees. Other precautions were likewiſe taken by the convention to accompliſh its purpoſe. It decreed that the diſarmed terroriſts ſhould vote in the aſſemblies, ordered the young men of the requiſition to quit Paris in three days, hired numerous mercenary writers to juſtify its meaſures and vilify its opponents, and even deſcended to the trick of printing at the end of the conſtitution the two decrees, in order to induce a belief that they muſt either be rejected or ſanctioned together. It well knew that many of the citizens, however they might abhor the decrees, would aſſent to them, rather than hazard the conſequences of remaining any longer in a ſtate of anarchy.

No indignation could be more violent and more general than that which was excited by the two decrees. Exclamations were heard on all ſides againſt the inſatiable ambition of an aſſembly, which was not ſatisfied with a three year's exerciſe of the moſt ſanguinary tyranny that ever ſhocked and terrified the world. The eloquent pens of a crowd of writers were immediately drawn to brand the forced re-election with infamy, and to animate the popular ſpirit. What, it was bitterly aſked, did the convention preſent to the view of an obſerver, but a medley of individuals who had alternately acted the parts of the proſcribers and the proſcribed; of irreconcileable enemies, who were, nevertheleſs, leagued againſt all thoſe who had a right to hate and deſpiſe them? Was it by a legiſlature chiefly formed of perſons who knew but the two extremes of deſpotiſm and ſervitude, that the conſtitution could be ſupported, and made to inſpire reſpect? The laws were never honoured except when their organs were pure. What love and reſpect, then, could be conciliated to them by men who were known to the citizens only as the inflicters of calamity?

The Pariſians had one motive more than the reſt of their countrymen for their diſguſt and irritation. They felt as an inexpiable injury and inſult the attempt which had been made to attribute to their cowardice the enormities with which their rulers were ſullied. Their organs, the journaliſts, repelled the outrage with the moſt acrimonious energy, and retorted with ſevere effect. "Men no leſs unjuſt than perfidious!" cried they, "you accuſe the "Pariſians of the crimes which you "have provoked, payed, and ſanctioned! But, ſurrounded by robbers, what could they do, when "abandoned by you? Have not the "greateſt part of them periſhed at "their poſts? Can you ſay as much? "You tell us that you were under "the tyranny of Robeſpierre, but "was not his authority your own "work? Did not you decree the "ſanguinary laws which he framed? "Could you not refuſe them your “aſſent? You were ſtrong enough to overthrow the tyrant, the moment you wiſhed to do it, and when he was at the very ſummit of his power.”

The ſections, in the mean time, were not ſilent. Several of them ſent deputies to the bar of the convention, to preſent petitions, which told plain truths in ſtrong language. They called for the repeal of the decree which enacted the re-election of the two thirds, and they likewiſe inſiſted upon the removal of the troops which had been collected round Paris, to overawe the people. They were haughtily anſwered by the preſident, that none but the enemies of liberty could entertain ſuſpicions of the ſoldiery, and that the army in the neighbourhood of the capital had already accepted the conſtitution. The moſt remarkable of theſe petitions was that of the ſection of Le Pelletier, the boldeſt of all the ſections, and in a manner their leader. It was preſented on the ſecond of September, and contained a maſterly attack upon Tallien, who, though not named, was unequivocally pointed out by a quotation from a poſting bill in which, during the period of the maſſacre of the priſoners in 1792, he had beſtowed his warm applauſe upon the infamous aſſaſſins. On hearing this part of the petition he caſt down his eyes, and concealed his face under his hat.

Such was the ſtate of the public feeling when, on the appointed day, the primary aſſemblies met to deliberate upon the important objects ſubmitted to them. In Paris, notwithſtanding the commands of the convention, the terroriſts were generally excluded from the aſſemblies; but to ſome they were admitted, in order, as the formula of admiſſion ſtated, that “they might be witneſſes of the profound contempt which was felt for them.” This excluſion was the ſubject of bitter complaints at the bar of the convention, where the complainants were heard, and conſoled, with a tender ſolicitude.

The meetings of the primary aſſemblies of the ſections of Paris were conducted with the greateſt decorum. The Pariſians on this occaſion acted with a degree of order and calm dignity which they had never before diſplayed. Not the ſlighteſt tumult occurred. The aſſemblies conſiſted of more than ſixty thouſand individuals, reſpectable in appearance, ſituation, and character. The conſtitution and the decrees were examined by the various ſpeakers with much good ſenſe, and not unfrequently with no mean eloquence. The conſtitution was accepted almoſt unanimouſly; the decrees were as decidedly rejected, after a patient hearing of their few defenders. One or two ſections only, the jacobin ſections of the ſuburb of St. Antoine, gave them a ſanction which had been bought by the government at an expence of a million and a half of livres. A great number of conſiderable cities and towns, among which were Beſançon, Liſle, Evreux, Melan, Fontainebleau, Sens, Tours, Orleans, and Nantes, immediately rejected the decrees, and their example was followed by other places of equal importance.

The ſections, though not noiſy and turbulent, were united and reſolute. Previouſly to commencing their deliberations, the majority of them acceded to a meaſure ſuggeſted by the ſection of Le Pelletier. This was a declaration, ſtyled an act of guarantee, by which to ſecure liberty of opinion and perſonal ſafety, each individual was placed under the ſafeguard of the whole of the primary aſſemblies of the capital. This ſtep ſo alarmed the committees of government, that they called on the convention to decree that it would continue to ſit without any adjournment; but the convention did not think proper to give ſuch a proof of its fears. It only appointed an evening ſitting. The next precaution taken by the ſections was to tranſmit addreſſes to the armies, to undeceive them as to the intentions of the Pariſians, and by this means to ſecure their aid, or at leaſt their neutrality, in the event of a conteſt. In one of theſe addreſſes, all of which were ably drawn up, the troops were adroitly reminded of the infamy to which the convention had attempted to expoſe them, by paſſing a law to prohibit their granting quarter to the Hanoverians and Britiſh. The ſection of Le Pelletier now propoſed that a central committee ſhould be formed of delegates from the forty-eight ſections, for the purpoſe of framing a proclamation to the French people, to explain the motives and the wiſhes of the Pariſians. Their plan was adopted. Aware of the dangerous conſequences which this might produce, the convention inſtantly paſſed a law, making it treaſon to be a member of ſuch a committee, or to accept any miſſion from one primary aſſembly to another, or to the armies. The committees of government likewiſe did not ſcruple to intercept the correſpondence between the capital and the departments. Theſe proceedings had no other effect than to irritate ſtill more the ſections, and to make them throw aſide even the ſemblance of reſpect in ſpeaking of the convention. Several of the towns in the neighbourhood of the metropolis united with the Pariſians in their reſiſtance to the decrees.

To put an end to this reſiſtance, the convention haſtened to publiſh the reſult of the votes given by the primary aſſemblies. The report was made by one of its committees, on the twenty-third of September. The number of aſſemblies which had voted was between ſix and ſeven thouſand. Of nearly a million voters only forty-two thouſand were ſtated to have rejected the conſtitution. The decrees were aſſerted to be ſanctioned by a majority of ſeventy-two thouſand perſons; a hundred and ſixty-ſeven thouſand individuals having declared for them, and ninety-five thouſand againſt them. This report was received with the moſt rapturous applauſe. Pelet alone ventured to expreſs ſome doubts as to the correctneſs of the ſtatement, but he was quickly ſilenced by his colleagues. The conſtitution and the decrees were then ſolemnly declared by the preſident in the name of the French people, to be fundamental laws of the republic. The electoral aſſemblies were enjoined to a ſtrict conformance with the two decrees. The new laws were inſtantly proclaimed in Paris, and ſent off by extraordinary couriers to the departments and armies.

When the clamorous joy of the members had a little ſubſided, a report was brought forward relative to the convocation of the electoral aſſemblies. The twelfth of October was the period propoſed by the report for the meeting of thoſe bodies, and their exiſtence was limited to nine days. The new legiſlature was to commence its ſeſſion on the ſixth of November. Theſe propoſitions were decreed; but, by another decree, paſſed ſhortly after, the time fixed for the meeting of the councils was altered to the twenty-ninth of October. To theſe acts obedience was ſternly required, and ſteps were taken to enforce that obedience.

The ſections were neither convinced by the aſſertions, nor intimidated by the meaſures, of the convention. On they contrary, they proceeded with increaſed boldneſs. They poſitively denied that, even of the inſignificant number who had voted upon the decrees of re-election, the majority had given a ſanction to thoſe decrees, and they ſupported their denial by irrefragable proofs of the baſe arts and deceptions which had been practiſed, to cheat the nation into a belief that the decrees were approved. From ſome of the primary aſſemblies in the departments the releaſed terroriſts had, by the dread which they inſpired, excluded the reſpectable and timid citizens; in others, only the conſtitution had been read, and the acceptance of it had been ſurreptitiouſly extended to the decrees, by thoſe who drew up the reports of the proceedings; and in many places, particularly in Paris, where the decrees had not been put to the ſcrutiny, but had been rejected by the unanimouſly indignant voices of all the voters, the votes of thouſands were ſet down as the vote of a ſingle individual. The convention was reminded that delicacy forbad it to make itſelf judge in its own cauſe, by confining to one of its committees the taſk of declaring the reſult of the reports from the primary aſſemblies, and it was entreated to ſatisfy the public, by allowing a fair and open examination. But to talk of delicacy to ſuch a body of men was little leſs abſurd than deſcanting upon colours to men born without the faculty of ſight. It was in reality well known in the capital that the preſent rulers had determined to declare the decrees accepted, whatever might be the deciſion of the people.

The ſpleen and anger of the convention, already ſufficiently excited, were ſtill further increaſed by an event which occurred at this moment. Le Tellier, one of the deputies, having been diſpatched on a miſſion to Chartres, the people of that town aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and, complaining bitterly of the famine which they ſuffered, compelled him, by threats of violence, to iſſue an order that bread ſhould be ſold at the ſame price as in Paris. He was himſelf obliged to attend the publication of this order, in the ſtreets of Chartres; and to hear from the crowd inſults and menaces, blended, it is ſaid, with expreſſions of attachment to royalty. Aſhamed of having yielded to the popular fury, Le Tellier, on the ſame evening, put an end to his exiſtence, leaving behind him a written retraction of the order which had been extorted by the people. When the news of his death was communicated to the convention it gave riſe to an abundance of vehement invective againſt the Chouans, the emigrants, and the ſections of Paris. Tallien took a prominent part in the debate. His virulence was chiefly directed againſt the ſections, whom he charged with having "hypocritically accepted the con- "ſtitution, that they might confide "it to men ſecretly inſtructed to de- "ſtroy it." One paſſage in his ſpeech was remarkable, as ſhewing the firm root which is taken in the mind by old habits. Speaking of the abominable ſyſtem of terror, he did not cenſure it as bad in its very nature, but as accidentally bad. He called it "the ſyſtem of terror, diſ-"honoured by Roberſpiere." He did not, however, demand the re-eſtabliſhment of the guillotine; he contented himſelf with recommending the baniſhment of the royaliſts, allowing them, at the ſame time, to diſpoſe of their property. His ſpeech was ſo much to the taſte of its hearers, that it was loudly applauded, and his motion was referred to a committee. By ſome of the moſt furious of the jacobin members, an attempt was made to obtain a reviſion of all the eraſures from the liſt of emigrants; a meaſure which its propoſers ſhameleſsly ſupported on the two degrading grounds of intereſt and revenge. The propoſition was got rid of by the order of the day.

Unable to wreak any further its vengeance on the expatriated French themſelves, the convention endeavoured to wound them through the ſides of their relatives and connections. It paſſed, without a ſingle diſſenting voice, a law, by which the fathers, ſons, uncles, nephews, huſbands, and fathers-in-law and ſons-in-law of emigrants, and likewiſe all prieſts who had either not taken or had retracted the oath, were ordered immediately to ceaſe from the exerciſe of any civil, adminiſtrative, municipal, or judicial function. This ſweeping and iniquitous law occaſioned loud murmurs throughout the country, and infinite inconvenience; and, in ſome inſtances, ſuſpended the proceedings of juſtice. At Amiens, in particular, the trial of Joſeph le Bon, which was drawing to a cloſe, was ſtopped, becauſe the preſident of the tribunal was the father-in-law of an emigrant; and the convention was in conſequence under the awkward neceſſity of paſſing an eſpecial decree, directing the preſident to retain his authority till the concluſion of the proceſs.

The breach, meanwhile, between the capital and the convention, grew wider every hour. The convention felt, or rather pretended to feel, ſerious fears for its ſafety. Many of the members armed themſelves when they attended the ſittings. Some inſignificant quarrels, which took place at the Palais Royal, between the partizans and opponents of the decrees, were magnified into acts of daring rebellion, and made the pretext for meaſures, oſtenſibly of defence, but, in reality, of attack. A decree of the convention ordered the generals of the republican armies to hold bodies of troops in readineſs to march; and Paris was declared reſponſible to the French people for the ſecurity of the national repreſentation. In caſe of a conteſt, the new legiſlative body, and the executive directory, were alſo directed to aſſemble at Chalons. A proclamation was, at the ſame time, addreſſed to the Pariſians, in which their unanimous reſiſtance to the obnoxious law of re-election was treated as the work of "a handful of intriguers, "public diſturbers, anarchiſts, and "aſſaſſins," and they were gravely called upon, in the name of liberty, to liſten to the paternal voice of the repreſentatives of the people. This proclamation was followed by another, to lull to ſleep the fears of the citizens with reſpect to the armed force in the neighbourhood of the capital.

To the firſt proclamation a reply,

full of energy, was inſtantly made by the ſection of Le Pelletier. This reply was, in truth, a well-reaſoned act of impeachment. After forcibly recapitulating the crimes of the convention, it contraſted with the conduct of that body, the conduct of the calumniated primary aſſemblies. "Every where has been ſeen," it ſaid, "the reſpect-inſpiring ſpectacle of a great people, feeling thoroughly its rights and its dignity, deliberating calmly on its deareſt intereſts, accepting unanimouſly a neceſſary government, repulſing, as unanimouſly, a criminal uſurpation. You dare to treat as intriguers, anarchiſts and aſſaſſins, the men whom we have honoured with our confidence; but caſt your eyes on yourſelves, your garments are ſtained with the blood of innocence; millions of your conſtituents murdered, cities deſtroyed, commerce annihilated, probity proſcribed, immorality, atheiſm, and robbery defied, anarchy and famine organiſed,—behold your work!" In the ſame tone it deprecated and rejected the reſponſibility which the convention impoſed upon the ſections. "You render us," it ſaid, "reſponſible for the ſafety of your perſons; drive away then thoſe terroriſts, whom you inceſſantly rally round you, and hope nothing from us while they remain maſters of your place of meeting. There can be no compact between the victims and the executioners. Can we, beſides, be reſponſible for a depoſit with which we have not charged ourſelves. You are ſurrounded by armed bands, you have formed a legion of police; all the apparatus of force is collected about you; in ſuch a ſituation, he who fears, either judges by the miſchief which he has done, the miſchief which may happen to him, or feels that he exerciſes a power to which he has no longer a right."

A declaration, in language equally ſpirited, was likewiſe addreſſed to the convention by a majority of the ſections. It aſſerted the illegality of many of the late meaſures, and inſiſted upon the re-impriſonment of the terroriſts, and an examination into the conduct of the committees of government, which it charged with conſpiring againſt the people. The convention, however, refuſed to receive their addreſs, and grounded its refuſal upon one of its own decrees, and an article of the conſtitution, which forbad petitions in the name of a collective body. Unfortunately for the credit of its conſiſtency, it had, only two days previouſly, received, with great favour, an addreſs of an oppoſite nature from one of the jacobin ſections.

In ſpite of oppoſition and reproach, the convention, nevertheleſs, ſteadily purſued the courſe upon which it had entered. It ordered the ſeizure of two commiſſioners, who had been ſent by the citizens of Dreux to the citizens of Paris, and it paſſed ſeveral laws for the purpoſe of rendering impotent the efforts of the Pariſians. Foremoſt among theſe laws was one which declared guilty of a treaſonable offence every preſident or ſecretary of a primary aſſembly who ſhould put to the vote or ſign, and every perſon who ſhould proclaim or execute, any motion or reſolution not connected with the object for which the primary aſſemblies were convoked. Steps were alſo taken to intimidate the journaliſts, who had the boldneſs to cenſure the proceedings of the government, and who were loaded with the groſſeſt abuſe by ſome of the conventional deputies.

A merely momentary and partial terror was inſpired by the law againſt preſidents and ſecretaries. A few individuals reſigned, but they were ſpeedily replaced by men of a more determined character. Far from diſplaying any ſigns of fear, the ſections now adopted a meaſure infinitely more vigorous than any of their former. By the conſtitutional code, the convocation of the electoral aſſemblies was ordered to take place twenty days after that of the primary aſſemblies. The convention, however, as we have already ſeen, had, in flagrant violation of the conſtitution, decreed that ten days ſhould elapſe between the cloſing of the one and the meeting of the other. To this decree the Pariſians determined not to yield obedience. They conſidered it as ſolely intended to give their preſent rulers the means of prolonging the revolutionary government, and of dividing, ſeducing, and terrifying the electors. In conſequence, the ſection of Le Pelletier, on the ſecond of October, publiſhed a reſolution, that the electors of Paris ſhould aſſemble, the next day, under the protection of an armed force, in the hall of the Theatre François, in order to proceed to the choice of repreſentatives. The reſolution was drawn up in the ſevereſt language. It charged the convention with uſurpation, tyranny, robbery, murder, and famiſhing the people; and declared that on the immediate calling of a new legiſlature depended the ſalvation of the country.

Thirty-three ſections inſtantly gave their aſſent to this reſolution, by which in truth the gauntlet of defiance was thrown down to the enemy. Hopes were, doubtleſs, entertained, that the conventional authority would be as eaſily overthrown by the electors of 1795 as the regal authority had been by the electors of 1789. At the time appointed about two hundred of the electors met, and choſe the duke de Nivernois as their preſident. Much enthuſiaſm was diſplayed, many oaths of reſiſtance to tyranny were taken, ſome eloquent harangues were delivered, but no wiſe plan was formed. The electors did not feel as they ought that the exigency of the moment required ſilent and vigorous action.

The convention, feeling its ſtrength, deſpiſed and accepted the challenge of the Pariſians. A voluminous report upon the ſubject, full of falſehood, of ſophiſm, and of inſult, was made to it by Daunou, in the name of the committee of public ſafety. The report cloſed with the project of a decree, which the convention ſanctioned. By this decree ſuch primary aſſemblies as had concluded their elections were commanded to break up directly, the electoral aſſemblies were forbidden to meet before the day formerly fixed, and heavy penalties were denounced againſt all offenders. To thoſe primary aſſemblies which had not yet completed their proceedings, a delay of a few days was granted. To detach from the cauſe of the ſections the wavering and the timid, the convention, at the ſame time, promiſed that no individual ſhould be ſubject to proſecution for any illegal act which he might hitherto have committed in the meetings of the primary aſſemblies. It concluded by declaring its ſittings permanent, till the end of the conteſt.

The decree was proclaimed the ſame evening, by torch-light, on the ſteps of the Theatre Français, amidſt the hiſſes, cries, ſhouts, and execrations of the populace, who extinguiſhed the torches, and roughly treated the proclaiming officers, and their eſcort. By the electors the mandate was received with contempt. Irritated to the higheſt degree, the committees of government diſpatched two thouſand troops to diſperſe the electoral aſſembly; but, as the troops did not arrive till a late hour, the electors had already retired to their homes. Looking forward to a ſpeedy conflict, the committees formed, from among their own number, a commiſſion of five, to direct the neceſſary operations for bending to the yoke the inhabitants of the capital.

The moment was, indeed, at hand, when the ſword was to decide between the contending parties. Thoſe who held the reins of government were convinced that they had every thing to fear if they were foiled on the preſent occaſion, and they determined, therefore, to make a ſtrenuous effort to break down ſo effectually the ſpirit of the Pariſians, that it ſhould never riſe in future to excite their apprehenſions. By reducing the metropolis to a ſtate of abject ſubmiſſion, they knew, too, that they ſhould intimidate the departments into ſilence. It was of little concern to them, that, to attain their object, the blood of thouſands muſt, in all probability, be ſhed. They had ſerved a long apprenticeſhip to ſlaughter, and were not to be moved from their purpoſe by the pleadings of humanity. They were even impatient for the conteſt. "If the ſections," ſaid ſome of them, "will not attack us, we muſt attack "them."

The military means of the one party were, beyond compariſon, more formidable than thoſe of the other. The convention omitted nothing which could inſure to it the victory. The palace of the Thuilleries, where it held its ſittings, was entrenched, and ſupplied with proviſions; an abundant artillery, and ſeveral thouſand troops, well officered, occupied the ſurrounding poſts; maſked batteries were eſtabliſhed; all the lately impriſoned terroriſts were formed into a battalion, which was called the ſacred battalion of the patriots of 1789; Freron and others were diſpatched into the ſuburb of St. Antoine, to call to the field that rabble, which, not long ſince, they had been deſirous to exterminate by fire and ſword; a retreat, in caſe of a reverſe, was ſecured to St. Cloud; powerful columns were rapidly marched, from the neareſt armies, towards Paris; and effectual ſteps were taken to cut off all ſubſiſtence from the capital, and thus ſubdue it by famine, ſhould arms unexpectedly fail.

The ſections had, on their ſide, ſcarcely any thing but indignation and bravery. They were entirely without cannon, were ſcantily ſupplied with ammunition, and had few officers capable of directing their movements. In their meaſures there was a fatal want of regularity and unity. With reſpect to the ſtrength of their enemy, they were under the influence of a deluſion of the moſt miſchievous nature. On the ſoldiery, with which the convention had ſurrounded itſelf, they looked not merely without alarm, but with ſatisfaction. Reaſoning, by a forced analogy, from former circumſtances, they perſuaded themſelves that the troops, when called out, would refuſe to fire upon their fellow citizens. In this erroneous opinion the ſecret agents of the government adroitly laboured to confirm them. Neither did they avail themſelves of a numerous and active band of auxiliaries, which, at the call of intereſt and revenge, would gladly have hurried to join their ſtandard. Thoſe auxiliaries were the populace of the ſuburbs, who felt deeply indignant at the treatment which they had recently experienced from the perſons whom they had been accuſtomed to conſider as their patrons and leaders. It would have required neither much perſuaſion nor very ample bribes to induce them to march once more againſt the Thuilleries, and, by their numbers and impetuous raſhneſs to open the way for the ſectional battalions. But the ſections, on the contrary, fearful of diſgracing their cauſe, ſedulouſly avoided any connection with the turbulent part of the community. This conduct expoſed them to the deriſion of their antagoniſts, who laughed to ſcorn the idea of an inſurrection of wealthy and well-dreſſed citizens. The local ſituation of the ſections was likewiſe unfavourable to them. Separated into two parts by the Seine, the bridges of which were guarded by the enemy, they were expoſed to the diſadvantage of making inſulated unconnected attacks upon a ſtrong poſition, of which the great maſs of the defenders could, in an inſtant, be directed to any particular point.

On the evening of the fourth of October the ſignal of combat was given by the convention. Orders were iſſued to ſeize the electors aſſembled at the Theatre Français, and to inveſt on all ſides, and diſarm the ſection of Le Pelletier. Both theſe operations failed. The columns which marched againſt the Theatre Français were ſtopped in their progreſs by the diſpoſitions of general Danican, and ultimately thought it prudent to retreat. Thoſe who were deſtined to reduce the ſection of Le Pelletier were led by general Menou, the commander in chief. It was ten at night when they arrived at the entrance of the ſection, where they found only a battalion of ſeven or eight hundred young men, with neither cavalry nor cannon. Summoned to lay down their arms, they replied that they would defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. One of them, named Delalo, a youth ſcarcely twenty, yet with the ſpirit of an ancient Roman, advanced before his comrades, and, addreſſing the conventional deputy who ſummoned them, exclaimed, "What do you aſk from us? our "arms, which we have never em"ployed but in your defence! Who "are your defenders? thoſe who "have ſlaughtered you! thoſe whom "we have vanquiſhed by your ſide, "whom we have diſarmed by your "orders! What cannon do you "now oppoſe to us? thoſe which "we have voluntarily given into "your hands! At the expence of "our blood we have maintained the "freedom of your deliberations, and "ours, in contempt of all laws, "you violate!" The ſoldiers were affected by this harangue, and ſtill more ſo their general, who had already manifeſted his diſguſt at ſome of the deſperate meaſures adopted by the convention. The deputy alone remained unmoved, and directed the troops to charge. Menou, however, forbad them to obey, and entered into a treaty with the ſection. It was, at length, agreed, that each party ſhould retire, and that the ſections ſhould be at liberty to deliberate, unarmed, without moleſtation.

For this act of treaſon, as it was called, general Menou was not only broken, but ſent to trial. In his vindication he reminded the judges of the dreadful penalty which the unfortunate mayor of Paris had incurred, by enforcing the martial law. "I remembered," ſaid he, "the fate of Bailly, and his fate "pointed out to me my duty!" This defence was deemed unanſwerable, and he was accordingly acquitted.

General Menou was replaced by Barras, who choſe general Buonaparte as his ſecond. The night was ſpent by the governing faction in ſtimulating the ſoldiery with ſtrong liquors and promiſes, and in taking all other precautions to enſure the ſucceſs of the morrow.

When the movements againſt the ſection of Le Pelletier were known, the other ſections, even the moſt diſtant, inſtantly diſpatched ſuccours. The whole of the ſectional troops paſſed the night under arms in the ſtreets, notwithſtanding an inceſſant rain. A central committee of inſurrection was formed, to direct the operations of the citizens; and the ſupreme command was given to general Danican, who was honourably known for his hatred to the jacobins.

Animated with the ſame ſpirit as his compatriots, general Danican was, neverthele ſs, averſe from making an attack, which, knowing as he did all the military advantages poſſeſſed by the convention, he was convinced could only be productive of ſlaughter and defeat to his party. He repreſented to the ſections that it would be the wiſeſt plan to retain the poſts they now occupied, and, in caſe of attack from the enemy, to defend the ground inch by inch, which would compel the conventionaliſts to quit their ſtrong poſition, and diſſeminate their forces. This opinion was not liſtened to with a favourable ear. Some perſons, whoſe zeal was greater than their wiſdom, even denounced him as a traitor. He ſucceeded, however, ſo far as to obtain permiſſion to ſend to the committee of public ſafety, a letter, in which he vigorouſly remonſtrated againſt the late violent meaſures. Oct. 5. The Pariſians, he told the committee, had chiefly taken up arms in the dread of being maſſacred by the releaſed terroriſts, and would lay them down, if they could ſafely do ſo; and he conjured the government to ſpare the blood of the French, and to ſhun a civil war, of which it would have to bear all the terrible reſponſibility.

Either from motives of policy, from a doubt as to the reſult of a battle, or from a real deſire to avoid coming to extremities, the committee received with apparent kindneſs this overture of the ſections. It replied, that it ſincerely wiſhed the re-eſtabliſhment of order, and that twenty-four deputies ſhould be ſent into the ſections, to reſtore peace, and tranquillize the fears of the citizens. There ſeems reaſon to believe that this language was really ſincere. The committee drew up a proclamation, addreſſed to the Pariſians, diſavowing any ſiniſter intentions, endeavouring to explain away the re-arming of the terroriſts, promiſing to diſmiſs ſuch as ſhould be proved to be guilty, and offering to diſarm if the ſections would retire. But when this paper was preſented for the ſanction of the convention, it is impoſſible to expreſs the rage of that part of the aſſembly which had reſolved, at all events, to try the event of a combat. The proclamation was cenſured as weak and cowardly, and the previous queſtion was impetuouſly called for, amidſt exclamations of ſanguinary fury. It was in vain that Lanjuinais, with his uſual courageous humanity, exerted himſelf to recal his colleagues to reaſon. He was at length driven from the tribune, and from that moment all hopes of conciliation were at an end.

At four in the afternoon the two parties came to action. To aſcertain by which ſide the firſt ſhot was fired would be a taſk as difficult as uſeleſs. The conventionaliſts loudly charged their opponents with being the aggreſſors; but hoſtile teſtimony renders it more than probable that they themſelves began the battle. It is even aſſerted that the ſignal was given by a rocket from the Thuilleries. As ſoon as the firing commenced, the battalions of the ſections advanced on all ſides, in good order, and with great intrepidity, againſt the poſts of the conventional troops. They were received with ſhowers of grape, muſket, and cannon ſhot. The effect was dreadful. Two hundred and fifty citizens were killed or wounded by a diſcharge of grape ſhot from a ſingle battery. In ſpite of this tremendous fire, the ſectional battalions repeatedly returned to the charge; and an hour elapſed before they began to retreat. Nor did they, even then, quit the field. For a conſiderable time they bravely defended the church of St. Roch, the Palais Royal, the Theatre of the Republic, and other poſts; and when driven from theſe, they made an effort to unpave and barricade the ſtreets. They were at length, however, overcome. By ſeven in the evening the victory of the convention was aſſured, and by midnight no ſound but the rejoicings and the cannon of the victors was to be heard in the ſtreets of Paris. The numbers ſlain on this fatal day have been variouſly eſtimated from eighteen hundred to ten thouſand men. The latter eſtimate is that which probably approaches the neareſt to the truth.

The triumph of injuſtice was now complete. To prevent any future revolt, the ſubjugated citizens were entirely diſarmed. All Paris was in the deepeſt grief and conſternation. For eight days the ſhops remained ſhut, and the ſtreets were nearly deſerted. Deciſively vanquiſhed, thoſe who had taken part in this rebellion, as it was termed, had, in reality, every thing to dread from the vengeance of the conquerors. But, moved by prudence or pity, the governing faction diſplayed a ſpirit far leſs ſanguinary than was expected. The barriers of the city were left open, ſeemingly to afford an opportunity of eſcaping to thoſe who had reaſon to tremble. Military commiſſions were, indeed, appointed, inveſted with formidable powers to puniſh offenders; but theſe commiſſions did not juſtify by their proceedings the terror which was inſpired by their appointment. Almoſt all the ſentences of death which they pronounced were for contumacy; that is to ſay, againſt individuals who had provided for their own ſafety by a timely flight. Little,

tle, if any, ſearch was made after the fugitives. Only two perſons who ſtood their trial ſuffered death; and one of theſe, M. Lafond, a leader of diſtinguiſhed bravery in the late conteſt, fell the victim of his own indiſcreet frankneſs. Though the judges who tried him even prompted him to give anſwers which might lead to his acquittal, he obſtinately perſiſted in avowals which compelled them to return a fatal verdict.

The convention, likewiſe, ſeemed diſpoſed to grace the cloſe of its career, by making a temperate uſe of its ſucceſs. It reſiſted ſeveral attempts of the jacobins to turn to their own advantage the defeat of the ſections. But there exiſted within it a party, which, though hoſtile to the jacobins, was almoſt as averſe as they were to clemency towards the vanquiſhed, and which felt irritated by the aſcendancy that ſome of the moderate deputies had acquired in the aſſembly, and by the teſtimonies of attachment which thoſe deputies received from the great body of the people. Tallien, Barras, Freron, Chenier, and Louvet, were among the leaders of this party. They were apprehenſive that, under a new order of things, all the power would eſcape from their hands, to center in thoſe of their more popular rivals, and that they ſhould be reduced to a mortifying ſtate of inſignificance. To avert this enormous evil, no method appeared ſo infallible as that of branding their rivals with the crime of treaſon againſt the republican government. An opportunity was ſoon found. At this critical moment a correſpondence was diſcovered between a M. le Maitre in Paris, and a committee of emigrants at Baſle. The object of their labours was the re-eſtabliſhment of Lewis the eighteenth. Their projects, their means, and their talents, were all contemptibly puerile. Of their proceedings, however, Tallien availed himſelf to wound his antagoniſts. Aſcending the tribune, he furiouſly denounced Lanjuinais, Henry Lariviere, Leſage of Eure and Loire, Pelet, Pontecoulant, Saladin, and Boiſſy d'Anglas, as acting in concert with the conſpirators of the ſections and the committee of Baſle. Declamation he poured forth in abundance; but of facts he was ſo ſparing, that the only one which he brought forward againſt the accuſed deputies was their not having reſented the inſolent praiſes of the royaliſts. Louvet followed him, and impeached Rovere. The debate was protracted into a ſecond day, and the reſult was the acquittal of all the deputies, except Rovere and Saladin, who were ordered to be put under arreſt.

The arreſt of two deputies was by no means ſufficient to anſwer the purpoſe of Tallien and his friends, whoſe preponderance could only be reſtored by the overthrow of the oppoſite party. Another effort was, therefore, made by them, and was, at the outſet, crowned with ſucceſs. After hearing a report, brought up by Barras, which proclaimed the certainty of another conſpiracy, the aſſembly, in a panic, conſented to appoint a commiſſion of five members to deliberate upon the meaſures neceſſary for the public ſafety. Of this commiſſion Tallien became the preſident and reporter. His four colleagues were men of notoriouſly violent principles.

The indiſcreet communicativeneſs of the journals and partizans of the commiſſioners did not leave the public long ignorant of the nature of the meaſures which were deemed neceſſary for its ſafety. Thoſe meaſures were worthy of men who had ſtudied in the ſchool of Roberſpierre. They conſiſted in annulling the elections made by the electoral aſſemblies, bringing to judgment a great number of members of the convention, ſuſpending the conſtitution for twelve months, and, of courſe, prolonging for that period the revolutionary government.

The courage of one man ſaved, perhaps, the country from a tyranny as horrible as that under which it had lately groaned. Alarmed at the deſpotiſm which was preparing, Thibaudeau determined to hazard every thing, in order, if poſſible, to prevent it from being eſtabliſhed. Never did the eloquence of the eloquent Thibaudeau ſhine with more luſtre than on this occaſion. He attacked Tallien in the moſt vigorous manner. Nothing of odious or contemptible in the political life of that deputy eſcaped his ſevere expoſure and animadverſion. Nor did the commiſſion fare any better than its chief. Its accuſer painted it in hateful colours, as the worſt of inquiſitions. The jacobins and the galleries endeavoured, but in vain, to ſilence the orator, who had the gratification of finding that he had on his ſide a majority of the aſſembly. The defence of Tallien was unſatisfactory. He diſplayed evident embarraſſment. The exiſtence of the projects attributed to the commiſſion he denied, though in a tone not calculated to obtain belief. He cloſed his ſpeech by propoſing, in the name of the commiſſion, that the convention ſhould ſit permanently till the cloſe of its labours. But here, too, he was foiled by his ſharp-ſighted adverſary. To decree a permanent ſitting of the aſſembly would, Thibaudeau declared, be to decree the permanence of anarchy. Laſſitude would make the majority of the members deſert the hall, and a deſperate minority would thus be left at liberty to dictate to the nation. He was warmly ſeconded by Lareveillere-Lepaux. The propoſal was negatived, and the powers of the commiſſion were limited.

Two days ſubſequently to this defeat the baffled Tallien came forward to ſtate the meaſures recommended by the commiſſion. His querulous and ſplenetic report plainly ſhewed how much he felt his diſappointment. It likewiſe proved that at leaſt the plan of annulling the elections had been formed by him and his coadjutors, for on the neceſſity and merit of ſuch a plan he dwelt with a high degree of complacency and parental fondneſs. As, however, he was debarred from the enjoyment of this mode of tyranny, he availed himſelf fully of all thoſe which were left open to him. He concluded by propoſing various laws of police and finance, all of them more or leſs oppreſſive. The moſt monſtrous of theſe laws, and that which was pregnant with the moſt important conſequences, was a law excluding, till the period of a general peace, from every legiſlative, adminiſtrative, municipal and judicial function, thoſe perſons who in the primary and electoral aſſemblies had provoked or ſigned what were called ſeditious motions; and likewiſe the relatives of emigrants, not only by blood, but even by marriage. Not leſs than half the perſons in France capable of the functions mentioned were thus ſhut out from them, and ample room was given for the advancement of the ignorant and intriguing, and the exerciſe of civil and political injuſtice. The convention ſanctioned the whole of theſe laws, and the commiſſion was diſſolved.

This was the laſt important act of the convention. On the twenty-ſixth of October the preſident ſolemnly declared that the convention had fulfilled its miſſion, and that its ſeſſion was at an end.

So terminated the exiſtence, or rather the name, of an aſſembly, which, in the ſhort ſpace of three years, had committed and encouraged crimes more numerous, and more atrocious, than had ever, perhaps, before, in the courſe of three centuries, darkened the page of hiſtory, and degraded human nature. The diſguſt excited by thoſe crimes was not ſoftened by the contemplation of any ſplendid acts of greatneſs or virtue. Never did a great public body diſplay to the aſtoniſhed and indignant world ſo much of unmixed, unmitigated baſeneſs. Of its component parts, all that was not ſanguinary and oppreſſive, was weak, mean, and cowardly. This is abundantly proved by the worſe than ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion of the majority to the horrible deſpotiſm of a few violent demagogues. The convention would have continued to yield an implicit obedience to the mandates of Roberſpierre, had not ſome of its members been driven into reſiſtance by the knowledge that they were marked out to become his victims. He and his ferocious colleagues, Couthon and St. Juſt, might have outraged humanity with impunity, had they not ſought to rid themſelves of thoſe who were deſirous of ſharing with them the power of committing the ſame enormities. Fear and envy, not virtue or repentance, opened the priſons and deſtroyed the ſcaffolds of France.

Much praiſe has been beſtowed on the convention, for the talent and energy which enabled it to triumph over the confederacy of ſovereigns. To this praiſe, however, it does not appear to have any real claim. It is the characteriſtic of ſuperior wiſdom and genius to perform uncommon things with ordinary means. Lewis the XIV, and, ſtill more ſtrikingly, Frederic the great, reſiſted, with limited reſources, the moſt powerful confederacies. They did not utterly beggar and depopulate their ſtates, to enable themſelves to maintain their ground. The convention, on the contrary, though favoured by the diffuſion of its principles, and the groſs errors of the combined ſovereigns, could repel its enemies only by adopting the moſt deſperate meaſures; by confiſcating nearly all the property, and driving into the field nearly all the military population, of an empire ſo rich, ſo extenſive, and ſo advantageouſly ſituated, as that of France. Its firſt victories were gained by dint of overwhelming numbers, and a careleſs, iniquitous waſte of human blood. Perhaps it is not affirming too much to affirm, that the ſmalleſt kingdom in Europe, if it had been diſpoſed to ſubvert the very ſources of its proſperity, and ſacrifice the flower of its people, might have made efforts as vigorous and as ſucceſsful as thoſe which were made by the French under the conventional deſpotiſm.

Nothing can more emphatically prove the folly and tyranny of the convention than the ſimple fact, that, during its reign of three years and a month, it enacted eleven thouſand two hundred and ten laws; and that its members and committees denounced three hundred and ſixty conſpiracies, and a hundred and ſixty inſurrections, every one of which afforded a pretext for edicts of confiſcation and murder.

CHAP. VII.

Military and diplomatic proceedings of the French rulers. Royaliſts. Succeſs of the French in diminiſhing the number of their external enemies. They adopt a pacific ſyſtem towards ſome of the foreign powers. Speech of Boiſſy d'Anglas. The king of Pruſſia makes peace. Contents of the treaty. Convention of neutrality between Pruſſia and France. Juſtificatory declaration of his Pruſſian majeſty, addreſſed to his co-ſtates. The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel alſo concludes peace. The diet declares in favour of a pacification. The emperor endeavours to open a negotiation. Haughty anſwer of the French government. Actions between the garriſon of Mentz and the French beſiegers. Surrender of Luxemburgh. Opening of the campaign on the Rhine. The French army under Jourdan croſſes the Rhine, and compels the Auſtrians to retire beyond the Main. Manheim given up to general Pichegru, a part of whoſe army paſſes the Necker, and attacks an Auſtrian diviſion, but is defeated. Marſhal Clairfait turns the left of Jourdan's army, and obliges the whole French army to retire in the utmoſt diſorder. He then advances to raiſe the blockade of Mentz. French camp before Mentz. It is ſtormed by the Auſtrians under Clairfait. Rout of the republicans. Actions on the Lahn. General Wurmſer carries the republican poſts in front of Manheim. Marſhal Clairfait marches againſt general Pichegru, who retires, and occupies a poſition to defend Manheim. Deſcription of his poſition. He is attacked and defeated by the Auſtrians. Manheim beſieged by the victors. Its garriſon, conſiſting of nearly eleven thouſand men, is compelled to ſurrender. Retreat of Pichegru to Landau. Marſhal Clairfait marches to the Necker. Combats at Kreutznach. Jourdan, who had again moved forward, once more retires. Armiſtice concluded for the winter. The convention annexes the Netherlands, and the duchies of Luxemburgh and Bouillon, to the French republic. Proceedings on the ſide of Italy. The grand duke of Tuſcany concludes a peace. Venice ſends an ambaſſador, who is flatteringly received. Poſitions of the Auſtro-Sardinian and republican armies. Kellerman appointed to command the French army in the Genoeſe territory. The Auſtrian general, Devins, forms a plan of attack upon the French poſts. Altercation with the Genoeſe government. French defeated by the Auſtro-Sardinians. New poſition of the republicans. It is ſeveral times fruitleſsly attacked by their antagoniſts. The French army is ſtrongly reinforced. It intends to reſume the offenſive. Plan of Kellerman. He is replaced by Scherer. New plan of attack. The Auſtro-Sardinians are defeated. Cloſe of the campaign in Italy. Campaign in Spain. Weſtern Pyrenées. Situation of the contending parties. Defeat of a Spaniſh diviſion. Various movements of the hoſtile armies till the termination of hoſtilities. Eaſtern Pyrenées. Roſas *evacuated by the Spaniards, after a gallant defence. Plan to retake it. The plan is rendered abortive. Combat on the Fluvia, in which the republicans are defeated. Peace concluded between the republicans and the king of Spain.*

OF all the numerous and formidable enemies, with which the conventional government had to encounter, the Royaliſts of the weſtern provinces of France were, in every reſpect, the moſt formidable. Undiſmayed by, and ſpeedily revenging, the ſevereſt defeats, ſuffering cheerfully the greateſt hardſhips and privations, and braving peril and death with dauntleſs intrepidity, they ſet at defiance all the exertions of the republican armies. After the fall of Roberſpierre, the reigning party, finding that hoſtile meaſures were fruitleſs, reſolved to diſarm the royaliſts by negotiation. Their efforts to that end were crowned with ſucceſs, and in the courſe of the year 1795 treaties of peace were concluded with the loyal natives of Anjou, Poitou and Britanny. As, however, the peace was of ſhort duration, and the war was not finally cloſed before the end of the enſuing year, we ſhall, to avoid giving the narrative in disjointed portions, reſerve, till our next volume, the whole of the royaliſt hiſtory, and now proceed to relate thoſe events which occurred along the extenſive line of the French frontier.

The good fortune of the French rulers in diminiſhing, by conciliation or coercion, the number of their external enemies, was not leſs than that which they had experienced in treating with their dreaded foes in the heart of France. Formed of jealous and jarring powers, and having no well-combined, vigorous and conſiſtent plan of action, the confederacy of ſovereigns bore indeed within its own boſom the ſeeds of diſſolution.

The republicans were too ſharp-ſighted not to perceive, and too wiſe not to profit, by this favourable circumſtance. Art was called in to accompliſh that which arms had begun. Laying aſide their wonted arrogance, they adopted towards ſome of the coaleſced monarchs the language of moderation and friendly remonſtrance. At a very early period of the year their new plan of foreign policy was clearly developed, by Boiſſy d'Anglas, in a ſpeech*, which the convention ſanctioned as a declaration of the principles of the French people. In this ſpeech only three ſtates, Auſtria, Ruſſia and Great Britain, were pointed out as decidedly objects of French hoſtility; and, even of theſe, the firſt did not appear to be wholly out of the pale of forgiveneſs. As to Ruſſia and Great Britain, but eſpecially the latter, they were declaimed againſt with a vulgar aſperity and violence, which would not have been unworthy of the jacobin club, at the epoch when it exerciſed in its wideſt latitude the privilege of abuſe.

When we look back to the conduct purſued by the king of Pruſſia, during the campaign of the preceding year, little ſurprize can be felt that he was the firſt to abandon a cauſe which he had been the firſt to eſpouſe. The negotiation for peace was opened at Baſle, on the twenty-fourth of January, between his ambaſſador, the count de Goltz, and citizen Barthelemi. The death of the count de Goltz, which happened in a few days after the firſt conferences had been held, ſuſpended for a while the progreſs of the pacification. The baron de Hardenberg, who was appointed in his room, did not arrive at Baſle till the nineteenth of March, but ſuch was the diſpatch with which he puſhed forward the buſineſs confided to him that the treaty was ſigned on the fifth of April.

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* See State Papers, p. 296*.

By this treaty* it was agreed that the Pruſſian territories on the left bank of the Rhine ſhould remain in the poſſeſſion of the French till their fate was definitively ſettled by a general peace between France and the German empire; that Frederic William ſhould not furniſh any ſuccour whatever to the enemies of the republic; and that, on the other hand, the republic ſhould accept his mediation in favour of any of the German ſtates; and ſhould forbear, for a ſpecified time, from treating hoſtilely thoſe princes and ſtates, on the right bank of the Rhine, in whoſe behalf he might think proper to interpoſe his good offices. The moſt ſtriking article was, however, that which ſtipulated that the two contracting powers ſhould take meaſures to remove from the north of Germany the theatre of war. A deſire to re-eſtabliſh commercial relations between France and Pruſſia was the aſſigned motive for this article; but it is obvious that this motive was not the real one.

The treaty was ſpeedily followed by a convention†, marking out the limits of the territory May 17. which, under the guarantee of his Pruſſian majeſty, was to be treated as neutral. The line of demarcation commenced at the mouth of the Ems, and extended by Weſtphalia, Franconia, Bavaria and Bohemia to the frontier of Sileſia. Thoſe ſtates which were ſituated beyond this line were to withdraw their contingents from the army of the empire, and avoid entering into any engagements with the powers hoſtile to France, on pain of being conſidered as enemies. His Pruſſian majeſty engaged, on his ſide, that no troops ſhould croſs the neutral line to attack the French. Certain roads were, however, to remain free for the paſſage of the armies belonging to the belligerent ſtates.

This convention, while it flattered the vanity of Frederic William, in ſetting him up as a ſort of rival to the legitimate head of the empire, was highly advantageous to the republicans, inaſmuch as it ſecured Holland and the Netherlands, weakened the Auſtrians and enabled the French armies to concentrate their ſtrength, and conſequently to make more powerful efforts againſt the hereditary dominions of his imperial majeſty.

To juſtify the deſertion of his allies the Pruſſian monarch addreſſed a long declaration‡ to his co-eſtates of the empire. It contained much praiſe of his own diſintereſtedneſs, and of the valour of his army, to which latter alone he modeſtly conſidered Germany as having been indebted for its ſafety; a large diſplay of the ſacrifices which he had made, and the expences which he had incurred; complaints of the inſufficient aſſiſtance which he had received; panegyrics on the mildneſs, moderation and juſtice of the preſent French government; wiſhes for a peace between that government and his co-eſtates; inſinuations againſt the emperor, as being the protractor of the war; an offer of his mediation for the members of the Germanic body; and laſtly, an avowal of his reſolution to give no further aid of any kind towards the proſecution of hoſtilities againſt the French republic.

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* See State papers, p. * 339.

† Ibid, p. * 341.

‡ Ibid, p. 350. *

The mediation which was offered by Frederic William was immediately accepted by the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, who diſpatched, in the middle of May, a miniſter to Baſle, to negotiate with citizen Barthelemy a treaty of peace. The treaty*, which was not finally ſettled till Auguſt, ſtipulated that the landgrave ſhould leave the French maſters of his territory on the left bank of the Rhine, and ſhould abſtain from renewing with England his ſubſidiary engagements.

The diet of the empire was, meanwhile, deliberating with its wonted ſlowneſs, upon the propriety of making pacific overtures to the French republic. At length, after nine months debate, it decided that the emperor ſhould be empowered to open a negotiation. In the month of July, therefore, his imperial majeſty requeſted the court of Denmark to tranſmit to the national convention the deciſion of the diet, and to deſire that a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities might in conſequence take place, and a congreſs of the miniſters of the belligerent ſtates be held at Augſburgh, to arrange the terms of peace. The deſired communication was accordingly made by his Daniſh majeſty to the rulers of France. The reply of the committee of public ſafety was couched in haughty language, and was a peremptory refuſal either to grant a truce, or to treat of peace in a congreſs. After this repulſe, it was only from a vigorous continuance of the war that the German empire could hope for ſecurity. The head of the empire, on his part, made the moſt ſtrenuous exertions to procure the means of baffling the deſigns of the enemy.

The opening of the campaign on the Rhine was unaccountably delayed by the republicans till a very late period of the ſeaſon. Their military operations were for many months confined to a cloſe inveſtment of Mentz, on the left bank of the Rhine, and to the blockade and bombardment of the important fortreſs of Luxemburgh.

Many ſevere actions were fought between the garriſon of Mentz and the blockading troops, in ſome of which the latter were driven from a part of their advanced works, and ſuſtained a heavy loſs of men. No ſerious impreſſion could, however, be made upon the entrenched camp of the republicans, which was of uncommon ſtrength.

Luxemburgh, after a blockade and bombardment of ſeven months, during which the garriſon had diſtinguiſhed itſelf by its valour in numerous ſallies, was compelled to open its gates on the firſt of June. The brave defenders of the place, to the number of twelve thouſand men, headed by Marſhal Bender, were allowed to march out with all the honours of war, and to return home on condition of not ſerving againſt the French till they had been regularly exchanged.

The campaign was at length opened by the French. The army of the Sambre and Meuſe, commanded by general Jourdan, was put in mo-then in the beginning of September. Its left wing croſſed the Rhine on the ſixth, in three columns, at Hamm, Urdingen, and Eichelcamp, at which latter place the ſtrongeſt of the columns violated the line of neutrality, and was thus enabled to fall unexpectedly upon the Auſtrians, and compel them to retire with very conſiderable loſs. The French immediately ſummoned Duſſeldorff, the palatine governor of which ſurrendered, without making the ſlighteſt effort to defend the town.

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* See State Papers, p. * 347.

The Auſtrian general at firſt flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able to maintain a poſition behind the Sieg, but the paſſage of the Rhine at Neuwied, by the right of the French army, obliged him to continue his retrogade movement. He was followed by the republicans, firſt to the Lahn, and then to the Main, on the left bank of which river he made a final ſtand. Mentz and Ehrenbreitſtein were immediately inveſted by the French general.

Manheim had, meanwhile, been Sept. 20. delivered up without reſiſtance to the army of the Rhine, led by general Pichegru. After the capture of Manheim the left wing of the French army croſſed the Necker, and attacked a part of general Wurmſer's army, which was poſted near Heidelberg. The aſſailants were routed, and driven back with great ſlaughter, under the cannon of Manheim.

The triumph of the army of the Sambre and Meuſe was but of ſhort duration. Marſhal Clairfait having been joined by the corps of the prince of Wirtemberg, and by ſome other reinforcements, determined to make the republicans pay dearly for the momentary advantage which they had gained. His plan was to concentrate the greateſt part of his force on his right, and to turn the left wing of the army of the Sambre and Meuſe, by croſſing the neutral line, in the violation of which he was juſtified by the example which the French themſelves had recently given.

This plan was as rapidly and ſecretly executed as wiſely formed. Paſſing with his army the Main at Aſchaffenbourg, the marſhal was on the republican left before it was aware of his approach. The ſurpriſe and terror of the enemy were extreme. Loaded and embarraſſed with plunder, and negligent of diſcipline, the French every where fell back with the utmoſt diſorder. The marſhal reached Bergen Oct. 11. on the eleventh, and puſhed beyond the Nidda the advanced poſts of Jourdan at this place. Jourdan here made an effort, but a fruitleſs one, to ſtop the progreſs of the Auſtrians. He was repulſed, and ſuffered ſeverely. The centre of the marſhal's army now carried by aſſault the poſt of Eſch, between Frankfort and Coblentz, while the right, under general Haddick, croſſed the Lahn, and menaced the republican left. This latter movement forced the army of Jourdan to paſs the Lahn, in order to prevent its retreat from being cut off. Between Staffel and Yſemberg the French general once more tried to keep his ground; but the fatal manœuvres of his adverſary on his left ſtill forced him to retire. Every hour now encreaſed the conſternation and diſobedience of his ſoldiers. Scattered, haraſſed, and ſpirit-ſunk, his army at length repaſſed the Rhine in various places, and before the end of the month the right bank of that river from the Necker, to Duſſeldorff was cleared of the enemy.

In this retreat, or rather flight, of the republicans, four thouſand priſoners, thirty pieces of cannon, and two hundred ammunition waggons were taken by the Auſtrians. The loſs of the enemy in killed and wounded is not known, but was doubtleſs conſiderable. In many villages the peaſants roſe upon them, and put them to death, to revenge the horrible barbarities which they committed. The conduct of the retreating French was in truth more like that of a ſavage horde, than of the natives of a civilized country. They plundered the peaſants of cattle, grain, and every thing valuable; wantonly deſtroyed what they could not carry away, and in many places murdered even women and children.

Having reſcued the Lower Rhine from the hands of Jourdan, marſhal Clairfait determined to raiſe the blockade of Mentz, and expel from the palatinate the republican army under general Pichegru. This determination he carried into effect with his accuſtomed promptitude. The ſhattered diviſions of the enemy had no ſooner retreated over the Rhine than he marched towards Mentz with ſuch celerity that he reached the camp of Wickert, about five miles from the city, without the blockading force, under general Schaal, having obtained any intimation of his approach. A conſiderable corps was left by the marſhal to watch the movements of Jourdan.

The entrenched camp of the French before Mentz had been conſtructed with the utmoſt care, and by the labours of nearly a year, and was conſidered by its occupiers as wholly impregnable. Extending from Laubenheim on the right to Budenheim on the left, it held the fortreſs completely inveſted. Nor was it without apparently good reaſon that ſo much reliance was placed upon its ſtrength. It was formed of two lines; the firſt, conſiſting of large detached works, cloſed in the rear, joined together and covered by three rows of thoſe conical pits known by the name of trous de loup, or wolf traps; the ſecond, of a connected entrenchment, covered in the ſame manner as the firſt. The ditches of both lines were of a depth and breadth more uſual in permanent than in field fortification. Fifty-two battalions of infantry, five regiments of cavalry, and a numerous artillery defended this formidable camp.

Intelligence being brought him that general Schaal was on the point of receiving conſiderable reinforcements, the Auſtrian commander deemed it adviſable not to wait for the arrival of a part of his army, which was advancing from the Lahn, but to make an immediate aſſault upon the enemy's poſition. Thirty-two regular battalions, ſome light infantry, and twenty-eight ſquadrons of cavalry compoſed the force which was to carry his plan into execution, and which was formed into four diviſions under the orders of generals New, Stader, Colleredo, and Werneck.

It was againſt the right wing of the enemy, though it was the ſtrongeſt part of their line, that the principal effort was to be directed, becauſe their retreat would be the neceſſary conſequence of their overthrow in that quarter. The diviſions of New and Stader were charged with this attack, which was to be ſeconded by the landing of a thouſand Sclavonians in the enemy's rear. On the centre and left falſe attacks were to be made upon Bretzenheim, Gunzenheim, and Mombach, by general Colleredo, who was to be aided by a ſimilar landing to that which was directed on the right. The diviſion of Werneck was ordered to remain as a reſerve on the glacis of Mentz.

The Auſtrian army was not known by the French to be at hand till it was diſcovered marching Oct. 29. in order of battle between the city and the camp. Before the aſtoniſhed beſiegers could ſeize their arms the outpoſts were in poſſeſſion of the aſſailants. The Auſtrian general officers finding that it was impoſſible, from the numerous obſtacles, to advance on horſeback, diſmounted and moved forward on foot at the head of their troops. The firſt line of entrenchments was carried with little difficulty. The ſecond was not quite ſo eaſily maſtered. The republicans maintained it till they found themſelves taken in the rear on both flanks, by the corps which had been landed for that purpoſe. They then fell into confuſion and abandoned their works. A part of them, nevertheleſs, made a ſtand for a while at Gunzenheim and in the wood of Mombach, but without effect. The rout at length became complete; and great ſlaughter was made among the fugitives by the imperial cavalry. The ſlain and wounded of the republicans was eſtimated at three thouſand men; two thouſand priſoners, among whom were two generals and ſixty officers, two hundred ammunition waggons, large quantities of ſtores collected for a ſiege, and one hundred and ſix cannon, were taken by the conquerors, whoſe loſs was about fifteen hundred men killed and diſabled.

The diſcomfited army retired towards the Moſelle. It was purſued with ſo much vigour that it was conſtrained to deſtroy the remainder of its ſtores and ammunition waggons, and to leave behind nearly fifty pieces of artillery.

Immediately after his victory the marſhal occupied Bingen and Kreutznach, and placed a corps in each of theſe poſitions to cut off the direct communication between the armies of Jourdan and Pichegru. Another corps under general Naundorf was ſtationed at Alzey, and puſhed its advanced poſts as far as the gates of Worms. The marſhal himſelf, who had been joined by a part of his force from the Lahn, encamped behind the Seltz rivulet, in front of Mentz.

The Auſtrian corps which had been left beyond the Lahn did not remain inactive. Seven hundred French who had fortified an iſland in the Rhine, called the Nieder-Wert, near Neuwied, were ſurprized on the thirtieth of October by the diviſion of general Boros, and were to a man made priſoners. Finding that the imperialiſts were likewiſe making preparations to ſtorm the ſtrong works which covered the bridge-head at Neuwied, the enemy evacuated them, on the following day, and retired acroſs the river.

General Wurmſer was, in the mean time, narrowing the circle occupied by general Pichegru between the Necker and the Rhine. Five Auſtrian columns, led by the general in perſon, attacked, on the night of the ſeventeenth, the republican poſts in front of Manheim. At the cloſe of a ſevere action the aſſailants were left in poſſeſſion of the whole of the works. The ſucceſs, though of no ſmall conſequence, was, however, not ſo complete as had been expected. According to the original plan, it was deſigned that the victors ſhould follow their routed foes into the fortreſs itſelf. This they were prevented from doing by an impenetrable fog, which, during all the night and a great part of the morning, rendered it impoſſible for the columns to act with the requiſite degree of certainty and concert. Favoured by this fog, the republicans alſo ſaved the largeſt portion of their artillery. Their total loſs of men amounted to nearly three thouſand; that of the Auſtrians to leſs than ſeven hundred. The reſult of this enagement enabled general Wurmſer to inveſt Manheim cloſely on the left bank of the Necker.

On the right ſhore of that river the imperialiſts were equally fortunate. The Galgenberg, an eminence near Manheim, which had been entrenched by the republicans to ſerve as an advanced work to the fortreſs, was carried by ſtorm. Oct. 28. To facilitate this operation a falſe attack was at the ſame time made upon the Necker fort. This falſe attack was converted into a real one by the impetuoſity of the troops, who ſtormed the fort without orders. As their conqueſt, however, lay immediately under the fire of the town they ſoon abandoned it, though not before they had ſpiked thirteen pieces of artillery.

Marſhal Clairfait was now in motion to drive back the army of Pichegru, and co-operate in the reduction of Manheim. Nov. 4. He quitted on the fourth his camp behind the Seltz, and marched to Bechtheim, his advanced guard under general Kray being puſhed forward as far as Pfederſheim, a little diſtance from Worms. His movements were ſeconded by general Naundorf, who, proceeding from Kreutznach, diſlodged the enemy from their entrenchments at Rockhenhauſen, and compelled them to fall back beyond Winweiller.

Pichegru was at this moment encamped behind the Pfrim, a ſmall river which has its riſe at the foot of the Donnerſberg mountains, and falls into the Rhine below Worms. Having received a reinforcement from general Wurmſer, the marſhal reſolved to attack his antagoniſt. The latter, however, did not think proper to keep his ground. On the approach of the imperial army he broke up his camp, abandoned Worms, and retreated towards Frankenthal and Turkheim. The Auſtrian reſerve commanded by general de la Tour, puſhed rapidly forward after him, drove his advanced guards from Frankenthal, and captured three pieces of cannon. The French returned to the charge with a large body of troops, and thirty pieces of artillery, and again obtained poſſeſſion of the town, but were ultimately driven out by general de la Tour with the loſs of a thouſand men.

The poſition which general Pichegru occupied for the protection of Manheim, was choſen with his wonted ſkill. It commenced, on the right, in the wood of Friſenheim, near the Rhine, and extended by Oggerſheim, Epſtein, Flomerſheim, and Lambſheim, along commanding heights to Turkheim on the left, forming a very obtuſe angle, of which Lambſheim was the ſalient point.

The whole of the front was covered by the Turkheimerſbach and Frankendalerbach rivulets, by the former of which the ground on the centre and left was rendered an impaſſable moraſs. The ground on the right was alſo in ſome degree marſhy, and was interſected by ſeveral broad ditches. Lambſheim, which ſtood in front of the left of his centre, was held by a body of infantry, and ſome artillery.

While Pichegru remained in this poſition it was vain to hope for the ſurrender of Manheim. Difficult as was the taſk, marſhal Clairfait reſolved therefore to drive him from his poſt. Orders were iſſued to prepare for action; a ſeparate corps of five battalions and ſixteen ſquadrons under general Kray was to attack at Turkheim, and, if it could not force that point, was to hold the enemy in check and hinder him from detaching reinforcements to the other parts of his line. The right and centre of the imperial army, divided into ſix columns, and conducted by Clairfait himſelf, were to act againſt the republican centre and a part of the left. General de la Tour, with the Auſtrian left, in three columns, was ordered to diſlodge the right of the hoſtile army. Two columns were to carry in ſucceſſion the villages of Flomerſheim, Epſtein, and Oggerſheim; and, immediately upon their ſucceſs, the third column was to attack the troops in the wood of Frieſenheim, whoſe left would be turned by the forward movement of the two other columns. Lambſheim was, however, to be ſtormed by the Auſtrian centre before either of the wings began its operations.

Nov. 14. By eleven in the morning Lambſheim was ſtormed, and the army began to form. Intelligence was now received from general Kray, that the republicans oppoſed to him were ſo numerous and well poſted, that it was impoſſible to make an impreſſion either on their front or flank. The marſhal, with his right and center, advanced, in conſequence, towards the Frankendalerbach rivulet, which covered the enemy, but found the borders of it in ſuch a marſhy ſtate, that it was only to be croſſed in three places, and with not more than ſix men a-breaſt. As it would, under theſe circumſtances, have been dangerous to attempt the paſſage expoſed to the fire of the republican batteries, and the charge of their cavalry, the marſhal relinquiſhed all thought of making a ſerious attack in this quarter. Changing his diſpoſition, he diſpatched a part of his centre to co operate with his left, puſhing, at the ſame time, a diviſion with artillery over the rivulet, to keep employed the republicans, and prevent them from ſending ſuccour to their menaced right wing. This manœuvre had the intended effect. General de la Tour was enabled by duſk to make himſelf maſter of all the poſts which he had been charged to aſſail, between the Rhine and Lambſheim, and thus to render untenable the remainder of the enemy's poſition. It was only the approach of night which ſaved the centre and left of the French from ſerious injury, perhaps from utter rout. Pichegru availed himſelf of the early darkneſs to retreat behind the Rehbach, which, branching from the Spirebach near Neuſtadt, falls into the Rhine in the vicinity of Altrip. Manheim was by this retreat left to rely for its defence upon the ſtrength of its garriſon. Its inveſtment was immediately completed by the victorious Auſtrians. The loſs of the republicans on this day was not much leſs than ſix thouſand men, that of their antagoniſts was ſcarcely eight hundred. Twenty-two pieces of cannon, a hundred ammunition waggons, and conſiderable magazines were taken by the conquerors.

Immediately after the battle, marſhal Clairfait advanced, and encamped with his left to the Rhine, above Manheim, and his right to the mountains, between Turkheim and Neuſtadt.

Nov. 24.

The trenches had been opened by general Wurmſer againſt Manheim, even before the defeat of Pichegru. The ſiege was now preſſed with ſuch vigour, that at the end of twelve days the governor, general Montaigne, propoſed to capitulate. The terms were ſoon agreed upon; and, on the twenty-fourth, the garriſon, conſiſting of between ten and eleven thouſand men, marched out as priſoners of war.

After the capitulation of Manheim, Pichegru continued his retrograde movement. He pauſed for a while behind the Quiech; and then fell back towards Landau, in the neighbourhood of which place he finally halted.

Manheim had no ſooner opened its gates, than the indefatigable Clairfait quitted the Upper Rhine to haſten towards the Nahe, leaving all the poſts from the Rhine to Kayſerſlautern, to be defended by the army of general Wurmſer, the principal part of which was at this period encamped behind the Spirebach and Rehbach rivulets.

On the laſt day but one of November, Clairfait arrived at Kreutznach, and joined the diviſion of Wartenſleben. General Kray at the ſame time marched to Wolfſtein, whence, after having been ſtrengthened by a conſiderable detachment from the grand army, he proceeded to Lautreck. The deſign of this movement was to turn, near Simmern, the right flank of Jourdan, while the army of Clairfait menaced him in front.

Jourdan was himſelf in motion to encounter the Auſtrians. Since the period when the blockade of Mentz was raiſed, he had been buſy in collecting his ſcattered forces, and had ſo far ſucceeded as to ſwell his army to ſeventy thouſand men. During the abſence of the marſhal, he had attacked, though with no other reſult than the loſs of two cannon and ſeveral hundred men, the poſt of Kreutznach.

With augmented forces, he, on the firſt of December, once more fell upon the poſt of Kreutznach, and, favoured by the commanding ſituation of the ground on the left of the Nahe, which enabled him to overwhelm the imperialiſts by his artillery, he at laſt gained poſſeſſion of the town. The Auſtrians rallied and re-entered the place, but unable to maintain it under the heavy fire of the enemy, they were finally obliged to abandon it. The loſs of Kreutznach was more than compenſated by the ſucceſs of general Kray, who defeated a republican corps near Lautreck, and cut to pieces or made priſoners the whole of two battalions.

Finding that marſhal Clairfait had poſted his left in ſo maſterly a manner, that it was impoſſible to enſure the ſafety of the republican right wing, Jourdan began, on the thirteenth of December, his retreat from the Nahe, and, in the courſe of the two following days, took up a poſition in the Hundſruck, occupying all the principal paſſes between Traarbach on the Moſelle, and Bacharach on the Rhine.

That part of general Wurmſer's army which held poſſeſſion of Kayſerſlautern, was, for ſome time, kept almoſt in conſtant action by general Pichegru. Having made many fruitleſs attempts to regain the poſt, the French general reſolved to make another and ſtronger effort for that purpoſe. Bringing up, therefore,
Dec. 20. very ſuperior numbers to the conteſt, he furiouſly aſſailed the Auſtrians, but with no better fortune than he had before done. After an action, which laſted ſome hours, he was driven back, with the loſs of ſeveral of his cannon, and nearly two thouſand men.

The inclemency of the ſeaſon, the fatigues which they had undergone, and the conſequent impoſſibility of undertaking any operation of moment, now induced both parties to join readily in concluding an armiſtice, by which it was agreed that all hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe for the
Dec. 31. preſent, and that they ſhould not be re-commenced without ten days notice having been previouſly given. The line to be occupied by the Auſtrians began between Bingen and Bacharach, on the Rhine, and paſſing by Kopſtein to the Simmerbachy, extended thence along the Nahe and Bliels, as far as Ottweiler.

Thus, by the ſkill of marſhal Clairfait in combining his plans, and his celerity in executing them, two formidable armies were driven back in little more than two months, and the right bank of the Rhine, from the Main to Cologne, and the whole of the palatinate, with the greateſt part of the duchy of Deux Ponts, were reſtored to the dominion of the German Empire.

Foiled in its attempt to make additional conqueſts on the ſide of the Rhine, the convention revenged itſelf by irrevocably annexing to the French territory thoſe which it had already made from his imperial majeſty. On the firſt of October, after a diſcuſſion ſeveral times adjourned, it decreed the union with France of the Netherlands, and the duchy of Luxemburgh. The country thus united, was divided into nine departments, named the Departments of the Dyle, the Scheld, the Lys, Jemappes, the Foreſts, the Sambre and Meuſe, the Ourthe, the Lower Meuſe, and the two Nethes. Thoſe who in the courſe of the debate oppoſed the meaſure, were few in number, and were heard with little favour. The injury which the poſſeſſion of the Netherlands by France would inflict upon Engliſh commerce and manufactures, was among the reaſons moſt ſtrongly urged by the partizans of the union.

In the courſe of a few days the duchy of Bouillon was in the ſame manner incorporated with the French dominions. The report of the committee, recommending the incorporation, was a compoſition which ſeemed to have been drawn up for the purpoſe of ſetting at defiance every idea of juſtice and equity. The right of the ſtrongeſt was the only right which it appeared to conſider as ſacred.

In Italy the rulers of France began early in the year to reap the fruits of their newly-adopted pacific ſyſtem. Tuſcany, which had only departed from its neutrality through compulſion, ſeized the earlieſt opportunity of abandoning the cauſe of the confederated powers. The grand duke deputed, in the beginning of November, his chamberlain, the count Carletti, to negotiate with the committee of public ſafety. The reſult of the negotiation was a treaty of peace*, which was ſigned at Paris by the committee on the ninth of February, and was immediately ratified by the national convention. Count Carletti was afterwards appointed miniſter plenipotentiary to the republic, and was greeted by the convention with that unbounded applauſe, which, from ſuch a body, he had well merited, by the uniform tenor of his principles and his conduct.

Venice, though often importuned by the emperor and the king of Sardinia to join in the league, had, ever ſince the moment when the war began, declared her firm reſolution to abſtain from every act which the French might conſider as being of a hoſtile nature. On the depoſition of Lewis, ſhe had, without heſitating, acknowledged a perſon accredited by the uſurpers, and had permitted the eſcutcheon of the French republic to replace that of the monarchy over the door of the manſion occupied by the miniſter of France. It was, therefore, not wonderful that ſhe now determined to ſend an ambaſſador to Paris. Aloys Querini, a noble Venetian, was choſen to fill this ſituation. July 30. The convention received him in the moſt flattering manner, and the preſident of that body addreſſed to him a rhapſodical harangue, one paſſage of which deſerves to be remembered. "France, always "great," ſaid the ſpeaker, "will "reply to generous conduct, by a conduct equally generous. When on all "ſides our new-born republic was "aſſailed in its cradle, and the "event might be thought uncertain, "the Venetian republic, not ſatisfied "with merely preſerving a rigorous "neutrality, received with diſtinction the envoy of the French republic. We love to tell this, and "to publiſh our gratitude. The "meaſure was the nobler, inaſmuch "as it expoſed our faithful ally to "more than one embarraſſment. "Noble M. Querini, France, while "under a deſpotic yoke, might be "ungrateful and deceiving, but liberated France, republican France, "is grateful and ſincere. Tell your "nation that ſhe may reckon the "French people among the moſt "pure and the moſt zealous of her "allies!" Venice was not long before ſhe diſcovered, though too late, what reliance was to be placed on the gratitude, fidelity, and zeal of revolutionized France.

The king of Sardinia ſtill looked for the ſecurity of his dominions only to a continuance of the conteſt. Since the cloſe of the laſt campaign, his own army and that of the emperor had been conſiderably reinforced, and they were at this time in ſo reſpectable a ſtate, that much was to be hoped from their joint efforts. The Auſtrian forces under general Devins were encamped in front of Cairo; the Piedmonteſe, under general Colli, extended from Ceva to the environs of Coni. The defence of the vallies of Stura, Suſa, Oulx and Aoſta was confided to ſeparate diviſions.

The republican armies of Italy and the Alps, the loſſes of which had not been fully repaired, were too weak to allow their leader to think of offenſive operations. Kellerman, who, at the beginning of

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* See State Papers, p. 338*.

April had been appointed to command them, reſolved, therefore, to confine himſelf for the preſent to a ſtrictly defenſive ſyſtem. To that ſyſtem the length of the line occupied by the army of Italy was extremely unfavourable. The right of the republicans commenced at Vado, on the ſhore of the Mediterranean, and ſtretched by St. Giacomo, Melogno, Bardinetto, and other poſts of minor ſtrength, to the col di Terme, beyond Ormea; their centre and left reached from Mont Bertrand to St. Stefano, on the Tinea, near the frontier of Provence, where the left communicated with the right wing of the army of the Alps.

The army of the Alps, conducted by general Moulin, was ſtill leſs able than that of Italy to make any movement of conſequence. It did not amount to twenty thouſand men, and had to guard all the wide extent of country from the camp of Tournoux, in the valley of Barcelonette, to the borders of the Vallais. During the whole of the campaign, therefore, its exertions were confined to a petty war of poſts and detachments, which, though calculated to diſplay individual valour and enterprize, was of too little importance in a military point of view to demand particular notice.

It was on the territory of Genoa that the contending parties were to make the great trial of their courage and ſkill. Nothing was, however, done till a late period of the ſeaſon. The allies were the firſt to put their troops in motion.

The plan of General Devins was ſkilfully formed, and its complete ſucceſs would have placed the republican army in a dangerous ſituation. His intention was to break through the line of poſts, near the extremity of the right wing, and to hem in the greateſt part of that wing between his army and the ſea.

The deſtruction of ſo large a portion of the French force would, he was convinced, render the remainder utterly incapable of maintaining its ground in Italy, and might, perhaps, open the way to an invaſion of Dauphiny and Provence.

Previouſly to commencing his operations, General Devins made known his intentions to the Genoeſe government, and expreſſed his hopes that as the conduct of the enemy in violating the neutrality of the republic, had compelled him to carry on war within the Genoeſe boundaries, the Auſtrian troops would not be put upon a worſe footing than the French had been; but would be provided, on payment, with that which was neceſſary for their accommodation and ſupport. On the part of his army he promiſed that the ſtricteſt diſcipline ſhould be obſerved, and that ſhould any exceſſes unfortunately be committed, he would repair the wrong, by an ample and immediate compenſation and ſatisfaction.

The government did not receive this communication very graciouſly. It declared, in rather a petulant note, its diſſatisfaction at the plan of General Devins, deſired him to abandon it, and informed him that it had diſpatched orders to its Miniſter at Vienna, to remonſtrate upon the ſubject with the imperial cabinet.

General Devins, however, was not diſpoſed to pay much attention to requeſts and remonſtrances which were ſo evidently dictated by a ſpirit of partiality. His reſolution was taken, his preparations were ready, and orders were accordingly iſſued for the army to begin the campaign.

The combat was begun, on the twenty-fourth of June, by an attack, in three columns, upon the right of the republican poſitions. The principal attack was directed againſt the poſts of Madonna del Monte, which were at length carried by the Auſtrian forces. Vado was at the ſame time aſſailed, but without ſucceſs.

On the following morning the conteſt was re-commenced with increaſed ſpirit. While one Auſtrian diviſion kept the republicans occupied on the ſide of Vado, another, conſiſting of two battalions of Thurn, and a corps of Carlſtadt Croats, aſſaulted the French entrenchments on the mountain of St. Giacomo. After a ſevere action of ſeven hours the entrenchments were forced, and the enemy was compelled to fall back upon Corbua and Rocca Blanca.

In another quarter another Auſtrian diviſion, led by general Argenteau, was equally fortunate. It made itſelf maſter, though not without much difficulty, of the important redoubt of Melogno, and ſome other works of leſs moment. As the poſſeſſion of this poſt was of the utmoſt conſequence to the republicans, general Maſſena was diſpatched with a ſtrong corps by general Kellerman to attempt its recovery. Maſſena regained ſome of the poſts which had been loſt, and the Auſtrians, in conſequence of this, retired from St. Giacomo; but he was unable to expel them from the poſition of Melogno, which was the principal object of his exertions.

The right of the republicans having, by the loſs of Melogno, become untenable, the general begun to think of drawing back the menaced wing to the neighbourhood of Final. Before, however, he adopted this meaſure, he determined to try once more if he could not make it unneceſſary, by driving the Auſtrians from the redoubt. Three columns under Maſſena, were ordered to attack the work on its centre and flanks. The attack was made, and the aſſailants were completely foiled. While Maſſena was thus vainly engaged, the Piedmonteſe, led by general Colli, fell upon the French on the ſide of Ormea, routed them, and drove them from Spinarda, and other poſts.

June 28.

By this advantage of the Piedmonteſe, the ſituation of the French right wing was made ſtill more dangerous. Kellerman was now convinced that any further obſtinacy in maintaining his preſent ground might expoſe a part at leaſt of his army to utter ruin. He accordingly commenced, on the ſame evening, his retreat to Final, leaving behind him, at Vado, thirty pieces of cannon, and two valuable magazines of proviſion and forage.

The new poſition not being eaſily defenſible, it was only occupied to give time for the removal of the magazines from Final and Loano. The removal being effected, the army abandoned all its remaining poſts on the right, and fell back to a ſtrong poſition, which extended from Borghetto, on the ſea coaſt, by Caſtel Bianco, Coſcente, and Zuccarello, to the col St. Bernard. This line was ſedulouſly ſtrengthened by batteries and field works. As, however, it was apprehended that even this barrier might not be ſufficient to ſtop the Auſtrians, the country in the rear was carefully reconnoitred, and a poſition on the right bank of the

Taggia was choſen to retire to in caſe of defeat. Roads were opened for the march of the columns, and the poſts intended for each diviſion were minutely pointed out, that no confuſion might ariſe at the critical moment of retreating in the face of the enemy.

Though the Auſtrian general had driven the French from their ground, he had totally failed in his project of cutting off their right; nor did his ſubſequent proceedings afford a compenſation for this ſerious diſappointment. Far from recovering Nice, and invading Provence, the Auſtro-Sardinians were unable to make any impreſſion upon any part of the republican line. During the months of July, Auguſt and September, they made upon their adverſaries numerous attacks, which occaſioned a lamentable waſte of blood, but had not the ſlighteſt influence on the fate of the campaign. The Britiſh cruizers were, meanwhile, actively employed in intercepting the ſupplies of the enemy, a duty which they performed with great vigilance and effect.

The executive directory of France was not inattentive to the armies on the frontier of Piedmont, from which it hoped to derive, at no diſtant period, the moſt ſignal ſervice. A reinforcement of ten thouſand men was diſpatched to them from the army of the Rhine, and of ſix thouſand from the army of the eaſtern Pyrenees. The firſt of theſe ſuccours reached its deſtination about the middle of Auguſt. The remainder was not long behind.

With this addition to his force, Kellerman deemed himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong to become in his turn the aſſailant. To the praiſe, which he juſtly deſerved, of a judicious defenſive campaign, he hoped to be able to add that of being equally ſkilful and fortunate in offenſive operations. His intention was to attack the whole of the hoſtile line, from the neighbourhood of Ceva to the ſea; ſeparate the Piedmonteſe from the Auſtrians, preſs the latter, without giving them a moment's reſpite, ſeize all their magazines, and reduce them to the abſolute neceſſity of quitting the Genoeſe territory, and falling back to the borders of the Milaneſe.

This plan, which was regarded by Kellerman with much complacency and ſanguine expectation, he had not an opportunity to put in execution. The war with Spain being at an end, the directory determined to transfer to the frontier of Piedmont the greateſt part of the army of the Eaſtern Pyrenées. General Scherer, the leader of this army, was placed at the head of the army of Italy, and general Kellerman was directed to reſume his former command over the army of the Alps.

Towards the latter end of September general Scherer arrived. He was quickly followed by twelve thouſand men of the Pyrenean army under general Angereau. Two months now elapſed, marked only by ſkirmiſhes and affairs of poſts, which were frequently ſharp, but always indeciſive. Kellerman, on his ſide, with the army of the Alps, wiſely kept the Piedmonteſe in perpetual alarm, to prevent them from detaching any portion of their troops to the aſſiſtance of the Auſtro-Sardinian army. Scherer, who had received orders from the Directory to attack and beat the enemy, was, meanwhile, preparing to obey his inſtructions. It was, in truth, a matter of indiſpenſible neceſſity for him to break through the circle which was drawn round him by his antagoniſts, as, being unable to draw any ſubſiſtence from Genoa either by ſea or land, his ſoldiers were not unfrequently in want even of bread. If the Auſtrians kept their ground the French muſt inevitably fall back, and take up their winter quarters in the county of Nice, and on the borders of Provence. This diſgraceful and diſheartening retrograde movement could be avoided only by the complete defeat of the enemy; and the chance of avoiding it was well worth the riſk of a repulſe. It was a circumſtance highly favourable to the French, that, in the courſe of the ſummer, the Auſtrian army had been much weakened by the ravages of ſickneſs.

To Maſſena, who was thoroughly acquainted with the ſcene of action, was committed the taſk of forming a plan of operations. That general recommended that the right of the Auſtro-Sardinian army ſhould be turned by a ſuperior force, which, having accompliſhed this purpoſe, ſhould rapidly advance on the rear of the enemy's centre and left, while the republican centre and right made a vigorous attack in front. By this means the enemy would be placed between two fires, and in eminent hazard of total ruin. This project was ſanctioned by the commander in chief, and the French left wing was in conſequence reinforced by a great part of the centre. The ſcheme was, however, rendered impracticable by fogs and heavy falls of ſnow, which continued for ſeveral days.

Diſappointed in his project againſt the Auſtro-Sardinian right, Maſſena determined to direct his principal attack againſt their centre, carry by aſſault the poſts of Rocca-Barbena, Banco and Bardinetto, and thus turn the flanks of their right and left wing, while in front thoſe wings were fully occupied in repelling the aſſaults of the republican diviſions oppoſed to them. Maſſena requeſted, and was allowed, to conduct himſelf the centre diviſion.

At day break the attack was begun by Maſſena. After an obſtinate reſiſtance on the part of the Auſtrians, the republicans made themſelves maſters of Rocca-Barbena, Malſabecco, and Banco; the Auſtrians retiring to Melogno and Bardinetto, where they rallied and renewed the combat. Theſe latter poſts were defended for a long time; but, at length they alſo were reduced by the enemy. All his poſitions being carried, the Auſtrian general, Argenteau, gave up the conteſt, and retired with his ſhattered diviſion towards Bagnaſco and Ceva.

Nov. 23.

On the republican right, meanwhile, the conflict was not leſs ſtubborn and ſanguinary than in the centre. From dawn till three in the afternoon the aſſailants made but little progreſs, their advantages being confined to the reduction of ſome poſts of inferior importance. But being now ſeconded by a part of the victorious centre, they prepared to puſh vigorouſly forward. At this moment their march was ſuddenly prevented by a violent ſtorm, and a heavy ſhower of large hail ſtones, which laſted till night. Aware of his dangerous ſituation, general Wallis profited by the darkneſs to effect his retreat to Altare; leaving behind him his tents and a portion of his artillery. The next morning he was ſo hotly purſued by Maſſena and Scherer that he was under the neceſſity

ceſſity of continuing his retrograde movement to Acqui and Dego.

The Auſtro-Sardinian right, conſiſting of the Piedmonteſe, had during this time been only ſlightly engaged with the republican left, which had been directed to hold it in check, in order to hinder it from detaching any ſuccour to the points which were really menaced. As ſoon as it was informed of the rout of the Auſtrians it abandoned the whole of its poſts, and fell back to its entrenched camp, under the walls of Ceva.

The loſs on both ſides was very great, as not an inch of ground was given up without a hard ſtruggle to retain it. That of the French was not mentioned; that of their enemies, who, as they confeſſed, fought like lions, they eſtimated, doubtleſs with ſome exaggeration, at four thouſand men killed and wounded, and five thouſand priſoners.

This victory was indiſputably productive to the republicans of the moſt beneficial effects. It threw into their hands numerous well furniſhed magazines of the vanquiſhed; put them in poſſeſſion of Final, Savona, and Vado; re-eſtabliſhed their communication with Genoa; enabled them to go into quarters with perfect ſecurity; heightened their military reputation; and paved the way for a brilliant opening of the next campaign. Had it been gained earlier in the ſeaſon it might, perhaps, have led immediately to a deciſive reſult. It was now, however, too late in the year to follow up the blow. The French army, though triumphant, had ſuffered too much from want, fatigue and the ſword, to encounter new toils; it had but a ſcanty proportion of cavalry; and it was tied down to the ſpot where it found its ſubſiſtence. But even had it been freſh and abundantly provided, the ſnow, which now without intermiſſion fell on the mountains, would have rendered nugatory all its efforts to penetrate into the heart of Piedmont. Scherer, therefore, wiſely determined to content himſelf with what he had already won, and to give repoſe to his haraſſed ſoldiers. At the end of November the French army was accordingly ſent into cantonments, which extended from Nice to the vicinity of Final; the advanced poſts reaching as far as Voltri, and the head quarters being fixed at Albenga.

For the laſt time in the courſe of this war we muſt now turn to the Pyrenean frontier. During the winter the republican army of the Weſtern Pyrenées ſuffered ſeverely from an epidemical fever, which broke out immediately upon the troops being ſent into cantonments, ſpread from the ſoldiers among the inhabitants of the villages, and continued its ravages with ſuch rapidity that in three months more than thirty thouſand of the invaders and invaded fell victims to its fury. The diſorder was not yet ſubdued when famine was added to the miſeries of both parties. The natives of thoſe places which were in the vicinity of the hoſtile army were compelled to ſubſiſt on potatoes alone; and in the army itſelf rice was ſubſtituted for bread, which could no longer be procured.

By the latter end of March, nevertheleſs, the French army was once more in a condition to take the field. The early part of the campaign was unproductive of any event of importance. In the ſkirmiſhes which were fought the Spaniards were as frequently ſucceſsful as their republican antagoniſts.

It was not till towards the cloſe of June that the French manifeſted any ſerious intention of puſhing their way into Biſcay and Navarre. The former province was covered by about ten or twelve thouſand men, under the orders of general Creſpo, poſted along the banks of the Deva. The Biſcayans themſelves, irritated by the ſcandalous conduct of the invaders during the laſt campaign, had alſo taken up arms in defence of their country. The protection of Navarre was entruſted to a ſmaller force, under general Filanghieri, which held a poſition at Lecumberry, on the borders of Guipuſcoa.

The French general, Moncey, now determined to drive Creſpo and Filanghieri from their poſitions, that he might be enabled to beſiege Pampeluna, the poſſeſſion of which would give ſtability to his conqueſts. Creſpo was the firſt object of attack. A ſtrong diviſion, led by general Raoul, croſſed the Deva, on the twenty-eighth of June, and aſſailed the Spaniſh left, which was forced to retreat with the loſs of nine pieces of cannon. The next day the centre and left of the republicans were put in motion to cut off a Spaniſh corps which was ſtationed at Eloſua. The Spaniſh general, however, being informed in time of the enemy's plan, and finding himſelf too weak to keep his ground, retired from the Deva and took poſt at Salinas da Guipuſcoa.

While this was paſſing on the banks of the Deva, four French columns marched from different quarters to envelope, by a combined movement, the diviſion of general Filanghieri at Lecumberry. Theſe columns were diſappointed in their deſign by the timely retreat of Filanghieri, who, in the courſe of the night withdrew his troops to the fortified heights of Irurzun. On theſe heights he was ſoon attacked by the republicans. July 6. The conteſt was obſtinate, and the aſſailants were more than once driven back. At length, after a gallant reſiſtance of thirteen hours, Filanghieri was compelled to abandon the whole of his poſts, and fall back to a new poſition at the diſtance of a league from Pampeluna. This poſition, in ſpite of the ſuperior force oppoſed to him, he maintained till the termination of hoſtilities.

Moncey, meanwhile, followed up his ſucceſs. He endeavoured to ſurround the Spaniſh army, but in this he was foiled by the vigilance of its commander. Creſpo, finding that the road to the Ebro through Vittoria was occupied by the enemy, made a rapid march by Mondragon to Bilboa, which place he immediately quitted, and, paſſing a mountainous country, effected his retreat to Pancorbo in Old Caſtile. His magazines and a part of his artillery were taken by the enemy, who entered Bilboa on the nineteenth of July. A French column puſhed forward to the Ebro, croſſed the river, and took poſſeſſion of Miranda, but was ſpeedily driven back. This was the laſt effort which on either ſide was made in this quarter.

In Catalonia, notwithſtanding the ſevere defeats which the Spaniards had ſuſtained towards the cloſe of the laſt campaign, the progreſs of the French was more tardy than in Biſcay and Navarre.

The ſiege of Roſas was undertaken in December by the army of the Eaſtern Pyrenées, under general Perignon.

rignon. From the facility with which the fortreſs could receive ſuccour by ſea, and from the inclemency of the ſeaſon, this was a tedious and difficult operation. The garriſon alſo defended itſelf with great bravery, and retarded the advance of the beſiegers by ſallies, in one of which the ſallying party ſpiked fourteen pieces of artillery, and killed or made priſoners a hundred and fifty artillery men. By dint of perſeverance, nevertheleſs, the republicans at laſt effected a breach, and prepared for an aſſault. The Spaniſh governor, now convinced that it was impoſſible to make any further reſiſtance, embarked his troops on the night of the third of February and quitted the town, which, on the following morning, was entered by the beſiegers. The victorious Perignon was ſhortly after replaced by general Scherer.

On the death of the count de la Union, general Urrutia was appointed to the command of the Spaniſh army. That general paſſed the winter in reſtoring diſcipline, puniſhing thoſe who had failed in their duty, putting Girona in a ſtate of defence, and collecting reinforcements from Catalonia, and the neighbouring provinces. His efforts were ſo ſucceſsful that, by the return of ſpring, the Spaniſh forces were once more in a condition to meet the enemy in the field.

In the courſe of March and April ſeveral fruitleſs attacks were made by the republicans upon the Caſtilian poſts. On the ſixth of May general Urrutia retaliated by an attack upon the French right, which was poſted at Siſtella, and which was forced to quit its ground with ſome loſs. Encouraged by this advantage the Spaniſh commander determined to make a bold attempt to recover Roſas. Two ſhips of the line, three frigates and ſixteen gun-boats were accordingly ordered to cannonade and bombard the place, while the Spaniſh army fell upon that of the republicans. The latter, however, having been informed of the deſign of Urrutia, anticipated him, by attacking his forces on various points. The aſſailants were repulſed in every quarter; but, as they were now on their guard againſt any enterprize, the projected attempt upon Roſas was neceſſarily abandoned. May 26.

The laſt action which took place occurred on the fourteenth of June. Several large bodies of the enemy having, in order to cover a general forage, advanced to the banks of the Fluvia, the Spaniſh general croſſed the river, drove the republicans from all their poſts, and captured ſeveral pieces of artillery. As, at the cloſe of the conteſt, the aſſailants were retiring over the river, their rear-guard was fallen upon by the French, who were again completely defeated. The loſs of the French was eſtimated at two thouſand men; that of the Spaniards at between ſeven and eight hundred.

Both the hoſtile powers were by this time ſincerely deſirous of peace. The French government felt that its armies had no ſolid footing in Spain, and that it was not improbable that they might yet be driven back to their own frontier. General Buonaparte had likewiſe ſuggeſted to it, that by terminating the Spaniſh war, from which little benefit could be expected, it might ſo ſtrongly reinforce the armies at the foot of the Alps as to enable them to penetrate into Italy, wreſt from the emperor his ſtates in that country, and even put to the hazard his German dominions. Spain, on her ſide, was naturally anxious to terminate a war in which the utmoſt ſhe could dare to hope was that ſhe might keep her antagoniſt at bay. Perhaps, alſo, a jealouſy, not quite unnatural, of the Engliſh maritime preponderancy had its effect upon the Spaniſh councils.

With ſuch diſpoſitions on both ſides it was not difficult to come to an underſtanding. The negotiation was carried on at Baſle between M. d'Yriarte, and citizen Barthelemi, by whom the treaty was ſigned on the twenty-fourth of July.* France agreed to reſtore to Spain all the conqueſts which ſhe had made, and to receive as an equivalent the Spaniſh part of the iſland of St. Domingo.

This treaty gave equal pleaſure to each of the parties. To teſtify his ſatisfaction the king of Spain conferred on the duke d'Alcudia, who had been the moſt active promoter of the pacific ſyſtem, the title of prince of the peace. Nor did the national convention manifeſt its ſentiments in a leſs ſtriking manner. When the treaty was laid before it for ratification, a member moved that the Spaniſh monarch ſhould be obliged to reſtore whatever ſhips he had taken from Toulon; but he was frequently interrupted by cries and murmurs, and could not find in all the aſſembly a ſingle deputy to ſecond his motion.

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* See State Papers, p. *345.

CHAP. VIII.

Campaign and proceedings in the United Provinces. Diſaffection of a conſiderable part of the Dutch. Correſpondence carried on with the French by the diſaffected. The ſtates of Frieſland reſolve to acknowledge the French republic. Proclamation of the magiſtrates of Amſterdam againſt meetings and petitions. Eight thouſand diſaffected citizens preſent, the very day after the proclamation, a moſt inſolent addreſs to the magiſtracy. They threaten an inſurrection. Duke of York quits the command of the Britiſh and Heſſians, and is ſucceeded by count Walmoden. Opening of the campaign. French defeated in an attempt to croſs the Waal upon rafts near Nimeguen. They make a general attack on the allied line, but are repulſed. The Stadtholder appoints two envoys to proceed to Paris to negotiate a peace. An armiſtice refuſed by the French general. The envoys are unable to ſucceed in their miſſion. The committee of public ſafety orders the generals on the Dutch frontier to puſh forward with the utmoſt rigour. A froſt ſets in with uncommon ſeverity in Holland. General Pichegru puts his army in motion. The French make themſelves maſters of the iſland of Bommel, the Altena land, and of ſeveral poſts near Breda. In a few days Heuſden capitulates. Surrender of Grave, after a gallant defence of two months by general De Bons. The republicans having croſſed the Waal, and taken poſt at Thuyl, count Walmoden orders them to be driven thence. This ſervice is performed by a diviſion of Britiſh and Heſſians. The republicans again make themſelves *maſters of Thuyl, and attack the Britiſh at Geldermalſen, but are repulſed. Orders iſſued by count Walmoden for a retreat acroſs the Leck. Action previouſly to the retreat, in which the republicans are defeated. The French croſs the Waal, in ſeven columns, above and below Nimeguen, and defeat the Auſtrians and Hanoverians. Count Walmoden reſolves to retreat over the Yſſel. Retreat commenced. States of Utrecht capitulate. The Stadtholder quits the united provinces, and lands in England. Retreat of the Britiſh army. Sufferings which it has to encounter during its retreat. It is embarked for England.*

FROM the Alps, the Pyrenées, and the Rhine, we muſt now turn to follow the courſe of military operations on the ſhores of the Waal and the Leck. The winter campaign, on the narrative of which we are about to enter, was ſhort, yet deciſive. It broke from the ill-formed and ill-united confederacy of ſovereigns another eſſential member, and gave to republican France an almoſt unlimited command over the numerous and valuable reſources, pecuniary, military and naval, of the Batavian ſtates.

In our volume for 1794,* it has been ſeen that, at the commencement of November, the hoſtile armies, wearied with their paſt toils, and abſolutely wanting the means to continue their exertions, went into cantonments in the vicinity of the Waal and Maeſe. At that period the ſituation of the United Provinces was, in a military point of view, undoubtedly critical. Some of their frontier fortreſſes had been reduced by the enemy; their line of defence was conſequently weakened; and their armies, together with thoſe of their allies, were infinitely inferior in ſtrength, and more difficult to recruit, than thoſe of the invading republicans. But their chief danger did not ariſe from theſe circumſtances, untoward as they undoubtedly were. Had the Dutch been unanimous in their oppoſition, the generals of the convention would, in all probability, have been compelled to retire from the country, in a manner not leſs diſgraceful than had been done, more than a century before, by the generals of Lewis the fourteenth. Unfortunately, however, this was by no means the caſe. A very large part, if not a majority, of the natives was decidedly averſe from the preſent governors and form of government. The old Anti-Orange faction, itſelf formidable, was now ſtrengthened by the many partizans of the new republican principles. They were neither ignorant of their ſtrength, nor ſolicitous to conceal the purpoſe to which they meant to apply it. Bitter complaints, reproaches and invectives, not unmingled with threats, againſt thoſe in power, were heard from all quarters; and the progreſs of the French was hailed with open and clamorous exultation. Nor was this all. A correſpondence was carried on between the diſaffected and the French generals and rulers; and invitations to the invaders, with promiſes of a cordial reception, were repeatedly ſent from many of the principal towns. On one of the meſſengers, taken while he was haggling about the hire of a boat to convey him over the Waal, was found an addreſs from three thouſand of the richeſt citizens of Amſterdam, promiſing to uſe the moſt ſtrenuous efforts to put the city into the hands of Pichegru, and encouraging him to advance with all poſſible expedition.

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* See Hiſtorical Dep. p. 350.

Nor was this ſort of language confined to individuals alone. The aſſembled ſtates of Frieſland even went beyond it in revolutionary boldneſs. After a debate, which Sept. 30. continued during two ſittings, they reſolved to acknowledge the French republic, and to form an alliance with it; to make ſuch changes in their conſtitution as it thought proper; to relinquiſh their connection with Pruſſia and England; and to ſacrifice the private intereſts of the Stadtholder and his family. Four commiſſioners were alſo appointed by the aſſembly, to carry to the Hague the reſult of their deliberations. The ſtates-general received the intelligence with anger and menaces, but it was unable to manifeſt its reſentment in a more effectual manner.

Of all the cities of the Union none was more diſtinguiſhed than Amſterdam for its inveterate hatred to the houſe of Orange. In order to intimidate the factious the magiſtrates of that city iſſued a procla- Oct. 13. mation, prohibiting all popular meetings, and the preſenting of any petitions or addreſſes calculated to interfere in the adminiſtration of public affairs. This proclamation, however, only afforded an opportunity to the revolutionary party to make a diſplay of their own ſtrength, and to expoſe the weakneſs of the magiſtracy.

On the very day after the prohibition had been iſſued, a petition, or, more properly ſpeaking, an inſolent and threatening declaration of war, ſaid to be ſigned by eight thouſand inhabitants, was preſented to the magiſtracy. The pretext for this meaſure was the arrival, ſome days before, in the capital, of the prince of Orange and the duke of York, and the meaſures which they had prevailed on the magiſtracy to adopt for the defence of the place. Aſſuming that the deliberations of the magiſtrates had been improperly influenced by the two princes, the petitioners ſtated that they were well-informed that it was determined to inundate the neighbourhood of the city, to open even the ſea-dykes, and to receive within the walls a Britiſh garriſon. In a haughty tone they demanded a categorical anſwer as to the purpoſe for which the prince and the duke had viſited Amſterdam; and they intimated their firm reſolution to oppoſe by force any attempt to expoſe the city and its vicinity to the horrors of a ſiege and inundation. But it was againſt the Britiſh troops that their ſpleen was principally directed. After ſtigmatizing them, in the baſeſt and moſt opprobrious terms, as a horde of undiſciplined robbers, they declared that they "would conſider "the approach of thoſe troops as a "ſignal to the citizens to begin an "inſurrection, for the conſequences "of which the reſponſibility would "reſt on the magiſtrates alone." This extraordinary compoſition was cloſed by a contemptuous expreſſion of reſpect for thoſe to whom it was addreſſed, and by ſome imperious advice, which, leſt it ſhould be neglected, was blended with a repetition, in ſofter terms, of the former threat.

So daring a piece could have been

addreſſed only to a government on the eve of diſſolution. It was preſented to the magiſtrates by ſix of the moſt violent partizans of revolutionary principles. As it would have been impoſſible to preſerve even the ſhadow of authority, had this inſult been allowed to paſs unpuniſhed, the magiſtrates made a ſhew of vigour, by committing to priſon the ſix chief offenders; while, at the ſame moment they betrayed their weakneſs and their fears, by endeavouring to excite a belief that the arreſt had been made on the demand of the Britiſh ambaſſador.

In the beginning of December the duke of York quitted the army, and returned to England. This circumſtance, which was conſtrued by the Dutch into a belief on the part of the Engliſh miniſtry that the affairs of Holland were in a deſperate ſituation, gave additional vigour to the revolutionary faction, and produced a proportionable depreſſion of ſpirits in thoſe who were attached to the houſe of Orange. On the departure of his royal highneſs the command of the allied forces devolved upon count Walmoden, as ſenior officer.

The repoſe enjoyed in their cantonments by the two armies was of ſhort duration. Early in December the republicans were again in motion. Their firſt enterprize was of a trivial kind. With four rafts they made an attempt to croſs the river oppoſite Nimeguen; but they were ſo well received by the Engliſh that only one of the rafts reached the ſhore from which they had been diſpatched.

Dec. 7.

Rather irritated than diſcouraged by this repulſe, the republicans prepared for a more formidable effort. The iſland of Bommel was, on this occaſion, their principal object. The attack, however, was general along the whole of the line from that iſland to beyond Nimeguen. It took place on the eleventh of December. The aſſailants were repelled in every quarter, with conſiderable ſlaughter. On the ſide of the allies the loſs was trifling in point of numbers, but they had to lament the death of two valuable officers, general De Buſche, and major Bachmeiſter, the former of whom was unfortunately ſlain, after the cloſe of the action, by a chance ſhot from one of the redoubts on the oppoſite ſhore of the Waal.

Anxious to avert the danger which threatened his country, the Stadtholder determined to make an endeavour to obtain peace from the enemy. In a meeting of the ſtates-general he informed them, that having obtained intelligence that the French rulers were pacifically inclined towards the Dutch republic, and only hoſtile towards himſelf, he had thought it his duty to diſregard every thing perſonal, and to embrace the opportunity of opening a negociation. For this purpoſe he had choſen M. M. Brantzen and Replaer to proceed to Paris, and he requeſted the concurrence of the ſtates in the ſteps which he had taken. This information was received with great pleaſure by the ſtates-general, who immediately ordered the grand penſionary, Vander Spiegel, to draw up inſtructions for the two plenipotentiaries.

M. M. Brantzen and Replaer left the Hague about the middle of December. A ſuſpenſion of arms, which, on their way to Paris, they were commiſſioned to aſk from general Pichegru, was poſitively refuſed. They were not more fortunate with reſpect to the great object of their journey. A peace which ſhould leave the houſe of Orange any authority or influence in the United Provinces, or even ſuffer thoſe provinces to retain more than a nominal independence, it was not the deſign of the committee of public ſafety to grant. As ſoon, therefore, as the negociators had reached the capital, and been admitted to an interview, the committee wrote, in the moſt preſſing terms, to the generals of the armies of the North and of the Sambre and Meuſe, not to loſe a moment in puſhing on their operations more vigorouſly than ever. The paſſage of the Waal and Leck was ordered to be immediately accompliſhed.

The remainder of the United Provinces, covered by its numerous and deep rivers and inundations, and by ſeveral ſtrong fortreſſes, might, perhaps, notwithſtanding the ſcanty force of the allies, and the diſaffection of a conſiderable part of the inhabitants, have yet been prevented from falling under the yoke of the French, had not a circumſtance occurred, by which one of its principal defences was rapidly converted into as effectual an inſtrument for its ſubjugation. On the fifteenth of December, froſt ſet in, with an intenſity ſuch as had never been experienced by the Dutch ſince the year 1739. In ten days time the thermometer had fallen to nearly twenty degrees below the freezing point, and the Maeſe and the Waal were, in conſequence, ſufficiently frozen over to admit the march of troops, and even of heavy artillery.

It was not to be expected that a general ſo active and intelligent, as he who now led the republican forces, would let ſlip ſuch a favourable opportunity of executing the orders which he had received to complete his conqueſts. Pichegru ſaw with delight the broad highway which was thus opened into the heart of the United Provinces, and inſtantly put his troops in motion, on the whole of his line, from the neighbourhood of Nimeguen to the furtheſt ſhore of the Bieſboch.

The right of the republican forces, extending from Nimeguen to fort St. Andrew, was deſtined to hold the allies in check on that ſide, while the centre and left acted on the offenſive. To the centre was committed the attack of the iſland of Bommel, and of that diſtrict called Altena-land, which is ſituated between Bois le Duc, Gertruydenberg and the Waal. The left was to force the lines of Breda, and form the inveſtment of the fortreſs.

The attack was made on the twenty-ſeventh of December, and ſucceeded to the fulleſt extent. Sixteen thouſand men, divided into three columns, under general Daendels, croſſed the Maeſe into the iſland of Bommel, and attacked the Dutch poſts, together with fort St. Andrew. Deſpairing of ſucceſs, the Dutch troops abandoned, almoſt without any reſiſtance, the iſland and fort, and retreated over the Waal, to the lines between Gorcum and Cuylenberg. They did not, however, effect their retreat in complete ſafety, for they left behind more than ſix hundred priſoners, their baggage, and ſixty pieces of cannon. A diviſion of the victors croſſed the Waal, on the ſame evening, aud took poſt at Thuyl, Metteren, and Wardenberg.

While Daendels was thus employed, general Oſten, who commanded the remaining part of the centre, traverſed the frozen inundations of the Altena-land, and made himſelf maſter of the forts and entrenchments of Doeveren, Kappel, and Walpick. Thirty pieces of cannon, a large quantity of ſtores, and ſeveral priſoners, fell into his hands. Heuſden was now entirely blockaded. It did not wait to be beſieged. In a few days it ſurrendered, on condition that the garriſon ſhould be allowed to return home, but not to ſerve againſt the French till it had been regularly exchanged.

The left, commanded by Bonneau and Le Maire, was, at the ſame time, equally fortunate. It carried the poſts of Swartenberg, Lamſgat, and Terhyde. Thoſe of Zant and Oudenboſch though they repelled the attack, but were abandoned in the night by the Dutch, who retired to Williamſtadt. Twenty pieces of cannon, and nine hundred priſoners, were taken by the republicans. Breda was immediately and cloſely inveſted.

It ſeemed as if this day had been choſen by fortune to ſhower down her favours upon the republicans. The fortreſs of Grave, at length, capitulated, and the troops of the garriſon were compelled to remain priſoners of war. The long defence of this place reflected the higheſt honour upon the gallant governor, general De Bons. For more than two months the town was cloſely beſieged, and expoſed to a terrible bombardment, during which it was nearly reduced to a heap of aſhes by the exploſion of more than three thouſand ſhells; yet, though repeatedly ſummoned, he perſiſted in maintaining his charge till he had expended his laſt ſhot, and wholly exhauſted his ſtock of proviſions. Even the republicans themſelves could not forbear expreſſing their admiration of his fidelity and valour. The fall of Grave ſecured the rear of the French armies, and gave them the complete command of the Meuſe. The diviſion of general Salm, which had formed a part of the force employed in the ſiege of Grave, was inſtantly directed to march to the iſland of Bommel.

As it was of the utmoſt importance to prevent the republicans from gaining a footing on the right bank of the Waal, count Walmoden reſolved to attempt the expulſion from Thuyl of the hoſtile diviſion which had poſted itſelf at that place, after the capture of the iſland of Bommel. This ſervice was to be performed by ten Britiſh battalions of infantry and ſix ſquadrons of light cavalry, four battalions and four ſquadrons of Heſſians, led by major-general De Wurmb, the emigrant regiment of Le Chatre, and a hundred and fifty huſſars of Rohan; the whole conſiſting of about ſix thouſand five hundred foot, and a thouſand horſe, under major-general ſir Robert Lawrie, major-general lord Cathcart, major-general Gordon, and lieutenant-colonel Mackenzie.

The troops were put in motion early in the morning, and marched in three columns. Dec. 30. That under lord Cathcart, which was intended to proceed from Geldermalſen by Rumpt and Haaſden, to get behind Thuyl, found the road ſo impracticable that it could not come up in time. Major-general Dundas, however, having with his column, from Metteren, joined at day-break the Heſſian column near Wardenberg, reſolved to attack the enemy. Thuyl, naturally a ſtrong poſt, had been rendered ſtronger by abbatis of fruit trees, and by other obſtacles. The approach to it was flanked by the batteries of the town of Bommel, on the oppoſite ſhore of the Waal, and the detachment which occupied it was of conſiderable ſtrength. The attack was, nevertheleſs, made by the bayonet, with ſuch impetuoſity, that the place was finally carried, and the republicans were driven over the river, with the loſs of many men, and of four pieces of cannon. The loſs of the Britiſh and Heſſians was very trifling. Major Murray was the only officer who was numbered with the ſlain.

January 1795.

This momentary ſucceſs was of little or no utility. On the third and fourth of January, the enemy, in great force, recroſſed the Waal, near Bommel, drove in the Britiſh advanced poſts, and regained poſſeſſion of Thuyl. From Thuyl they puſhed forwards towards Metteren, and compelled the Heſſian out-poſts to fall back upon that place. Higher up the Waal, they, at the ſame time, made an attempt upon Tiel, and, on the lower part of the river, they marched a formidable column, with a large train of artillery, towards Gorcum. Every thing indicated their intention to act with vigour againſt the whole extent of the allied line.

Anxious to maintain, if poſſible, till the breaking up of the froſt, his ground behind the Waal, count Walmoden gave inſtructions to generals Dundas and Dalwick to unite their forces, and to ſpare no efforts to drive the enemy once more to the oppoſite ſhore of the river. The troops were ordered to move at daylight on the fifth. The enemy, however, were before-hand with the Britiſh. On the afternoon of the fourth, they carried Metteren, and then furiouſly aſſailed the poſition of Geldermalſen, where, after a hard ſtruggle, they were, at laſt, repulſed. In the firſt impetuoſity of their charge they captured two pieces of cannon, which, before the cloſe of the engagement, were recovered by the Britiſh. General Dundas withdrew, during the night, his troops from Geldermalſen, and retired to Burem, to join general Dalwick.

All hopes of defending this portion of the territory between the Waal and the Leck appearing to be now at an end, count Walmoden determined to retire behind the latter river, and to occupy a poſition, extending from Cuylenberg, on the right to Wageningen, on the left. The guns in the batteries, and ammunition, which could not be carried away, were accordingly deſtroyed, and, on the ſixth, a part of the Britiſh army croſſed the Leck in the neighbourhood of Rhenen.

The troops were ſtill in motion for their new quarters, when a ſudden thaw revived the hopes of maintaining the poſition on the Waal. Count Walmoden, therefore, ſuſpended the march of that part of the army which was ſtill on the left of the Leck, and remanded that part which had croſſed the river. A plan of attack, to be put into execution the next day, was expeditiouſly arranged. Lieutenant-general Abercromby and major-general Hammerſtein, with nearly the whole of their corps, and ſome Auſtrian battalions, were to march, on the ſeventh, towards Tiel and Bommel; and general Dundas, the next morning, was to occupy the central poſition of Buren, and the heights near it, and then co-operate with the two other generals.

The orders were ſcarcely iſſued, when the froſt ſet in again with great ſeverity. As, however, the troops had begun to move, and as counter-orders might, from the extent of the line, have prevented a combination, it was thought adviſable to perſevere. Lieutenant-general Dundas having by zealous exertion aſſembled his corps, proceeded, on the morning of the eighth, towards Buren; detaching forward the fourteenth and twenty-ſeventh regiments to co-operate in the attack upon Tiel. On the arrival of theſe two regiments at Buren, they found that all the poſts on the Lingen had been driven in by the republicans, who were advancing to Buren with a conſiderable force. Their commander, lieutenant-colonel Buller, poſted himſelf, therefore, in the town and caſtle, and waited the coming of the Britiſh column. When the head of the column reached Buren, lord Cathcart was diſpatched to reconnoitre the enemy at Geldermalſen. Finding that they were not more than eight hundred in number, he reſolved to drive them from the village. This ſervice was performed by the fourteenth and twenty-ſeventh regiments; and the village was retained till the evening, not, however, without a hard conteſt, and the loſs in killed and wounded of nearly a hundred and fifty men, among whom were ſeveral officers. On the approach of night, the troops fell back to Buren, which had been occupied by generals Dundas and Wurmb.

By this action nothing was gained but honour. The attack which was to have been made by lieutenant-general Abercromby, was prevented from taking place, by the orders not reaching him till it was too late to put them in execution. This circumſtance, apparently vexatious, was in reality, a ſubject for rejoicing, as the republicans had been ſo ſtrongly reinforced, that, in all probability, the aſſailants would have ſuffered ſeverely, without attaining their object.

The Betuwe, comprehending that portion of territory between the Waal and the Leck, from the ſeparation of the Rhine and the Waal as far as Tiel, had hitherto been free from the enemy's attacks. It formed the left of the line of the allies, and was defended by the Auſtrians and Hanoverians, and a few Britiſh troops. Before Pichegru could attempt to paſs the Leck, it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to obtain poſſeſſion of this diſtrict. Seven ſtrong columns were accordingly, on the morning of the tenth, put in motion for this purpoſe. Three of theſe columns croſſed the Waal between Tiel and Dowaert, the fourth at Nimeguen, the fifth and ſixth at Oye and Kokerdun, and the ſeventh at Mylinguen. Though a ſtout reſiſtance was oppoſed to them in ſeveral quarters, they finally ſucceeded in accompliſhing their deſign. The Auſtrians were compelled, with great ſlaughter, to abandon Hueſſen, and retire acroſs the Leck. The Hanoverians, likewiſe, with general Coates's brigade, were obliged to fall back to the other ſide of the little river Lingen. Lieutenant-general Abercromby, who was at this moment marching to diſlodge the republicans from Echlade, near Tiel, finding that his left was uncovered, retraced his ſteps to the Leck, which he paſſed, and took a poſition on the heights of Rhenen. Several pieces of cannon, and many priſoners, fell into the power of the republicans.

The continued ſeverity of the weather, the diſaffection of the

Dutch, the overwhelming force of the enemy, and the weakneſs of the Britiſh army, manifeſtly rendering it impoſſible to protract any further the defence of his preſent poſition, count Walmoden began to make preparations for a retreat over the Yſſel. Before, however, he could complete his arrangements, the republicans endeavoured to force their way acroſs the Leck. On the morning of the fourteenth they attacked all the line of poſts, in front of that river, from Arnheim to Amerongen. Their principal effort was bent againſt the poſts oppoſite Rhenen. Though they were repelled in every quarter, yet, as from their movements it was evident that they would ſoon renew the conteſt with increaſed numbers and vigour, not a moment was loſt in commencing the retreat. The right wing of the army accordingly retired, the ſame night, from between Rhenen and Cuylenberg, to Amersfort. The left and centre, leſs menaced, retained a momentary poſſeſſion of their preſent ground, from Arnheim to the lines of the Greb. By the retreat of count Walmoden's right, the entrance of the provinces of Utrecht and Holland was left open to the republican army.

The ſtates of Utrecht had met, ſome days previouſly to the retreat of the allies, and had reſolved, to conclude with the enemy a ſeparate capitulation. A deputation was now ſent by them to ſettle the terms with the advancing republicans. To a requeſt on their part, that their conſtitution and form of government might be preſerved, only a proviſional conſent was given.

Finding that the ſtates of Holland alſo had come to a determination to follow the example of thoſe of Utrecht, the Stadtholder thought it neceſſary to provide for the ſafety of himſelf and family. It was in his power to join the Britiſh army, which might yet ſtruggle, perhaps with effect, to ſupport him in the territory beyond the Yſſel; but this ſtep he declined taking, becauſe it would have furniſhed to the invaders a pretext for treating his friends, and probably his country alſo, with the utmoſt rigour. England, therefore, was the only aſylum which remained.

Early on the eighteenth of January he notified to the ſtates-general that, as from "the ſituation of the "republic he ſaw the fate which "awaited it in caſe the enemy "ſhould penetrate further, and as "he was unwilling to be an obſtacle to the making of peace, he "had reſolved to retire, for a time, "from the country." The princeſs of Orange, and the hereditary princeſs, had embarked, at Scheveling, the preceding day. As ſoon as the propoſal contained in his letter had been aſſented to by the ſtates, the Stadtholder departed for Scheveling, whence he ſailed in a fiſhing veſſel, which, in two days, landed him ſafely at Harwich. The populace, on his arrival, greeted him with ſincere though rude expreſſions of welcome; they carried him on their ſhoulders from the boat through the floating ice; and, taking the horſes from his carriage, drew it through the ſtreets, to the houſe where he was to ſtop for the night. The prince, though grateful for the attention ſhewn him, is ſaid to have been deeply affected by his ſituation; and, with ſighs and melancholy preſentiments, to have compared his own flight from Holland to that of our ſecond James from his crown and native country. From Harwich he, the next day, proceeded to London, where he was received with the reſpect due to his rank and misfortunes. Hampton Court palace was ſhortly after fitted up for the reſidence of the expatriated members of the houſe of Orange.

By the time that the Stadtholder had reached the Engliſh capital, the ſubjugation of the United Provinces was nearly completed. On the ſixteenth of January the Britiſh army quitted its temporary poſition, and began its retreat to the Yſſel. During this dreadful march its ſufferings were extreme. It was put in motion at four in the morning, and through the whole of the day many of the ſoldiers taſted nothing but a little water. At three in the afternoon it reached the verge of the Weluwe, a ſandy, trackleſs, and ſterile deſert, with no other vegetation than a few ſcattered tufts of withered graſs and ſtunted ſhrubs. Over this barren tract the fatigued and diſpirited troops had ſtill a journey of fifteen miles to perform. So intenſe was the froſt, that the water from their eyes hung in icicles on their eye-laſhes, and their breath formed a cruſt of ice on their faces and clothes. At the ſame time a piercing eaſterly wind drifted the ſand and ſnow into their faces with ſuch force, that they were ſcarcely able to keep their ground. In this ſituation night came on, and complete darkneſs added to the horror and confuſion of the march. Numbers of men and women, exhauſted both in mind and body, ſought a momentary ſhelter and reſt under the buſhes, where they ſunk to ſleep, and woke no more. Thoſe who, having reſted for a while, had vigour left to ſhake off the deadly torpor, were not more fortunate than their comrades. Unable to find any path over the dreary waſte, they wandered about till they periſhed. Many regiments were entirely diſperſed. The eighty-eighth in particular was ſo ſcattered, that on the enſuing day, no return whatever could be made of its ſtrength, merely a few ſtraggling parties having joined.

The day dawned upon a ſcene of the moſt heart-rending kind. "On "the morning of the ſeventeenth," ſays an officer of the guards, "I was "ſent to trace a road over the com- "mon, by which the army and ar- "tillery might ſafely proceed to "Loonen. When the party march- "ed it was ſcarcely day-light, and, "as day broke in upon us, the hor- "rible ſcenes that it revealed af- "forded a ſhocking proof of the "miſeries of a winter campaign. "On the common, about half a mile "from the high road, we diſcovered "a baggage cart, with a team of "five horſes, apparently in diſtreſs. "I galloped towards the ſpot, and "found the poor animals were ſtiff, "but not dead; the hoar froſt on "their manes plainly ſhowing that "they had been there the whole "night. Not perceiving any driver "with them, I ſtruck my ſword re- "peatedly upon the canvas tilt, en- "quiring at the ſame time if there "was any perſon in the cart. At "length, a very feeble voice an- "ſwered me, and ſome one under- "neath the canvas appeared to be "making an effort to riſe. A pair "of naked froſt-nipt legs were then "advanced, and the moſt miſerable "object I ever beheld ſunk heavily "upon the ground; the whole of "his clothing ſo ragged and worn, "that I can ſcarcely ſay that he "was covered. So ſtiff and frozen “was this miſerable wretch, that he was by no means capable of moving. He informed me that his regiment, the fifty-fourth, which he was following the preceding night, had loſt its road, and, in turning into another, he found his horſes incapable of clearing the cart from the ruts, and that himſelf and his two comrades were left behind to proceed in the beſt manner they could. The two men he ſpoke of were then lying dead in the cart, having all three endeavoured to communicate to one another a degree of warmth, by creeping cloſe together. We placed the miſerable ſurvivor upon one of the horſes of his team, and led him forward till joined by the battalion. By that means his life was prolonged, yet, I fear, but for a ſeaſon; for when placed in the hoſpital, his toes dropped off, froſt-bitten, and his maſs of blood appeared in a corrupted ſtate. The whole of this day's march was marked by ſcenes of the moſt calamitous nature, ſimilar to the one which I have juſt recited. We could not proceed a hundred yards, without perceiving the dead bodies of men, women, children, and horſes, in every direction. One ſcene made an impreſſion upon my memory, which time will never be able to efface. Near another cart, a little further on the common, we perceived a ſtout-looking man and a beautiful young woman with an infant, about ſeven months old, at the breaſt; all three frozen, and dead. The mother had moſt certainly expired in the act of ſuckling her child, as, with one breaſt expoſed, ſhe lay on the drifted ſnow, the milk, to all appearance in a ſtream, drawn from the nipple by the babe, and inſtantly congealed. The infant ſeemed as if its lips had but juſt then been diſengaged, and it repoſed its little head upon the mother's boſom, with an overflow of milk, frozen as it trickled from the mouth. Their countenances were perfectly compoſed and freſh, reſembling thoſe of perſons in a ſound and tranquil ſlumber. About fifty yards advanced, was another dead man, with a bundle of linen clothes, and a few biſcuits, evidently belonging to the poor woman and child; and a little further was a horſe lying down, but not quite dead, with a couple of panniers on his back, one of which contained, as we diſcovered, the body of another child, wrapped up in flannel and ſtraw. This, as we afterwards heard, was the whole of one family; a ſerjeant's wife of the fifty-fifth, her brother, and children; the man, found with the horſe and bundle, had remained behind to aſſiſt them, during a march thus memorable for its miſeries. He had juſt obtained ſight of a diſtant hamlet, where they might have obtained a ſhelter from the inclemency of the weather, when his ſtrength failed him. The commanding officer of the fifty-fifth rode by at that critical moment, but too late to render them any ſervice; and, as the battalions paſſed the ſpot, the troops were witneſſes in their turns of this melancholy ſcene.”

From Deventer the retreat was ſlowly continued, in various columns, to the frontiers of the United Provinces. The loſs ſuſtained was ſevere. Several hundred ſick were of neceſſity left behind in the different

rent hoſpitals; and the magazines and ſtores, which were too cumberſome to be conveyed, were all deſtroyed. The advancing republicans made ſeveral attacks upon the Britiſh, but were uniformly received with that bravery, the effects of which they had before ſo often felt. By the latter end of March, the whole of the army had reached Bremen, where the troops were put into quarters. The long-wiſhed for orders of recal at length arrived, and, on the fourteenth of April, the Britiſh forces embarked for England, where they landed in ſafety, diminiſhed in ſtrength, but with undiminiſhed honour.

Amſterdam, in the mean time, was taken poſſeſſion of by general Pichegru; the province of Zealand capitulated; the gates of the various fortreſſes were thrown open; the patriots, as they were called, every where ſeized upon the power, and the whole of the United Provinces remained, in conſequence, completely under the controul of the victorious French republicans. Here, then, we ſhall pauſe. In our next volume we ſhall bring down the narrative of Dutch affairs to the period when an order of things entirely new was eſtabliſhed in a country, which, after having long been the friend of England, became one of its active, and, from ſituation, one of its moſt dangerous enemies.

CHAP. IX.

Affairs of Great Britain. State of the public mind at the beginning of 1795. Party formed in favour of peace from among thoſe perſons who had hitherto ſupported the war. Meeting of parliament. King's ſpeech. Addreſs moved in the houſe of lords. General obſervations in ſupport of it. An amendment propoſed by the earl of Guildford, who ſeverely cenſures the conduct of miniſters. It is rejected. In the houſe of commons a debate takes place in conſequence of Mr. Sheridan moving to bring in a bill for repealing the act for the ſuſpenſion of the habeas corpus act. Mr. Sheridan at length withdraws his motion. He contends that Mr. Dundas has vacated his ſeat. Converſation on the ſubject. Addreſs to the king moved by Sir Edward Knatchbull, and ſeconded by Mr. Canning. An amendment is moved by Mr. Wilberforce to requeſt his majeſty to open a negotiation with the French. Mr. Wilberforce ſtrenuouſly contends in favour of peace, if attainable on honourable terms. Reply of Mr. Windham. He declares the country not to be true to itſelf. Exhorts the country to perſevere with ſpirit and fortitude. Amendment ſupported by Mr. Bankes and Sir Richard Hill. Chagrin felt by the miniſter on being thus deſerted by ſome of his former friends. He denies the poſſibility of a peace. Examines the reſources of England and France, and declares the reſources of the latter to be in a ſtate of decline. Reply of Mr. Fox. He treats the miniſter with ſarcaſtic ſeverity, and contends that peace is deſirable, and would not be dangerous. He treats with contempt the idea that French emiſſaries would, in caſe of peace, ſeduce the Engliſh. He draws a favourable picture of the ſtate of France. Declares himſelf in favour of the amendment; but aſſures the mover of it that he will never relinquiſh

relinquiſh his deſign of procuring an enquiry into the war. The amendment is rejected by a large majority. Mr. Sheridan brings forward his motion for the repeal of the act for ſuſpending the habeas corpus. He ridicules the idea of a conſpiracy, and aſſerts the innocence of the perſons acquitted. Reply of Mr. Windham. Mr. Erſkine ſupports the motion. He is replied to by Mr. Serjeant Adair. Speech of Mr. Fox. Motion rejected. Bill brought in for continuing the ſuſpenſion of the habeas corpus act. It is violently oppoſed in the houſe of commons, but, nevertheleſs, is carried by a great majority. Amendment to it moved in the houſe of peers, by Lord Lauderdale, and adopted. The bill is carried, without a diviſion, after a long debate. Proteſt againſt it by four peers.

WHILE, one by one, the continental powers were deſerting their alliance with Great Britain, and, even, in ſome inſtances, meditating hoſtility againſt her, the ſtate of her internal affairs was ſuch as to inſpire her friends with well-grounded apprehenſions for her future tranquillity and ſafety. It was not to be diſſembled that thoſe of her ſubjects who were tainted with the principles of revolutionary France formed a numerous and active body, and eagerly ſought to re-model, or to overturn, the civil and religious eſtabliſhments of their native country. The reſult of the recent ſtate trials had given additional boldneſs to this party, which had never been deficient in energy and audacity. In very many of the ſound majority of the nation there was, on the contrary, much of lukewarmneſs and deſpondency. The diſaſtrous progreſs and termination of the campaign of 1794, had entirely damped the ſpirits of numbers who, at the commencement of the conteſt, reckoning upon the weakneſs of France, were willing to try the experiment of war for a year or two; but who now ſhrunk from the proſpect of a protracted and doubtful ſtruggle, by which the burden of taxation muſt be materially augmented. Though attached to the conſtitution, they could not tolerate the idea of circumſcribing within narrower limits their comforts and pleaſures, and were, therefore, loud in their recommendation of a pacific ſpirit. In this recommendation they were of courſe ſeconded by thoſe few who honeſtly believed republican France to have been more ſinned againſt than ſinning. The largeſt, though the leaſt clamorous, part of the nation, however, was decidedly of opinion that it was by the ſword, and not by the olive branch, that the ſecurity and honour of the country muſt be preſerved from the dangers with which they were threatened.

Dec. 30 1794.

Such was the internal ſtate of Great Britain when the ſeſſion of parliament was opened. In the ſpeech from the throne his majeſty, while he acknowledged the diſappointments and reverſes which had been ſuffered in the laſt campaign, declared his firm conviction that peace could be reſtored, on ſafe and honourable grounds, only by a vigorous proſecution of the juſt and neceſſary war in which the nation was engaged. Thoſe efforts, it was ſaid, which had led to the ſucceſſes of the enemy, and the unexampled means by which thoſe efforts had been ſupported, had produced in France the pernicious effects which were to be expected; and every thing that paſſed in the interior of that country ſhewed the progreſſive and rapid decay of its reſources, and the inſtability of its violent, unnatural and ruinous ſyſtem. Holland, indeed, had been terrified into a negotiation; but, as negotiation could not be attempted by any country, and more eſpecially by this, without the ſacrifice of honour and ſafety, his majeſty had taken the moſt effectual means for the augmentation of his forces, and intended to concert the operations of the enſuing campaign with ſuch of the European powers as yet felt the neceſſity of vigour and exertion. The acceptance of the crown of Corſica, the treaty of amity and commerce entered into with America, and the marriage of the prince of Wales with the princeſs of Brunſwick were then ſucceſſively mentioned. The additional burthens which muſt be laid upon his ſubjects were mentioned by his majeſty in terms of regret; but conſolation was at the ſame time drawn from the flouriſhing ſtate of commerce and credit; and a confident hope was expreſſed that, by conſtancy and perſeverance, the cauſe of ſocial order, morality and religion would ultimately be ſucceſsful, and the people be rewarded for their ſacrifices by the deliverance of Europe, and by the enjoyment at home of a ſtate of ſecure and permanent tranquillity.

In the upper houſe the addreſs to the throne was moved by earl Camden, and ſeconded by the earl of Beſborough. The addreſs was, as uſual, the echo of the ſpeech.

In ſupport of the addreſs it was urged by the noble lords that the war had been a war of aggreſſion on the part of France, and that though, in the laſt campaign, reverſes had been ſuffered, it was more neceſſary than ever to proſecute hoſtilities with vigour. No peace, they contended, could at preſent be obtained without laſting humiliation and danger to this country. Nor were the circumſtances under which we were placed, ſuch as to compel us to the concluſion of a peace. If the ſituation of France were compared with that of England the advantage would manifeſtly appear to be on the ſide of the latter. France was nearly exhauſted. Her rulers had been compelled to abandon two laws, on the action of which they had the moſt relied; the law of the maximum, and the law for enforcing the circulation of aſſignats, which aſſignats were now at a diſcount of 75 per cent. Their means were diminiſhed; their expences increaſed; proviſions were at a price beyond the reach of common purchaſers; and the guillotine being no longer in perpetual exerciſe, nor the committee of public ſafety compoſed of ſuch daring individuals as formerly, the republican councils were become nerveleſs and weak. England, on the other hand, diſplayed a picture every way the reverſe. Her forces were more numerous than at any paſt period; ſhe was not deſtitute of allies; her revenue was in the moſt productive ſtate; her reſources were infinite, and her credit was undiminiſhed.

The lead in oppoſing the addreſs was taken by the earl of Guildford, who reprobated in the ſtrongeſt terms the conduct of his majeſty's miniſters, by whom no wiſdom had been collected from misfortune and diſaſter, no experience from obvious error, and palpable impolicy. On the origin of the war, the folly of carrying it on, and the incapacity of miniſters, his lordſhip ſpoke with pointed ſeverity. What hope, what conſolation, he aſked, did the addreſs, and the ſpeeches of the noble lords hold out to the people? None. It was allowed that, after all our loſſes and ſufferings, the proſpect of peace was at as great a diſtance as ever. To an immediate peace, he owned, that ſome objections might be ſtated, but while the war was carried on, it ought to be carried on to repreſs the overgrowing power and ambition of a dangerous rival, not for trifles in which we had no right or intereſt to interfere at all. As to the treaties, or rather gratuitous engagements which had been entered into with other powers, they had proved not to be made ſo much for the ſake of ſecuring allies to aſſiſt us, as to pay others to allow us to become their friends in the conteſt with France. Such treaties, advantageous to miniſters, but detrimental to the ſtate, he truſted that parliament would never conſider as ſtanding in the way of peace, when peace could be obtained. The argument drawn from the exhauſted condition of France was conſidered as a bare aſſertion, unſupported by fact; and, even were it true, of no real weight, as this country itſelf was in a ſituation which was ſcarcely more enviable. After reviewing and cenſuring the military operations, and animadverting on the negligence of the admiralty board, his lordſhip adverted with great bitterneſs to the domeſtic proceedings of miniſters, and concluded by moving the following amendment to the third paragraph of the addreſs.

"To ſtate to his majeſty the determination of this houſe to ſupport his Majeſty in the meaſures neceſſary to maintain the honour and independence of the crown, and to provide for the defence of the nation; but at the ſame time to adviſe his majeſty to take the earlieſt means of concluding a peace with the French nation, on ſuch terms as it may be reaſonable and prudent to inſiſt on. That whenever ſuch terms can be obtained, we truſt that no obſtacle to the acceptance of them will ariſe from any conſideration reſpecting the forms and nature of the government which may prevail in France."

Much eloquence and animation was diſplayed, on both ſides, in the debate upon this amendment. The amendment was ſupported by the earl of Derby, the marquis of Lanſdowne, earl Stanhope, the earl of Lauderdale, and the duke of Bedford. It was oppoſed by the earls of Morton, and Kinnoul, earl Spencer, marquis Townſhend, lord Boringdon, lord Mulgrave, the earl of Mansfield, lord Grenville, and lord Darnley.

The duke of Leeds and the marquis of Abercorn, diſapproved both of the addreſs and the amendment. The former Peer objected to the addreſs becauſe one of its paragraphs ſeemed to imply that no peace could be made with France ſo long as ſhe continued a republic. The noble marquis diſſented from it on the ground that the war, which he allowed to be juſt and neceſſary, had been carried on in a manner of all others the moſt inefficient and improvident.

The houſe at length dividing, the addreſs was carried by a hundred and ſeven voices againſt twelve. As ſoon as it had been reported, Lord

Stanhope roſe to give notice of a motion "That this country has no right to interfere with the internal government, or with the conſtitution of France."

In the houſe of commons an unuſual circumſtance occurred, which gave riſe to a debate of conſiderable warmth. In order to aſſert the right of the houſe to take into conſideration, even before the king's ſpeech, any buſineſs it may think proper, it is the cuſtom for the ſpeaker, at the opening of each ſeſſion, to read the bill for proſecuting clandeſtine outlawries. The ſpeaker having put the queſtion, "That the bill be now read," Mr. Sheridan got up to oppoſe the motion. The right which they claimed, did not, he declared, appear to him to be an uſeleſs, barren trifle, but a right which, when neceſſary, ſhould be inſiſted upon for ſome practical good purpoſe. They were now called, at a moſt critical period, to give their ſerious advice to the ſovereign, on a ſubject of the utmoſt importance to the country; but it was impoſſible that they could give free, fair, and impartial advice, if they were themſelves not free; and that they were free could not in reaſon be affirmed while the habeas corpus act remained in a ſtate of ſuſpenſion. It was his deſign, therefore, to move for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the act by which it was ſuſpended.

On the part of miniſters, Mr. Dundas roſe to object to the mode of proceeding adopted by the honourable gentleman. Any further diſcuſſion on the ſubject would, he declared, be at this moment premature; but he felt no heſitation to aſſert, that the ſuſpenſion of the habeas corpus act ought to remain, and even to be renewed. This aſſertion having been animadverted upon with much bitterneſs by Mr. Jekyl, who contended that the late trials had proved that no plot exiſted, the ſolicitor general, Mr. Mitford, roſe to controvert his opinions. He affirmed, in the ſtrongeſt language, that the trials had aſcertained, beyond the poſſibility of doubt, the exiſtence of a conſpiracy; that the verdicts could not be conſidered as clearing the accuſed, but only as ſecuring them from being again tried for the ſame act; and he ſeemed to intimate that the jury would have decided differently had they been as well informed of the facts as he himſelf was.

In the courſe of his ſpeech the ſolicitor general was ſeveral times interrupted as being out of order, in his reflections upon the recent verdicts. He was followed by Mr. Fox, who, in an able ſpeech, maintained that the acquittal of the priſoners was a proof that the alleged plot had never been in exiſtence. This doctrine was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Mr. ſerjeant Adair, and the chancellor of the exchequer. The debate was, at length, terminated by Mr. Sheridan relinquiſhing his firſt intention. His wiſh, he ſaid, was merely to prevent the clandeſtine outlawry of the habeas corpus act, and as it was not neceſſary for him at this moment to perſiſt in his motion, he ſhould content himſelf with giving notice that he would, on the morrow, name an early day for bringing forward the diſcuſſion.

As ſoon as the outlawry bill had been read, Mr. Sheridan once more roſe, and after apologizing for this ſecond interruption of the buſineſs of the day, proceeded to ſtate that he conſidered the preſence of Mr. Dundas as an irregularity, that gentleman having vacated his ſeat. By Mr. Burke's bill which aboliſhed the office of third ſecretary of ſtate, it was enacted that in caſe his majeſty thought proper to revive the office, the perſon appointed to it, if a member of the lower Houſe, ſhould vacate his ſeat. Unleſs, therefore, the duke of Portland and Mr. Dundas were to be conſidered as one ſecretary, Mr. Sheridan contended that Mr. Dundas muſt be conſidered as the third ſecretary, and ought, in conſequence, to have complied with the proviſions of the act.

The chancellor of the exchequer made a brief reply, in which he intimated that the duke of Portland muſt be looked on as the third ſecretary. This language was reprobated by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox, as highly diſreſpectful to his grace; and the meaſure itſelf was ſtyled, by Mr. Sheridan, a mere juggle to evade the act. It was allowed that the letter of the act had not been violated, but could as much be ſaid with reſpect to its ſpirit. The great leader of oppoſition alſo expreſſed his ſorrow that the noble duke had ſtooped to accept an office which he himſelf had formerly been of opinion it was proper to aboliſh.

Theſe ſubjects being diſmiſſed, his majeſty's ſpeech was taken into conſideration. The addreſs, the ſame in ſubſtance as that moved in the upper houſe, was moved, in a conciſe ſpeech, by Sir Edward Knatchbull. It was ſeconded by Mr. Canning. Expreſſing a hope that the vote of the Houſe would be unanimous or nearly ſo, he, nevertheleſs, manifeſtly betrayed a well founded doubt upon the ſubject. With an evident alluſion to that party which had grown tired of the conteſt, he intimated that thoſe members who had formerly voted for the war, could have no reaſonable ground for a change of ſentiment at the preſent period. The diſaſters of the laſt campaign he admitted, but he denied that they were at all imputable to the miniſters; they were ſuch as no human prudence could foreſee, and no human power could prevent. The acceſſion of the moderate party, as it was called, to the ſupreme authority in France, he did not conſider as increaſing the poſſibility of our treating with the enemy; as the dominant French faction was equally hoſtile to this country with the jacobin faction, only it had not the ſame formidable means of carrying its hoſtilities into execution. No peace, he urged, was attainable, conſiſtent with ſecurity and honour; no peace that would not burthen us with all the inconvenience and expence of a war eſtabliſhment to preſerve us from danger; and that eſtabliſhment would itſelf become the cauſe of a new quarrel, as the French would doubtleſs require an explanation with reſpect to its object. Future circumſtances, he ſaid, muſt point out the time to negotiate, and as the hoſtility of England had already produced many changes for the better in France, ſo it was to be hoped that a continuance of it would bring the rulers of that country to ſuch a ſtate as would allow us to conclude a ſecure and honourable peace.

On this occaſion the principal part in oppoſing the addreſs was not taken, as uſual, by the members in oppoſition, but by ſome of thoſe who had hitherto voted on the ſide of the miniſter. Mr. Wilberforce was the mover of the amendment. He prefaced his ſpeech by declaring that the duty which he had now to diſcharge was a painful one; but that he could neither anſwer to his conſtituents nor to his conſcience if he left it unperformed. In his majeſty's miniſters he had the greateſt confidence, and he would gladly have voted for the addreſs, had it contained any thing of a pacific tendency; any thing which did not abſolutely preclude the very poſſibility of a peace. Such, however, was not the caſe. The ſpeech and the addreſs ſpoke a far different language; a language which could not be miſunderſtood. No member could vote for the addreſs who had not made up his mind to continue the war till a counter-revolution was effected in France. It was on this ground that he felt himſelf compelled to oppoſe it.

It had been ſaid that we were in the ſame ſituation as at the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion, or, at leaſt, that there was not ſuch a change as to induce us to alter our objects. To this opinion Mr. Wilberforce declared that he could not give his aſſent. One thing alone made a very eſſential difference. The jacobin ſyſtem had been deſtroyed in France, and power was now in the hands of a party profeſſing moderation. This ſhewed the real ſentiments of the French people, ſince to win the ſupport of the people the rulers were obliged to make an avowal of moderate principles, whether they poſſeſſed them or not. But there was alſo another circumſtance, of equal or greater weight, which materially affected the queſtion. This was the breaking up of the confederacy with which we had hitherto acted. Was it to be believed that with diminiſhed means we could accompliſh that which we had failed to accompliſh when our means were unbroken. If with numerous allies, aided by forty-three royaliſt inſurrections on the enemy's territory, we had been unable to attain our object, could we attain them when the inſurrections were nearly ſuppreſſed, and we were deſerted by the greater part of our confederates. The bad ſucceſs of our arms was likewiſe, he contended, an argument againſt continuing the conteſt indefinitely, and the more eſpecially as it had been ſaid that no blame attached to the want of ſucceſs. If our generals had done all that wiſdom could ſuggeſt, and had, nevertheleſs, been baffled, what proſpect was there that they would be more fortunate in future. It ſhould be remembered too, that the preſent principles in France had gained ſtrength by duration. A new race, was coming into action with inveterate prejudices againſt the ancient government, and againſt monarchy in general. This circumſtance rendered hopeleſs a counter-revolution in favour even of a limited monarchy; and he frankly confeſſed that he ſhould be well pleaſed to ſee the French adopt the ſame ſyſtem as had been eſtabliſhed in America.

Yet, becauſe he expreſſed a wiſh that the door might not be ſhut againſt negotiation, he deſired that no idea might be attributed to him of wiſhing this country to take any ſtep which could leſſen its dignity or tarniſh its honour. An honourable peace was his object, and if that could not be obtained, the war ought to be proſecuted with energy and vigour. He did not, however, affect to deny that a peace made at this time muſt be inſecure; but chooſing between two evils, an expenſive unſucceſsful war, and an inſecure peace, he thought the latter was undoubtedly to be preferred.

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He concluded by moving an amendment, expreſſing the determination of the commons to grant liberal ſupplies to his majeſty for the ſupport of his crown and dignity, but requeſting, at the ſame time, that his majeſty would order a negotiation to be opened on ſuch terms as to his wiſdom and goodneſs might ſeem juſt and reaſonable.

The amendment was ſeconded by Mr. Duncombe, and ſupported by Mr. Burdon.

Mr. Windham, in a long and animated ſpeech, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the amendment. He had, he declared, heard the arguments in favour of it with grief and ſurpriſe. Their obvious tendency was ſubmiſſion, humiliation, degradation, before an inſolent and inveterate enemy. The very offer to treat would, he contended, be a confeſſion of weakneſs, and he ſtrongly contraſted the conduct now recommended to us with that of the French at the moment of their diſaſters. When they were driven back to their own territories they never talked of peace, they only redoubled their efforts, and ought Britons to diſplay leſs fortitude than their enemies. Comparing the preſent war with others in which this country had been engaged, he denied that it was unſucceſsful. All that could with truth be ſaid was that it had hitherto had only a negative ſucceſs.

But the circumſtance, he ſaid, which moſt alarmed him was that the country was not true to itſelf; that it did not put hand and heart to the war as on former occaſions, when the ſtake was not ſo great, nor the criſis ſo formidable. Tracing the cauſe of this to the French revolution, he dwelt upon the miſchief which had been done by ſocieties formed in England on revolutionary principles, and, alluding to the late acquittals of ſome of the members of thoſe ſocieties, he wiſhed their friends joy of the innocence of an acquitted felon. For the latter expreſſion Mr. Windham was called to order, on the ground of his arraigning and degrading the verdict of an Engliſh jury. To this he replied, that he did not mean to cenſure the deciſion of the juries, but merely to ſtate that the acquittal of the priſoners for want of legal evidence, by no means proved them to be free from moral guilt.

After touching upon the right of interference in the internal concerns of other nations, and ſeverely reprobating the idea that the advantages of war or peace were to be eſtimated by the territory or trade which we might gain or loſe, Mr. Windham contended that the confederacy againſt France ought not to be looked upon as diſſolved, and even if it were ſo, England unſupported was not unable to cope with the enemy. Of the fatal conſequences which would reſult from peace, and from the neceſſary opening of an intercourſe with France, he drew an eloquent and ſtriking picture. Such a peace, he ſaid, would be worſe than any probable event of war. But with reſpect to the future events of the war, we had no reaſon to deſpond. The reſources of this country, he urged, were ſcarcely diminiſhed; thoſe of the republicans nearly exhauſted. The foe was bleeding to death; our wound was only ſkin deep. Our perſeverance, therefore, would undoubtedly be crowned with ultimate ſucceſs, and, by diſplaying the patient ſpirit of Engliſhmen, we ſhould preſerve our religion, liberties, and conſtitution from the dangers which menaced them.

Mr. Bankes and Sir Richard Hill declared themſelves warmly in favour of the amendment; the latter member, nevertheleſs, paid ſeveral handſome compliments to the talents and virtues of Mr. Pitt, and declared that he believed him to have kept off the war as long as he poſſibly could, and till he thought himſelf compelled to enter into it both by juſtice and neceſſity.

The chagrin which the Miniſter felt, at being thus deſerted by ſome of his late ſupporters, he was ſo far from attempting to conceal, that he made it his apology for the more than uſual warmth with which he commenced his reply. It was to theſe ſeceders from his party that the whole of his arguments were avowedly addreſſed.

He opened his ſpeech by a denial that the addreſs pledged all thoſe who voted it never to make peace with the republican government of France; and he owned that changes might take place which would give the probability of a peace with ſuch a government, though he doubted if a peace could be ſecure, unleſs France returned to the monarchical ſyſtem. That ſyſtem he held to be the beſt for all the European ſtates.

The change which had lately taken place in France, was, he urged, a change not in ſubſtance, but in name. The preſent rulers in that country were as hoſtile to England as Briſſot and his followers. Did the gentlemen, who now deſerted the war, hope, he aſked, for a peace which would open a free and uſeful commerce, and allow our armies and fleets to be laid up and diſmiſſed, and the traitorous correſpondence act to be repealed? He believed they did not; if they did, he would contend that we muſt, on the contrary, be obliged to increaſe our precautions to avert the danger with which we ſhould be threatened from jacobinical principles. Nor would even this ſtate of things be of long duration. France would again commence hoſtilities with renovated vigour, when our military power was diminiſhed, and we ſhould have to make head againſt an enemy who might, perhaps, have found it as difficult to diſband her armies, as we ſhould find it to collect freſh forces. Nor muſt we, in ſuch a caſe, expect to procure allies. At preſent many members of the confederacy were in a condition to afford us effectual aſſiſtance, but if, by our deſertion, that confederacy were to be diſſolved, it would never be re-united.

It had been ſaid that if we withdrew from the conteſt, France might perhaps return to ſome more moderate ſyſtem of government. But was it prudent to put ourſelves in a ſituation of imminent hazard on a bare poſſibility? Was it not probable, on the other hand, that the government, and the ſyſtem upon which it acted, would remain the ſame? It was not to be ſuppoſed that the troops, who had taſted the ſweets of plunder, would be contented to reſume the peaceful occupations of induſtry. Employment of another ſort muſt be found for them by the rulers; and that employment would be to cruſh the gallant and unhappy royaliſt party, from the co-operation of which we might promiſe ourſelves at any future period to derive advantage.

The next objection of the chancellor of the exchequer, was, that the honourable mover of the amendment had not told us what ſort of a peace we were to have. Not to tell us that, was to reduce us to a gratuitous loſs of honour, and an unneceſſary deſpair. Will my right honourable friend, ſaid Mr. Pitt, ſay that we ought to abandon the Auſtrian Netherlands to the French? He will not ſay ſo.

It had been ſtated that the ground of war was done away by the Dutch negotiation for peace; yet paradoxical as the aſſertion might appear, he would aſſert that even if Holland concluded a treaty, her ſafety would depend on our being at war; for if both countries were at peace France would be left without reſtraint.

Turning to the ſubject of the captured Weſt India colonies, he contended that thoſe colonies ought not to be reſtored, unleſs we were convinced that a continuance of hoſtilities would only produce misfortune, miſery, and ruin. We had received them into our protection, could we give them back to a ſyſtem under which they would have no protection. There was, too, another and even ſtronger reaſon why ſuch a ſurrender ought not to be made. The ſurrender of them would afford to the French an opportunity of introducing the principles of jacobiniſm into our own colonies, which would thus be ſpeedily devoted to all the horrors of anarchy and deſtruction.

Though he did not, he ſaid, wiſh to conceal the diſaſters, or deny the defeats which had been ſuffered by the two great military powers of Europe, yet he relied upon the reſources and the energy of England for ultimate ſucceſs. The balance of territorial acquiſitions and pecuniary reſources was much in our favour, and he would boldly aſſert that what had been loſt by France was more in point of permanent value and preſent means than the loſſes of all the allies together.

Having laid it down as a principle that all wars now depend on the finances of the nations engaged in them, he entered into a detailed examination of the means which had enabled the French to carry on the conteſt. Theſe conſiſted in the requiſition, the law of the maximum, the confiſcation of property, and the boundleſs iſſue of aſſignats. It was the ſyſtem of terror which produced thoſe means, and now that the ſyſtem was deſtroyed they would ceaſe to exiſt. Already the law of the maximum was diſregarded, and the paper currency was at a diſcount of ſeventy-five per cent. On the latter circumſtance he laid much ſtreſs, and he quoted the authority of Tallien, to prove that the French could not maintain their aſſignats, without contracting their expences and diminiſhing their forces. As to the reviving the ſyſtem of terror, he ſeemed to conſider that as utterly impracticable.

Peace, Mr. Pitt argued, would give the French time to collect freſh reſources, and combine new energies; whereas, if they were now vigorouſly preſſed they would be compelled to iſſue more aſſignats, and thus exhauſt their reſources. A large military force they could not keep up; and, therefore, even ſuppoſing Holland to make peace, and Pruſſia to afford little aſſiſtance, he believed, that in the next campaign the Britiſh army on the continent, might be increaſed to an amount which would nearly ſupply the deficiency of Pruſſian troops. He concluded by reminding the houſe that foreign powers looked with anxiety on this night's debate, and that if the means of making great efforts were afforded to thoſe powers, the French would be obliged to make efforts to which they were unequal, and would in the end be compelled to retire within the limits of their own territories.

The refutation of the arguments brought forward by the chancellor of the exchequer was undertaken by Mr. Fox, who commenced his ſpeech in a ſtrain of ſarcaſtic ſeverity upon the miniſter's hatred of candour, and upon the conſequent deſertion of a part of his friends. Some ingenuouſneſs, however, was, he ſaid, at length ſhown. The ſpeech from the throne, and two of the miniſters, confeſſed that the enemy had over-run provinces and taken ſtrong towns. Aſtoniſhing candour! exclaimed Mr. Fox, when the real fact is, that never, in any one campaign, ſince the irruption of the Goths and Vandals, have ſuch reverſes been experienced on the one hand, and ſuch acquiſitions made on the other. He then enumerated the conqueſts of the French, and defended himſelf for thus dwelling on the triumphs of an enemy, by reminding his auditors that it was his duty to tell the houſe truths which it ought to hear, and to bring to its recollection thoſe diſaſters, which not fortune, but folly had brought upon the country.

The doctrine that England could not ſafely live in peace with France, he conſidered as entirely unfounded. Was Denmark, Sweden, Genoa, or even America, he aſked, in a ſtate of anarchy in conſequence of adhering to a pacific ſyſtem? Why, when other nations had ſo beneficially tried the experiment of peace, were we to hold it in ſuch dread? But it was ſaid that, if we diſcontinued the war, the terrible principles of the enemy would ſpeedily produce our ruin. Againſt this idea Mr. Fox exerted all the force of his ridicule. The miniſters, he ſaid, had for two years told the houſe and the public that Engliſh jacobin ſocieties, in conjunction with the French ſocieties, had been labouring to propagate jacobin principles, yet he was juſtified by the miniſters themſelves in ſaying, that theſe emiſſaries, who knew the habits, manners, and language of the people had laboured without effect. There muſt then be ſomething ſo ſoothing, ſo captivating, ſo intelligible to Engliſh ears in the French language, that French emiſſaries would be ſure of ſucceſs where Engliſh emiſſaries had ſo long been exerting themſelves in vain.

With regard to the want of zeal in this country, which had been lamented by Mr. Windham, Mr. Fox ſaid, that when he formerly moved a motion for peace he had found no want of zeal for the war, no want of zeal to cry down any one who had the hardihood to oppoſe it. If the caſe was altered now the reaſon was evident. That zeal had been inſpired in thoſe who felt it by a contempt for the enemy, and a confidence in their own ſtrength. The cauſe being deſtroyed, the effect had naturally ceaſed. The continued zeal of the French on the contrary, he conſidered as quite natural, and he more than inſinuated that the compulſion uſed by the republicans to obtain ſupplies and recruit their armies was legitimated by the plea of neceſſity.

It had been aſked, he ſaid, if we would ſubmit to treat with the preſent rulers of France, and if we could ſubmit to propoſe peace? As to ſubmitting to the French being under a bad government, we had ſubmitted to that for more than a century; and with reſpect to our ſubmitting to propoſe peace it was manifeſt that if all nations were to ſtand upon this point, war could only be concluded by the extermination of one or other of the contending parties.

On the propriety and policy of declaring a readineſs to negotiate before we were compelled to do ſo, Mr. Fox inſiſted at conſiderable length. If we made a peace, and the enemy in any manner violated it, we could do as we had done with France before; contend for the maſtery with the ſame ſtake and the ſame exertion. The terms to be propoſed to the enemy, muſt, he ſaid, be left to miniſters, who alone poſſeſſed the neceſſary information; but they ought to be fair and equitable, and if they were refuſed we ſhould be in a better ſituation than we previouſly were.

The actual ſtate of the war he affirmed to be diſaſtrous beyond example, and he drew a very diſadvantageous compariſon between our inſular conqueſts and the continental conqueſts made by the republicans. He urged alſo that even our naval ſucceſſes, ſplendid as Lord Howe's victory undoubtedly was, had not been ſuch as to ſecure to us the ſuperiority at ſea; and he cenſured with no ſmall aſperity the negligence and incapacity of Lord Chatham, the late firſt lord of the admiralty. From allies, he conſidered the country as having nothing to rely on. The emperor of Germany, whom we were hiring by a ſubſidy under the feigned name of a loan, would probably follow the example of the Pruſſian monarch; and even if he did not, there was no rational hope of co-operation between the Britiſh and Auſtrian armies, as they hated each other far more than they hated the French.

Adverting to the financial ſtate of France, Mr. Fox owned that the argument drawn from the depreciation of aſſignats was to him of little weight. The ſame argument had been drawn from the depreciated paper money of the Americans during their war, and had failed. Neither did he believe that the aſſignats had fallen in value to ſuch a degree as had been ſtated by the chancellor of the exchequer. French commerce he acknowledged was ruined, but he contended that agriculture was in a better ſituation than ever, and that the poorer claſſes of Frenchmen enjoyed more of the comforts of life than had fallen to their lot at any former time, or perhaps to the lot of many of the poor of this country. Moderation, it had been ſaid, would weaken the French government and cripple its exertions. Such a doctrine was as much in oppoſition to fact as it certainly was to general principles. Roberſpierre was overthrown in July, and it did not appear that ſince that time the rulers of France had been leſs vigorous or leſs ſucceſsful.

The honourable gentleman then touched upon ſome points of minor importance, and concluded his ſpeech by warning thoſe who had moved and favoured the amendment, that they were miſtaken, if they thought, by aſſiſting him to obtain a ſpeedy peace, they could induce him to relinquiſh an inquiry into the cauſes of the war. Their ſupport on ſuch conditions he would not receive, as he was fully determined never to forego that enquiry, nor to deſiſt from endeavouring to procure the adoption of proper meaſures to guard this country againſt the recurrence of calamities ſimilar to thoſe under which it now ſuffered.

After a few words from Mr. Joliffe, in diſapprobation both of the addreſs and amendment, and from Mr. Dundas and Mr. Sheridan on the ſubject of Lord Chatham's conduct, the houſe divided on the amendment, which was negatived by two hundred and forty-ſix voices againſt ſeventy-ſix. The addreſs, as originally propoſed, was then put and carried.

The pledge which, at the opening of the ſeſſion, Mr. Sheridan gave, he redeemed at a very early period. On the fifth of January he brought forward his promiſed motion for the repeal of the bill by which the habeas corpus act was ſuſpended. His ſpeech was long and eloquent, full of wit, ridicule, and ſarcaſm. After an exordium of cenſure upon the government, and appeal to thoſe who had newly voted againſt the war, he declared, in the moſt unequivocal terms, that he was warranted, by the evidence of facts, to conſider the miniſters as the ſole fabricators of the alleged plots. He then ſeverely animadverted upon the manner in which the verdict of the juries, and the perſons acquitted, had been ſpoken of by the attorney general and Mr. Windham; and he contended that the innocence of the late ſtate priſoners had been proved in the fulleſt manner. No pains, he ſaid, had been ſpared to criminate the accuſed. Six months were employed in collecting and arranging evidence; twelve gentlemen, of the higheſt profeſſional eminence, were retained as counſel for the crown, at an expence of 8,000*l.* and an army of witneſſes was ſummoned from all parts of the kingdom. That the ſocieties contained miſchievous men bent on miſchievous purpoſes, and that many groſs and ſcandalous libels had been proved by the trial, Mr. Sheridan allowed, but he utterly denied that the ſocieties were in any way formidable. The terrible means poſſeſſed by the conſpirators for the execution of their plan, conſiſted of a camp in a back garret, an arſenal provided with nine muſkets, and an exchequer containing nine pounds and one bad ſhilling. All theſe were to be directed againſt the entire armed force and eſtabliſhed government of Great Britain. Mr. Sheridan wound up this part of his ſubject by a violent philippic againſt miniſters, particularly againſt Mr. Pitt, whom he accuſed of having at all times acted upon a ſyſtem of trick and deception.

Quoting Sir Edward Coke and Judge Blackſtone in ſupport of his opinion, Mr. Sheridan contended that the ſuſpenſion of the habeas corpus was, in fact, a ſuſpenſion of the whole Britiſh conſtitution, and that conſequently ſuch a meaſure ought never to be reſorted to but in caſes of the moſt urgent and abſolute neceſſity. Such a caſe did not now exiſt. Though he would not affirm that there had been no inſtances of ſedition, he would affirm that even of ſedition the evidence appeared in ſo queſtionable a ſhape that it ought to excite ſuſpicion. The evidence, he ſaid, was the evidence of ſpies and informers; and he dwelt, with much animation, on the evils reſulting to ſociety from the ſyſtematical encouragement of ſuch infamous and dangerous characters. That the people of this country were infected with principles of inſubordination, Mr. Sheridan ſtrongly denied; they rather carried to an extreme a contrary diſpoſition. He would not, however, he ſaid, aſſert, that there was no danger at the preſent moment. There was a danger, and it aroſe from a contempt of all public men, and all public principles, which was ſpreading among the lower orders. The outs and the ins were believed to be alike venal and intereſted. The beſt way to remedy diſcontent would be to reform the conduct of government, and to correct abuſes.

Reverting to the ſubject of the late trials, Mr. Sheridan declared that, the perſons tried had only imitated what had been done by the aſſociations in the year 1780, and had even fallen ſhort in their imitation. If then, ſaid the honourable member, we make a boaſt of equal laws, if theſe men are to be conſidered as guilty of high treaſon, let us have ſome retroſpective hanging, and whatever in that caſe may happen to me, his majeſty will at leaſt derive the benefit, ſince he will get rid of a majority of his preſent cabinet.

The argument drawn from the example of France, Mr. Sheridan indignantly reprobated as a libel upon the character of the Britiſh nation. There was, he urged, no ſimilarity in the ſituation and feelings of the people of the two countries. The French, he conſidered as having been vitiated by living under a proud, inſolent, and grinding deſpotiſm, and as maddened by a remembrance of the injuries and cruelties which they had felt. No ſincere reſpect for property or law could, he ſaid, ever have exiſted in their minds, becauſe property had never been ſecured to them, and law had never protected them. They were, too, a people ſeparated and divided into claſſes by the ſtrongeſt and harſheſt lines of diſtinction, generating envy and ſmothered malice in the lower ranks, and pride and inſolence in the higher. The Britiſh, on the contrary, were a people who reverenced the laws of their country, becauſe thoſe laws ſhielded and protected all alike; a people among whom all that was advantageous in private acquiſition, all that was honourable in public ambition, was equally open to the efforts, the induſtry, and the abilities of all; among whom progreſs, and riſe in ſociety and public eſtimation was one aſcending ſlope, as it were without a break or landing place; among whom no ſullen line of demarcation ſeparated and cut off the ſeveral orders from each other, but all was one blended tint, from the deepeſt ſhade that veiled the meaneſt occupation of laborious induſtry, to the brighteſt hue that glittered in the luxurious pageantry of title, wealth, and power. No diſadvantageous inference, therefore, as to the conduct of the people of England, could poſſibly be drawn from the conduct of the people of France. As well, Mr. Sheridan ſaid, might it be propoſed to abridge the juſt prerogative of the king of Great Britain, becauſe the deſpots of the continent had acted in the moſt infamous manner. After a bitter invective againſt the king of Pruſſia and the empreſs of Ruſſia, Mr. Sheridan declared his attachment to the perſon of our preſent monarch, and to the principle of hereditary government in this country, and concluded by moving for leave to bring in his bill for the repeal of the habeas corpus ſuſpenſion act.

Mr. Sheridan was followed by Mr. Windham, a conſiderable part of whoſe ſpeech was occupied by a defence of himſelf from the unjuſt attacks which had at various times been made, and the inſinuations thrown out againſt him. His defence was manly and ſatisfactory. The expreſſion of "periſh commerce, " and live the conſtitution," which had ſo long been inſiduouſly attributed to Mr. Windham, was acknowledged, and very properly juſtified, by Mr. Hardinge, as his own. With reſpect to the conduct of the juries, Mr. Windham declared, that he did not preſume to arraign it; but he believed the verdict of thoſe juries aroſe from the circumſtance of their not being able to trace the intermediate ſteps by which the law had been brought to its preſent ſtate. The law had been enlarged according to the neceſſity of any caſe which happened to occur, and had been extended by conſtruction after conſtruction. The jurors ſtarted from it with apprehenſion, becauſe it was ſo remote from the letter, and therefore they would not find a verdict of guilty. That was no proof, however, that the perſons accuſed might not be criminal, at leaſt in a ſubordinate degree. Mr. Windham alſo noticed that the honourable mover, while he dwelt on the acquittal of the perſons tried at the Old Bailey, had thought proper entirely to forget, or artfully to put out of ſight, the verdicts againſt Watt and Downie. The argument of Mr. Sheridan, that the enormities committed in France had their riſe in the tyranny of the old government, Mr. Windham refuted, by aſking how it happened that thoſe enormities did not commence with the revolution, when the provocation and the ferment of courſe was greateſt, but had been growing worſe every day ſince that period. It was his fixed opinion, Mr. Windham ſaid, that the deſign of the Engliſh ſocieties was not reform but the ruin of the conſtitution; and that French principles had ſpread in this kingdom, and would ſpread ſtill further if a ſtop were not put to their progreſs.

The motion of Mr. Sheridan was warmly ſupported by Mr. Erſkine, who contended that the law of ſuſpenſion having been paſſed on a poſitive charge of the exiſtence of a conſpiracy to hold a convention for the purpoſe of ſubverting the government, and that charge having been fully diſproved on the late trials, the ſuſpending law ought undoubtedly to be repealed. Thoſe trials, he affirmed, had not only acquitted the priſoners, they had negatived the exiſtence of the conſpiracy itſelf; for if the conſpiracy had really exiſted, his client was certainly criminal as having taken a part in it. In concluſion, Mr. Erſkine urged that, even if miniſters could now pretend that they had any culprits to bring to trial, it was, nevertheleſs, quite unneceſſary to ſuſpend the habeas corpus act, as the exiſting laws were ſufficient to anſwer the deſired purpoſe, and the crown, therefore, ought not to be armed with an authority which its ſervants would abuſe, and which, on any principle of utility or ſafety, it was impoſſible to vindicate.

The poſitions laid down by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Erſkine were controverted in a very argumentative ſpeech by ſerjeant Adair. Having firſt noticed the error of thoſe who reaſoned as if the whole of the habeas corpus act had been ſuſpended, whereas the ſuſpenſion only related to a ſingle clauſe, he remarked upon the doctrine that the verdicts of juries ought never to be inveſtigated, even by parliament; a doctrine which he conſidered as totally incompatible with the law and conſtitution of England. If the doctrine were true, what ſecurity had the people againſt packed juries, againſt corrupt judges, or againſt oppreſſive miniſters? Certainly none. He likewiſe refuted the aſſertion that an acquittal was a deciſive proof of innocence. That the jurors had negatived the exiſtence of a conſpiracy he denied in the ſtrongeſt manner. Had the conſpiracy not been made out the judges would not have gone on after the firſt trial was cloſed; and as to the juries they were ſo far from believing the non-exiſtence of the conſpiracy, that, on evidence which had been produced at a former trial, one of them deliberated nearly two hours before it brought in a verdict acquitting the priſoner of being one of the conſpirators. There would have been no room for deliberation had the conſpiracy itſelf been diſproved. He muſt alſo, he ſaid, notwithſtanding the light way in which grand juries had been mentioned, ſtill inſiſt that the finding of the bills againſt the priſoners was a ſtrong preſumption of the exiſtence of the crime. With regard to the ſocieties, he declared, that he believed, and he adduced evidence to prove, their pretence of parliamentary reform to be a mere colour or veil to cover the moſt deteſtable and treaſonable practices, and, therefore, as the danger, which gave riſe to the ſuſpenſion law, ſtill continued, he would give his vote in oppoſition to the repeal of that law.

Mr. Fox, in reply to Mr. Adair, re-ſtated all the arguments which had been uſed by the ſpeakers on his own ſide, placed ſome of them in new lights, and adorned them all by the powerful charms of his eloquence. Mr. Windham's doctrine of making old laws apply, by conſtruction, to new caſes, he ſtrongly reprobated; and ſtated it to be ſuch as he hoped no judge, no jury, would ever adopt. The alleged conſpiracy he treated as a fiction; and even were he to admit its truth, how, he aſked, would the matter ſtand? There would be a conſpiracy without conſpirators. Gentlemen of ſuch acuteneſs as to define and divide our ſucceſſes in the campaign, could eaſily conceive the abſtract of a conſpiracy without conſpirators, like Crambe in Martinus Scriblerus, who ſwore he could form the idea of a lord mayor, not only without his furred gown and gold chain, but without body, parts, or colour, which he conceived to be the very abſtract of a lord mayor. This abſtract of a conſpiracy could not be extremely formidable; for the miniſters, by declining to proſecute any further, had virtually acquitted every man and woman in the kingdom of treaſonable deſigns. Was it to guard againſt this abſtract idea that the habeas corpus act was to remain ſuſpended, and the people were to be deprived of the beſt ſafeguard of their liberties? In doubtful caſes a jury, it had been ſaid, was bound to acquit. The houſe was now ſitting as a jury on the palladium of the liberty of the ſubject, and, like a jury, it ought not to decide againſt that palladium without the cleareſt proof. But the ſuſpenſion of the law would prevent, it was ſaid, the neceſſity of bringing other people to trial. Such was the defence ſet up for the French lettres de cachet. They ſaved indeed the neceſſity, but they might do it for the whole life of a priſoner. As to the argument drawn from the convictions of Watt and Downie he treated it with the utmoſt contempt. A ſpy of government, he ſaid, either diſguſted with his employers, or, more probably, deſirous of enhancing the price of his diſcoveries, had endeavoured to inflame the minds of thoſe with whom he aſſociated, and had, in conſequence, fallen the victim of his own violence or treachery. Mr. Fox then, in ſevere terms, charged the miniſters with ſpreading falſe alarms, for ſiniſter purpoſes, while at the ſame time they accuſed the oppoſition of thoſe crimes of which they themſelves were guilty. They attempted to fix upon others the charge of innovation, while they themſelves were, every ſeſſion, making greater innovations than even the reform in parliament, which they now called the moſt dreadful of all. Mr. Fox concluded by regretting that infatuation which, fixing all our attention on France, almoſt made us conſider the very name of liberty as odious, and prevented every thing of an oppoſite tendency from exciting the ſmalleſt alarm.

The motion of Mr. Sheridan was briefly ſupported by Mr. Thompſon, Mr. Milbanke, and Mr. Jekyll, and oppoſed by the maſter of the rolls, Mr. Wilberforce, and the chancellor of the exchequer. On the queſtion being put, it was rejected by a majority of 144; the ayes being only 41, and the noes 185.

This diſcuſſion was ſpeedily followed by others on the ſame important ſubject. As the law for the ſuſpenſion of the habeas corpus act was now on the point of expiring, the attorney general, on the fifteenth of January, moved for leave to bring in a bill to continue it for a limited period. A ſhort debate took place on this motion. The propoſition was oppoſed by Mr. Sheridan, Lord William Ruſſel, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Francis, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Whitbread; and ſupported by the ſolicitor general, Mr. Anſtruther, and Mr. ſerjeant Watſon. It was carried in the affirmative by 71 votes againſt 13.

When the bill was brought forward for a ſecond reading it met with a vigorous reſiſtance from the party in oppoſition to the miniſter. Jan. 23. The meaſure was attacked by Mr. Lambton, who opened the debate, Mr. Jekyll, Mr. Francis, Mr. Curwen, Mr. Erſkine, Lord William Ruſſel, Mr Fox, and Mr. Grey; it was defended by the attorney and ſolicitor general, ſerjeant Adair, Mr. Hardinge, and the chancellor of the exchequer.

The debate was long and ſpirited. All the arguments which had been uſed on the former occaſion were again urged on both ſides in new and glowing language, but their number was not increaſed. The danger to liberty from ſuſpending the habeas corpus act, the needleſſneſs of the ſuſpenſion, the non-exiſtence of a conſpiracy, the innocence of the acquitted individuals, the univerſal loyalty of the people, and the unconſtitutional conduct of the miniſters, were the principal topics dwelt on by the oppoſers of the meaſure. Its ſupporters contended, on the other hand, that the conſtitution would be endangered if the government were not enabled to cope with the machinations of traitors, that the conſpiracy had been fully proved, though the juries had not thought themſelves authorized by the evidence to find the perſons before them guilty of ſo high a crime as treaſon, that, although the body of the people was undoubtedly loyal, many diſloyal ſocieties exiſted, which it was neceſſary to keep in check, that the miniſters had only the welfare of their country in view, and that the dangers with which liberty was ſaid to be menaced by the ſuſpenſion were entirely chimerical.

On a diviſion taking place, a large majority appeared in favour of the bill, the numbers againſt it being 53, and thoſe for it, 230. The diviſion did not take place till three in the morning. Miniſters, however, wiſhed immediately to go into a committee upon the bill, but on the oppoſition ſtrenuouſly reſiſting it, they deferred this ſtep till the twenty-eighth. On that day it was again combated by Mr. Fox, and, the next day, by Mr. Sheridan, but was finally paſſed by a large majority.

When the bill came to be read a third time in the houſe of peers, the Earl of Lauderdale moved an amendment, to inſert the words "the firſt "day of July next," inſtead of the words "the laſt day of the preſent "ſeſſion." The purpoſe of this amendment was to prevent the operation of the bill from being continued for an indefinite period, as, by keeping the parliament unprorogued, it might otherwiſe have been. The amendment having been readily agreed to, the principle of the bill was next warmly debated. The meaſure was cenſured and defended on the ſame grounds as it had been in the houſe of commons. Its oppoſers were the earls of Lauderdale and Guildford, the marquis of Lanſdowne, and the duke of Bedford; its ſupporters were lords Grenville, Hawkeſbury, Sidney, Hay, and Auckland, the earls of Warwick and Carliſle, earl Spencer, the dukes of Leeds and Portland, and the lord chancellor. It paſſed without a diviſion. A proteſt againſt it, drawn up in very ſtrong terms, was, however, entered by the earls of Lauderdale and Guildford, and the dukes of Norfolk and Bedford.

CHAP. X.

Attempts of the oppoſition to compel the miniſters to negotiate. Motion of lord Stanhope againſt interference in the internal affairs of France. Reply of lord Auckland. He cenſures the miſconduct of the allies; and declares that the form of government in France ought not to be an obſtacle to peace; but conſiders it not poſſible to make peace at the preſent moment. The earl of Mansfield aſſerts the right of one nation to interfere with the internal concerns of another. Duke of Bedford and marquis of Lanſdowne object to the terms of earl Stanhope's motion. Extraordinary aſſertion of earl Stanhope reſpecting the French decree of the 19th of November. His motion negatived. Motion in the houſe of commons by Mr. Grey, that the exiſtence of the preſent government of France ought not to preclude a negotiation for peace. He ſupports it in a very able ſpeech, in which he reviews the ſituation of England and France, and declares his diſbelief that a counter-revolution can, by any means, be effected in the latter country. He is ſupported by Mr. W. Smith, who compares the

the language of miniſters in the American and preſent wars. Mr. Pitt moves an amendment to the motion. He expreſſes his conviction that at this moment no ſecure peace could be made with France. Compares the reſources of England and France. Denies that the re-eſtabliſhment of monarchy in France was ever conſidered by miniſters as a ſine qua non. *Mr. Wilberforce objects to the amendment as not being ſufficiently explicit, and propoſes another. He expreſſes his hope that a peace would bring about a counter-revolution in France. Mr. Fox ſeverely comments on the conduct of the miniſter in eluding the queſtion. He argues, at conſiderable length, in favour of peace. Mr. Dundas oppoſes the motion. Reply of Mr. Grey. His motion is negatived, and the miniſter's amendment carried. Mr. Wilberforce's amendment negatived. Mr. Sheridan propoſes a third amendment, which ſhares the ſame fate.*

IN the courſe of the ſeſſion the propriety and neceſſity of negotiating with the French republic, or of taking ſuch ſteps as would at leaſt manifeſt a willingneſs to negotiate, were repeatedly and warmly diſcuſſed in both houſes of parliament. The way was led in the upper houſe by earl Stanhope who, on the ſixth of January brought forward a motion that "this country ought not "to, nor will not, interfere in the in-"ternal affairs of France, and that "it is expedient explicitly to declare "the ſame." This motion was introduced by a ſpeech in his characteriſtic manner. Declaring that it was his intention to argue the ſubject with temper, he proceeded to affirm that the miniſters had conſtantly reſorted to deluſions or pretexts for their meaſures; but this, he ſaid, he attributed to ignorance, not to deſign. The preſent deluſion he ſtated to be that the finance of France was ruined, and her reſources nearly exhauſted; a poſition as falſe as it was abſurd, and which he pledged himſelf to prove undeniably was the very reverſe of the fact. Before, however, he began this taſk, his lordſhip thought proper to aſſert that the French republicans had always been innocent of any wiſh to interfere in the governments of other countries; and he likewiſe commended their wiſdom in providing and ſubmitting to a revolutionary ſyſtem during the continuance of the war. The magnitude, diſcipline and valour of the French armies, the formidable ſtate of the French navy, and the cruelty and folly of attempting to reduce France by ſtarvation, were next dwelt upon by the noble mover. With reſpect to the French finances they were, he aſſerted, ſo far from being on the decline that they were great and flouriſhing. The republican rulers had realized, by ſeizures from the privileged claſſes and clergy, the immenſe ſum of four hundred millions ſterling, and had beſides two thirds of the land of the republic in their own hands. The depreciation of aſſignats was, he contended, though an injury to individuals, an advantage to the convention, as it enabled that body to pay off a large ſum at a cheaper rate. He then entered into a calculation, intended to prove that the expences of the enemy in the laſt year had not exceeded forty millions ſterling, and that, after paying off the depreciated aſſignats, they would ſtill poſſeſs a clear ſurplus of three hundred millions ſterling.

If the French, therefore, were to call in the old aſſignats at a depreſſion of three-fourths, they could for ſome time iſſue new aſſignats at par. His lordſhip having once more eulogized the wiſdom of the enemy, concluded by enlarging upon the loſſes which this country had ſuſtained, and by moving his reſolution againſt any interference in the internal affairs of France.

The motion was oppoſed, in a few words, by the earls of Abingdon and Carliſle, the latter of whom moved the queſtion of adjournment.

Lord Auckland, in an able ſpeech, entered, at great length, into an examination of the cauſes of the late diſaſters, the ſituation of Europe, and the ſyſtem of action moſt proper for this country to adopt under its preſent circumſtances. On the plans and proceedings of the confederacy he beſtowed a well merited cenſure. The disjointed, ill combined, and diſcordant conduct of the allies, much more than the force of the enemy, had brought us, he ſaid, to our actual poſition. The alliance had not been merely uſeleſs; it had been prejudicial; it had led us to miſcalculate our means; and thus our reliance on a ſuppoſed ſtrength became worſe than a known and real weakneſs. Then, having fully and fairly ſtated the ſucceſſes of the enemy, and owned that there was the proſpect for us of further misfortunes, with no immediate hope of further aid, his lordſhip proceeded to enquire into the wiſdom of our coming forward with overtures for peace, and into the expedience of declaring that we would not interfere in the internal government of France. At the commencement of the ſtruggle he had fully concurred in opinion with his majeſty's miniſters that we had a juſt pretenſion to proſecute hoſtilities for the purpoſe of obtaining as well indemnity for the paſt, as ſecurity for the future. The claim of indemnity, however, was liable to be qualified, ſuſpended, or even relinquiſhed, according to contingencies, and the fate of the war. But he thought it the duty of the government to perſiſt in the conteſt till they could obtain ſecurity, through the means of a good and permanent peace. To his judgment the line of pacification was well deſcribed at the opening of the laſt ſeſſion by the earl of Guildford, in the amendment which that noble lord moved to the addreſs. It requeſted his majeſty to conclude ſuch a peace as would provide for the permanent ſafety of his ſubjects, and the independence and ſecurity of Europe. This amendment contained ſolid ſenſe, and a principle of wiſe and juſt policy, and he had only thought it objectionable, as being ſuperfluous, becauſe it preſcribed to his majeſty's miniſters a rule of conduct which he was ſure would never eſcape from their recollection. Though he ſhould feel a reluctance, he ſaid, to acknowledge a republican form of government in France, yet he never had objected, nor ever would object, to any pacific propoſition ſolely on the ground of its tendency to make that acknowledgment. He had always thought our recognition of the republic a poſſible event; at preſent it was more than poſſible. The war was not made to prevent France from giving herſelf that conſtitution which ſhe preferred, but to prevent her from impoſing upon Great Britain, and her allies, all the horrors of a wild democracy. It had been ſaid that the convention had lately renounced the malignant and intolerant principle to which he alluded; but the decree which had been cited to prove this, was only a proviſional clauſe of a conſtitution not yet in force. If the doctrine of that decree were once firmly eſtabliſhed he certainly never would wiſh to interrupt France in her internal changes, how numerous ſoever they might be, and probably would, before ſhe arrived at any ſemblance of tranquillity. Still, while the war continued, he thought that we had a fair pretenſion to endeavour to reſtore the monarchy. Indeed it was evident to him that a re-eſtabliſhed monarchy would give to Europe the beſt pledge of a laſting peace. In the mean time, he muſt repeat, that he never would allow that, rather than recognize the French republic, this country ſhould bury itſelf under the ruins of Europe.

Having intimated that to miniſters, ſhould be left, at the period of treating, a full diſcretion in the arrangements and conceſſions to be made towards obtaining a ſafe pacification, he declared that, under the preſent circumſtances, he did not think any conference could be opened, any treaty concluded, which would not be more hazardous than a continuance of the war with all its difficulties. If our condition were ſo deplorable, and that of France ſo flouriſhing, as was repreſented by ſome perſons, it was a groſs abſurdity to imagine that France would give us a peace. We had, then, no hope of ſafety except in a great and deſperate effort. If, on the other hand, we poſſeſſed the means and reſources which he believed us to poſſeſs, and France was ſinking into a ſtate of debility, it was at once our duty and our intereſt not to give peace to her till we had replaced and aſcertained the independence of the continent.

That thoſe who now ruled France were leſs abandoned in principle, and leſs ferocious in manners, than their guillotined predeceſſors, his lordſhip admitted. He thought it, nevertheleſs, highly probable, that elated with their ſucceſſes, imagining that England had much to loſe and they nothing, and fearing to bring back into France their victorious armies, their ſyſtem might be further conqueſt, and not peace. At the ſame time he was perſuaded that it was the wiſh of the French people at large to enjoy repoſe from their exertions and ſufferings.

With reſpect to the financial reſources of France his lordſhip ſteered a middle courſe between thoſe who thought their immediate failure to be inevitable, and thoſe who argued that they were abſolutely exhauſtleſs. Thoſe reſources were unſound and unnatural; they were ſtretched beyond what any other nation could bear; ſtill it was not certain that they were yet ſtretched beyond the bearing of thoſe unhappy beings who were ſubjected to the anarchical deſpotiſm called the French republic. Difficulties which would overwhelm any other civil eſtabliſhment might, perhaps, be over-leaped by a revolutionary government. But, though the ſyſtem had exiſted five years, it was not to be thence inferred that it would have a continued exiſtence. Reaſon would, in the end, aſſuredly prevail.

The conſideration then was, whether, till that deſirable event took place, we could ſave ourſelves from the ruin in which ſo many countries were involved. If the impoſſibility of our maintaining the conteſt could be demonſtrated he would confeſs that the moment was come to humble ourſelves by imploring peace. That, however, he thanked God, was not the caſe, and, therefore, while revolutionary doctrines continued profeſſedly to aim at the deſtruction of our conſtitution, we ought to ſtrain every nerve in order to ſuppreſs them. Peace, on a ſtable and honourable baſis, was only attainable, he ſaid, by the exerciſe of that firmneſs and energy which, at the opening of the ſeſſion, had been recommended in the ſpeech from the throne, and which he had no doubt that the country would manifeſt in the higheſt degree. From the ſteadineſs of national courage we might juſtly hope for the happieſt effects.

In concluſion he aſſured the houſe, from his own knowledge, that the war was originally inevitable on our part; and he affirmed alſo that with hand and heart he had laboured to avert it.

The ſame ſide of the queſtion was taken by the earl of Manſfield. His ſpeech was principally confined to proving, from hiſtory, the right of one nation to interfere, under certain reſtrictions, with the internal concerns of another. This his lordſhip accompliſhed in a ſatisfactory manner. He likewiſe ridiculed, with great ſpirit and point, the opinion of the noble mover, that the depreciation of aſſignats was an advantage to the republican government.

Agreeing with the noble mover in a deſire for peace, the marquis of Lanſdowne and the duke of Bedford, diſſented from ſome of his arguments, and diſapproved of the terms of his motion. The latter, in particular, ſtated that the terms were ſo general that the motion was liable to much doubt and miſapplication. As peace, however, was certainly neceſſary, he would himſelf, he ſaid, bring the ſubject before the houſe on that day fortnight.

Earl Stanhope made a few obſervations in reply to his opponents. In his remarks there was nothing novel; in one of his aſſertions there was ſomething ſo new and ſtrange, that an involuntary expreſſion of ſurpriſe burſt forth from all quarters of the houſe. He maintained that no ſuch decree as the obnoxious decree of the nineteenth of November 1792 had ever been paſſed by the convention; that the decree, as it had been called, was merely a paper iſſued by the French government; and that the criminal meaning attributed to it was not to be found in the original, but aroſe from the ignorance of the Engliſh tranſlators. So flagrant in this inſtance is the contempt of truth, that it is but charitable to ſuppoſe that his lordſhip had never peruſed either the decree, or the debates of the French convention, and that he was miſled by erroneous information from ſome artful or illiterate perſon.

When the houſe divided, his lordſhip ſtood alone, againſt ſixty one peers who oppoſed his propoſition. This circumſtance did not deter him from placing on the journals of the houſe a diffuſe, and ſomewhat inflammatory, proteſt, conſiſting of fifteen articles, at the cloſe of which his rank was ſneeringly alluded to "as a mere accident of birth."

The next attempt to pave the way to a peace was made in the houſe of commons, on the twenty-ſixth of January, by Mr. Grey, who moved that the exiſtence of the preſent government of France ought not to be conſidered, as precluding, at this time, a negotiation for peace. This motion he introduced by a long, able, and animated ſpeech. He ſtated the queſtion to be one of the greateſt importance; which was to be decided on the broad baſis of national intereſt, as it affected the happineſs, the ſafety, and poſſibly the very exiſtence of the country. It was no narrow queſtion of party, no diſpute which of two oppoſite ſides ſhould have the direction of affairs. The lives of thouſands awaited the deciſion of that night.

We had now, he ſaid, been at war two years, and after a ſacrifice of fifty thouſand men, and fifty, if not ſeventy millions of money, we were no nearer to our object than at the moment when hoſtilities commenced. It ſurely then became the houſe to deliberate ſeriouſly before they added to a burthen ſo enormous, and proceeded in a career, the hazard of which was ſo great, and the loſs ſo large and certain. From a former declaration of the miniſter, with reſpect to the government of France, Mr. Grey argued that the war was an internecine war, and that it appeared that nothing ſhort of the utter ruin of the country would induce the miniſters to negotiate. The houſe, it was true, had never countenanced this opinion. He truſted it never would; and that the miniſter himſelf would abandon it. The object of his motion was, in fact, to put that point in iſſue. The houſe, he ſaid, ought to deal frankly with the people, to give them their real opinion on this head, and not to conceal from them the dangers with which they were threatened. Even the French had a right to expect a deciſion from the juſtice and candour of the houſe, that they might explicitly know againſt what they were fighting, and whether the Britiſh commons allowed their right of chooſing their own form of government. Our explicitneſs would, likewiſe, have the good effect, of giving them an opportunity to ſee whether they were miſled by their own rulers. The miniſter himſelf muſt ſurely be glad to know whether he might expect the ſupport of the houſe to the utmoſt extent of his plans. The motion which he now meant to make did not go the length of ſaying that we ought to negotiate at this moment, though in his private opinion we ought ſo to do. It merely deſigned to make negotiation poſſible; to put this country and France in a negotiable ſtate. The wording of it the miniſter had expreſſed himſelf perfectly ſatisfied with, and had declared the motion a fair one, and, therefore, Mr. Grey hoped that the queſtion would be openly met, and not evaded.

It had been ſaid that this was not a war upon the ordinary cauſes of conteſt, but a war of a particular and extraordinary nature. This was unfortunately true. We ought, nevertheleſs, to know the ſpecific object of hoſtilities, that from reflecting upon the effect of our paſt endeavours, we might ſee what proſpect there was of our future ſucceſs. We had been told that the fall of the government of France was eſſential to the ſafety of our own. The houſe would, perhaps, be told that it had ſanctioned this idea; but he denied that any of its deciſions would properly bear ſuch a conſtruction. In December 1792, on the contrary, when the French had depoſed their king, eſtabliſhed their republic, and committed ſome of their worſt exceſſes, when, conſequently, their conduct had been as objectionable, and as revolting to our feelings, as it could have been at any ſubſequent period, the houſe had, in expreſs terms, thanked his majeſty for abſtaining from all interference in their affairs; nor had any later vote retracted the principle upon which thoſe thanks were given. The blame of having occaſioned the war Mr. Grey attributed to this country, though the formal declaration was iſſued by France.

If the houſe, he ſaid, really thought that our exiſtence depended on overturning the French government, he could have nothing to ſay againſt the attempt to accompliſh their purpoſe, however hopeleſs he might think it; but he, for his part, did not believe that the exiſtence of the republic was incompatible with our ſafety, or that there was any thing which ought to preclude our treating with the republican rulers. Admitting the right of interference in particular caſes, it became us, he urged, to enquire whether the probability of our ſucceeding in the deſtruction of the French government was equal to the hazard of the enterprize. Here the view, he muſt confeſs, was unfavourable. The events of the war had not, hitherto, been of ſuch a nature as to afford us any ground for hope. He now heard with ſurpriſe that the foundation laid by the miniſter for our ultimate ſucceſs was the weakneſs of the French, and the ſtrength of Great Britain. The argument with reſpect to France divided itſelf into two branches; the chance of a counter-revolution, and the reduced ſtate of French reſources.

To bring about a counter-revolution by force of arms Mr. Grey conſidered as utterly impoſſible. Nor did he think it more likely to happen through internal commotions. He aſſerted that the people of France at this moment deteſted the very idea of a monarchy. A republic they were determined to have, and to maintain at all hazards. If they had been attached to that form even while the rulers had committed ſo many crimes, was it to be believed that their attachment would diminiſh now that thoſe rulers profeſſed a regard to moderation and juſtice? He denied that the revolution had been produced by republican writings. It was oppreſſion that cauſed the French revolution, in the ſame manner as it cauſed that of America.

The proſpect from the failure of their reſources was not more conſolatory. From the commencement of the war down to this moment we had heard the ſame declamation upon the ruin of the French finances, yet in proportion as we depreciated their power had the French been triumphant in the field. The ſtyle now uſed was the ſame that had been uſed during the American war, and had been derided and ſcouted by the great lord Chatham. It had then been ſaid that the Americans would be loaded with a debt of ſixty-ſix millions, and that the whole fee ſimple of their eſtates was worth but half that ſum. The hiſtory of the world proved the fallacy of ſuch a mode of argument. It was a misfortune to a nation to be governed by men who could not diſtinguiſh between the fallacy of ſuch calculations, and the energy and enthuſiaſm of a people ſtruggling for what they thought to be freedom. The efforts of a people ſo ſituated were not to be eſtimated by the common efforts of a people; for while there was iron in the bowels or graſs on the ſurface of the earth, there was no end to their reſources. But the finances of France were not, he contended, in the ſtate which had been ſaid. Their debt was not more than three hundred and twenty millions, and their landed eſtate was admitted to be worth more than ſix hundred millions ſterling. They were now alſo adding the riches of nations to their own. Yet, even were they as poor as they were repreſented to be, it would be impoſſible to conquer them, while they were reſolved to ſpend their laſt ſhilling and ſacrifice their laſt man, for the ſupport of their republican ſyſtem. Their population, he reminded the houſe, was one-ſixth of that of all Europe.

That our reſources were great, he believed; but they were not adequate to the conqueſt of France. From our allies, on many of whom thoſe reſources had been laviſhed, what were we to expect? Pruſſia had ſhamefully betrayed us. The emperor, in a memorial to the circle of the upper Rhine, had declared that he was drained of men and money, and that his army was deſtitute of proviſions. Did we rely upon Spain, which had already loſt part of her dominions, and would probably loſe the remainder? Were the Italian ſtates, or was the king of Sardinia, or the king of Naples, to give us eſſential aſſiſtance? Or did we reckon upon the diſgraceful alliance with the empreſs of Ruſſia, who had authorized murder and devaſtation, given us plenty of promiſes, but not furniſhed, a ſoldier or a rouble to the common cauſe?

It had often been ſaid that a great nation could have for entering into a war no reaſon ſo ſtrong as the preſervation of its honour. This he agreed to; becauſe it was by defending its honour that it protected itſelf from inſult. Yet it was not found policy to carry the principle beyond all limits. Prudence ſhould circumſcribe it. We, then, had nothing to fear, as we had vindicated our honour ſufficiently to guarantee us from future inſult. Could we, it was exclaimed, ſubmit to the diſgrace of negotiation. He thought that there would be no diſgrace, and that we ought to negotiate. His motion, however, did not go that length. Its only object was to put us in a negotiable ſtate. The decree of the 29th of November 1792 had been often dwelt upon, he ſaid, as a proof that the French avowed principles hoſtile to all regular governments. That objection had been removed. The decree had been repealed by the convention, and the repeal followed by a declaration that they would not interfere with the governments of other countries. To the aſſertion that no opportunity to negotiate had offered, he replied by pointing out ſeveral periods when negotiation would, probably, have ſucceeded. It was not his wiſh that we ſhould truſt to the mercy of the French rulers. We were a great power, and had great reſources, and this was an additional reaſon why we ſhould now put our affairs in a train of negotiation. If we exhauſted our power and reſources, we ſhould be compelled to negotiate, and ſhould indeed be at the mercy of the French. If, while we were in a condition to treat, our attempts to treat proved fruitleſs, the people would join heart and hand for a vigorous proſecution of the war. He, for his part, ſhould be ready to go to the field, ſtand in the front of the battle, and fall for the ſervice of his country.

The motion was ſeconded by Mr. W. Smith, who enforced the arguments of Mr. Grey, and drew a parallel between the language uſed by miniſters, and the events which occurred, in the courſe of the wars occaſioned by the American and French revolutions.

Previouſly to commencing his reply the chancellor of the exchequer deſired the clerk to read various paſſages, from his majeſty's ſpeech, the anſwer of the houſe, the declaration of the 29th of October 1793, and that of the 20th of November, publiſhed at Toulon. His object, he ſaid, in doing this, was to put the members in full poſſeſſion of the repeated declarations of his majeſty, and the ſentiments expreſſed by parliament; as it was his intention to contend that there was nothing at this moment in the ſituation of the country, or of Europe, which ought to induce the houſe to depart from thoſe recorded ſentiments and declarations. The motion was directly inconſiſtent with them; and as he thought that, inſtead of acceding to it, the houſe was called on to ſhew to our enemies and the world that we did not ſhrink from the ſober and rational principles we had uniformly maintained, he meant to move an amendment. He then read the amendment.

“ That under the preſent circumſtances, this houſe feels itſelf called upon to declare its determination firmly and ſteadily to ſupport his majeſty in the vigorous proſecution of the preſent juſt and neceſſary war, as affording, at this time, the only reaſonable expectation of permanent ſecurity and peace to this country: and that, for the attainment of theſe objects, this houſe relies with equal confidence on his majeſty's intention to employ vigorouſly the force and reſources of the country, in ſupport of its eſſential intereſts; and on the deſire uniformly manifeſted by his majeſty, to effect a pacification on juſt and honourable grounds with any government in France, under whatever form, which ſhall appear capable of maintaining the accuſtomed relations of peace and amity with other countries.”

Having read the amendment he proceeded to reply to the ſpeech of Mr. Grey. The crown, the houſe, and almoſt every man in the country had, he ſaid, agreed that the re-eſtabliſhment of ſome form of monarchy in France would be a deſirable object, and his majeſty had expreſſed his readineſs to co-operate with thoſe who were willing to aid in effecting that re-eſtabliſhment, but neither his majeſty, the government, nor the parliament, had ever ſtated the reſtoration of the monarchy, on the old principles, or even any one ſpecific form of government, as a *ſine qua non*, preliminary to a peace. When the direct and abſolute aggreſſion of the enemy upon this country induced his majeſty to interfere in the internal affairs of France, he ſtill reſtrained himſelf to that degree of it which was needful for his own ſecurity, and that of Europe; and only required ſuch a government to be eſtabliſhed there as was willing and able to preſerve unbroken its engagements with foreign powers. This was the extent of the declarations made by his majeſty and parliament; and he did not think that any man in the houſe, on looking back to them, would wiſh he had not made them. His amendment, he ſaid, was ſtated almoſt in the terms of his majeſty's declarations.

It was the opinion of ſome gentlemen on the other ſide of the houſe, that, in no caſe, ought the form of government in another country to be conſidered as having any influence on the ſecurity of a treaty; but that we were to look merely to the conditions of the treaty. To ſuch a doctrine he never could aſſent. No nation at war ſhould treat with a government that could not give ſecurity. He, therefore, was not ready to treat with the preſent French government. Since the commencement of the war there never had exiſted in France, a government capable of maintaining with other nations the accuſtomed relations of peace and amity. At this moment ſuch was its ſituation in that reſpect, that we had better continue a difficult and hazardous war, than truſt to any ſecurity which it could give for the ſolidity of a peace.

The honourable mover and his friends contended, that if the terms of peace could be ſettled, we were not to think our ſecurity affected, by the internal ſtate of France. The houſe had not ſaid ſo. It had ſaid the very reverſe; and he hoped that it would ſay ſo again. Reparation and ſecurity were, he urged, the two objects of war. The great object, however, was ſecurity; reparation being only a ſubordinate object. From a government like the French, conſtructed in direct violation of all principles, and all laws human and divine, could we hope for that ſecurity?

The immediate queſtion between him and the honourable mover was whether the preſent circumſtances of the internal ſtate and government of France did or did not afford a ſufficient ſecurity for a peace, ſo as to make it wiſe for us to negotiate. He was of opinion that they did not. What had been hitherto generated by the ſyſtem prevalent in France? Nothing but a ſeries and ſucceſſion of revolutions. We had ſeen the reign and fall of Briſſot, and then of Roberſpierre, and now we ſaw the reign of what was denominated moderatiſm. Yet, almoſt at the moment of the extinction of the two tyrants, Briſſot and Roberſpierre, the gentlemen in oppoſition had held out the ſame arguments as they now did, for our entering into a treaty; and had talked in the ſame language of the ſtability of the French government. The dependence to be placed on ſuch arguments was, therefore, ſufficiently obvious. But he would not reſt the queſtion ſolely on the ground of ſo many ſucceſſive changes. Did the manner in which the ſovereignty of the people had been cried up, and the pride and paſſions of the populace erected into the criterion of government, afford any rational ground of ſecurity to a peace. If it did not, what particular indications of permanence were now manifeſted in France, to make us place more reliance on its ſtability than during the reign of Briſſot and Roberſpierre? Mere moderation was not ſufficient. Beſides the moderation was only ſo by compariſon. The ſeverity and terror of former times had been a little relaxed, but the ſyſtem of revolutionary tribunals, that leading article with reſpect to the happineſs of the people, was not eſſentially varied. Roberſpierre had exerciſed the higheſt degree of tyrannical power, and this had been adduced by the opponents of miniſters as a proof of his ſtability. The preſent rulers were diſarmed of the formidable means which he poſſeſſed, and had no chance of ſupport but from the opinion of the people, which Mr. Pitt conſidered as unfavourable to their domination.

Three hundred millions ſterling had been raiſed in France, the miniſter obſerved, by confiſcation within the laſt year and a half. This immenſe ſum had not ariſen from appropriating the fortunes of the exiled nobles and emigrants. It had been obtained by ſeizing as forfeitures the property of all perſons remaining in the country, who had ſhewn the ſmalleſt diſlike to the revolution. Whether the charge of guilt, upon which thoſe confiſcations were founded, was falſe or true, it equally made for his argument. If it were falſe, it ſhewed the horrible oppreſſion which the French had ſuffered; if it were true, it proved that the people of France were not as unanimous as they had been aſſerted to be, in behalf of a republican government. If plunder and maſſacre had hitherto formed, as they certainly had formed, the principal reſource of the French rulers, then the preſent government, by renouncing them, had crippled its power of action, and deprived itſelf of the means of exertion.

From the reports made by committees of the convention, Mr. Pitt deſcribed the agriculture of France as extinguiſhed, and its commerce as annihilated. Juſtice, he ſaid, had no exiſtence there, and religion was trodden under foot. The body of the people, he believed, were ſtill attached to chriſtianity, but it was abhorred by their governors.

Since the demagogues of France profeſſed to have renounced the crimes and cruelties of their predeceſſors, was there among them more apparent unanimity? Never, on the contrary, had there been ſtronger inſtances of oppoſition, diſtraction, and confuſion. Their time was ſpent in continually recriminating upon each other the guilt of the paſt enormities. He did not mean to ſay that, therefore, the ſyſtem of government in France muſt neceſſarily fall. The preſent rulers might, perhaps, by a thorough change in their conduct, if they could not gain the good will and confidence, at leaſt gain the acquieſcence of the people. That period certainly had not arrived, but, if ever it ſhould, and their authority ſhould acquire weight and ſtability, we might then negotiate with a proper regard to prudence.

But, ſetting aſide all theſe conſiderations, and ſuppoſing us diſpoſed to treat, what aſſurance had we of the pacific diſpoſition of the French rulers towards this country? Had we not the ſtrongeſt reaſon to believe that they entertained a ſpirit of hoſtility to every regular government, and more eſpecially to that of Great Britain? If they indeed wiſhed for peace, ought we not to think that it was becauſe peace would tend to their benefit and our ruin? In fact they had confeſſed that they only deſired a peace with ſome powers, that they might be enabled to accompliſh the deſtruction of others. He likewiſe pointed out that they had paſſed a law in April 1793, by which they denounced the penalty of death againſt any perſon who ſhould propoſe peace with any country, unleſs that country acknowledged the French republic, one and indiviſible

viſible, eſtabliſhed on the principles of liberty and equality. To treat, in the face of ſuch a law, would amount to a confeſſion of the uſurpation and injuſtice of our own government, and of all other governments.

After alluding to the danger to which we ſhould be expoſed from French emiſſaries, and the conſequent increaſe of jacobiniſm, Mr. Pitt declared that a peace, ſuppoſing peace at all attainable, would be worſe than open war; would be a ſituation of vigilant jealouſy, and never ceaſing ſuſpicion; merely a ſhort truce, a ſtate of partial inactivity, and interrupted repoſe; ſo expoſed to hazard, doubt and terror, that no man could poſſibly look at it, unleſs our reſources were ſo completely exhauſted as to preclude the poſſibility of further exertion. We muſt be compelled to keep up a large eſtabliſhment, and ſhould thus ſuffer all the diſadvantages of war, without enjoying any of the advantages of peace.

Looking to our reſources Mr. Pitt held the proſpect to be highly ſatisfactory; and he cenſured the unfairneſs of Mr. Grey's ſtatement as to the expenditure of the hoſtile countries. The honourable gentleman, he ſaid, had ſwept off millions from the expenditure of France, and added them, with as rude a hand, to that of England. He had more than doubled the ſum which had been ſpent by the latter. That ſum, in the two years war, would not, Mr. Pitt affirmed, exceed twenty-five millions ſterling, creating a capital of about thirty millions. What ſum was to be oppoſed to this on the part of France? The enormous one of two hundred and ſixty millions. This had been collected by force and terror, and the collection of it they themſelves allowed to have deſolated the interior of the country, extinguiſhed agriculture, ſubverted all the means of profitable induſtry, and annihilated every branch of commerce. To this was to be added the collateral circumſtance of the ſyſtem of aſſignats. Thoſe aſſignats were now at a diſcount of 85 per cent. Could France afford to ſpend two hundred and ſixty millions, plundered from her inhabitants, better than Great Britain, who raiſed a revenue without injury to her commerce or her manufactures, could afford to ſpend thirty? The French reſources he would once more maintain were in a ſtate of rapid decay; nor could this decay be compenſated by any brilliant ſucceſs, or acquiſition of territory. Referring in concluſion to Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Pitt ſaid that he hoped his honourable friend, who he thought, on a former occaſion, had carried too far his propoſitions with reſpect to peace, would be convinced, on his own principles, that any propoſal to treat, at this moment, would only have the effect of elating and uniting the French, and depreſſing the ſpirits of the Britiſh people. As to the motion now before the houſe, he had been induced, he ſaid, to move an amendment, rather than to give it a bare negative, in order to put an end to the miſconſtructions and miſconceptions of his ſentiments as to the re-eſtabliſhment of monarchy being a *ſine qua non* to the attainment of peace.

The amendment was briefly ſupported by Sir W. Young, Mr. Yorke, and Mr. Powys, and oppoſed by Mr. Coke.

In reply to the alluſion which had been made to him, by Mr. Pitt, Mr.

Wilberforce declared that every hour's reflection, and every day's experience, confirmed him more and more in the opinion which he had delivered at the opening of parliament. In the ſpirit of Mr. Grey's motion he entirely concurred, but when he firſt ſaw the motion, he feared the terms of it, if it paſſed, might be conſidered as implying that miniſters would be obliged immediately to offer peace, or to accept it if it were offered. This ſeemed to be again propoſing to the houſe a queſtion on which it had very lately decided. To avoid this objection he would move a reſolution, that the exiſtence of any particular form of government in France ought not to preclude ſuch a peace between the two countries, as both in itſelf, and in the manner of effecting it, ſhould be otherwiſe conſiſtent with the ſafety, honour and intereſts of Great Britain.

He congratulated the houſe and the country, on the general concurrence of all parties in the idea that the houſe ought ſolemnly to declare that a ſafe and honourable peace was not to be rejected, on account of the exiſtence of any particular ſyſtem of government. If, however, it was proper to make ſuch a declaration, it was neceſſary that it ſhould be expreſſed in terms the cleareſt and moſt explicit. In this point of view the motion of the miniſter did not meet his wiſhes. There was ſomething indefinite in the words "ſuch a government as "ſhall be capable of maintaining "the accuſtomed relations of peace "and amity." We had always ſaid the French republic was not ſuch a government; and thus, while our general terms implied that we might make peace with that republic, the conditions with which they were coupled virtually did away their effect. The amendment made by Mr. Pitt, propoſes a reliance on the diſpoſitions which his majeſty had always manifeſted. Now, the French, reaſoning from the declaration of his majeſty, in which he ſtated that his ſentiments and views were conformable to thoſe of his allies, were fully perſuaded that this country intended the deſtruction of the republic; for moſt of the manifeſtos of the allies had diſtinctly inſiſted on the reſtoration of the monarchy. We could not cure them of their prejudice by the ſame language which had cauſed it. No one could contend that the words of the miniſter's amendment were too clear to be miſunderſtood. They had been miſunderſtood. So much ſo, that miniſters confeſſed a further explanation to be requiſite.

In combating his arguments for peace, his honourable friends had, he ſaid, forgotten that he conſidered ours to be a ſituation in which we had only a choice of evils. He did not contend that a peace now would have all the comfort and ſecurity of an ordinary peace. The queſtion was, whether a fair and honourable peace was not better than a continuance of the war; and whether, if we perſiſted longer in the conteſt, we might not be compelled hereafter to make a peace, liable to the ſame evils and dangers as were expected to reſult from this, but highly aggravated in their meaſure and effect. The great danger of peace was ſtated to be the opportunity it would afford to our enemies of fomenting our internal diſcontents. To this he would reply that if we now made peace we ſhould make it while the maſs of the people was quiet and well diſpoſed, and we had a more than competent force to repreſs the diſaffected; but if we continued the war, with indifferent ſucceſs, for only a year or two more, the bulk of the people might grow clamorous, diſcontented, and ready to liſten to factious men; and we ſhould indeed be in the dilemma of neither being able to carry on hoſtilities with needful vigour, nor make peace with real ſecurity.

Much ſtreſs had been laid on the humiliation of our treating at this period. He confeſſed that he felt the force of his honourable friend, Mr. Pitt's, appeal to him on what had lately paſſed on the continent. The moment when our enemies were triumphant, was certainly not the moment to attempt a peace. But all Europe would know that the propoſitions for peace had been made in the houſe before any of the events alluded to had occurred. It had, however, never been his idea that we ſhould ſend an ambaſſador to Paris. He had only meant that we ſhould cauſe it to be intimated to the French government, by ſome proper perſon, that if it was willing to make peace on equitable and honourable terms, it would be met half way by Great Britain. He would repeat that we could at this moment conclude a treaty without degrading ourſelves, becauſe we were evidently capable of continuing the war with vigour.

But one grand reaſon, he declared, why he was anxious for peace, was his conviction that a counter-revolution in France was far more likely to happen in peace than during the continuance of the war. The preſſure of the combined powers on France, though he would not ſay that it had cauſed a general enthuſiaſm for the republican ſyſtem, had certainly kept the nation, and ſtill more, the armies, united. If the French were left to themſelves, a principle of diſunion and relaxation would be introduced. The capital was filled with contending factions, each of which would probably endeavour to draw bodies of the army to its ſide, and dangerous diſſentions would in conſequence enſue. The convention was only leſs an object of hatred in France, than the combined powers and the emigrants. If the two latter objects were removed the whole hatred of the people would be concentrated on the convention. The diſtreſſed ſituation of the interior would then alſo have its full effect upon the popular mind. Thoſe who were patient under ſufferings during war, becauſe they thought them merely temporary, might not be diſpoſed to bear them quietly when they found them ſtill exiſt in time of peace.

Mr. Wilberforce next touched upon the too great readineſs of the country to plunge into wars, and its too great obſtinacy to continue them, and owned that he thought it the true policy of Great Britain to meddle as little as poſſible with continental politics.

From the depreciation of aſſignats he entertained no hopes. As long as they continued to have any value at all, ſo long, he ſaid, they would be emitted; and by this, and other means, until the phyſical reſources of the country were wholly exhauſted, the French rulers would continue to get thoſe reſources into their own hands.

On the conduct of the miniſter in propoſing an amendment, inſtead of meeting the queſtion fairly, as he had pledged himſelf to do, Mr. Fox commented in the ſevereſt manner. What was, he ſaid, the real meaning of all this petty warfare? The honourable gentleman deſigned by his amendment, to evade the great and material queſtion, on which he ſtood committed; and to delude the houſe by a trifling temporary conceſſion which meant nothing. He was a man of ſuperior talents, who directed his talents to deception and quibbling, rather than to what was grand, open and manly; who, inſtead of meeting our critical ſituation with meaſures proportioned to the exigency, ſeemed only anxious to gain over, by a little evaſive management, the votes of a few irreſolute members. As if the eternal nature of truth and falſhood could be altered by a few votes more or leſs; as if baffling a few petitions, or lulling a few individuals, for a time, into the continuance of their apathy, could extricate the nation from the deplorable ſtate into which he had plunged it. Such a mode of action did not become the ſtateſman, and was as falſe in policy as unworthy of the occaſion. It only deadened the feelings of mankind for a day, to rouſe them into tenfold irritation when the moment of deluſion was over.

The amendment he diſliked, he ſaid, in ſome points, yet in others he did not diſlike it. In as far as it allowed that there was nothing in the preſent form of the French government to prevent us from negotiating, ſo far it met with his approbation. Both this year and the laſt he had moved an amendment to the ſame effect; and little did he think that he was then only ſpeaking the ſentiments of his majeſty's miniſters. But miniſters it was ſaid had been the victims of miſrepreſentation. Such, it ſeemed, was the power of the oppoſition, ſo full were they of wealth, ſo inveſted with the influence of bribes, places, penſions, jobs, contracts, and emoluments of all kinds; ſo extenſive were their means of circulating newſpapers, that they had been able ſucceſsfully to miſrepreſent the miniſters, and to abuſe and taint the public mind. Yet, what had they done? For two years they had moved, at the opening of the ſeſſion, an amendment, to declare that the French government was one with which we could negotiate; and they had, in conſequence, been called advocates of France, jacobins, republicans, and charged with deſiring the ruin of their country, and the murder of their ſovereign. All this, however, was now at an end, and, wonderful to tell, they diſcovered that, without knowing it, they had, the whole time, been holding a language which was entirely in uniſon with the ideas of the miniſters.

After a vehement philippic againſt the diabolical ſpeech, as he called it, a ſpeech, he ſaid, proclaiming an almoſt eternal war, which ſpeech miniſters had put into the mouth of his majeſty, Mr. Fox argued that the preſent contradictory conduct of Mr. Pitt was a proof that he had found the public mind adverſe to his deſigns, and that, therefore, he had thought it neceſſary to ſoften and lower his tone. The amendment Mr. Fox deſcribed as going far enough to diſgrace the new colleagues of Mr. Pitt, and not far enough to reſtore him to the confidence of his country.

In the reaſoning of the miniſter there was, he ſaid, nothing of novelty. His arguments were the ſame trite, hackneyed, refuted arguments which the houſe had ſo often heard, even to wearineſs and nauſea. The declining reſources of France, the depreciation of aſſignats, and the numbers of the royaliſt party, formed the ſum total.

It was ſaid, by ſome perſons, that we had been ſucceſsful in France, becauſe the various revolutions there had been effectuated through our means. This was an argument equally ſingular and unfortunate. It appeared, by an examination of facts, that whenever we made the ſlighteſt impreſſion on France, the revolution produced by our ſucceſs was of the moſt dreadful kind; and that, on the contrary, whenever we were vanquiſhed and driven from the French territory, the people had exerted themſelves to get rid of their internal tyranny.

The motion of his honourable friend, far from binding the hands of miniſters, would leave them perfectly at liberty as to the time and terms of peace, and would remove the obſtacle thrown in the way of negotiation, by their having uniformly declared that they could not treat with the preſent government of France. But the conſiſtency of the houſe of commons ſtood in the way. It was quite time, Mr. Fox ſaid, to have done with ſuch declamatory nonſenſe. Nations, in all queſtions of policy, muſt yield to imperious neceſſity. In the caſe of Ockzakow the miniſter, as ſoon as he found public opinion againſt him, had not heſitated to retreat without a bluſh, and to ſay that our means were not equal to the object. Why ſhould he not now do the ſame, when circumſtances would ſo amply juſtify him?

To the objection that it would be humiliating to offer to treat now we were unſucceſsful, Mr. Fox replied that, upon this principle, it was almoſt hopeleſs that we could ever treat. Could it be imagined that the French rulers would be the firſt to propoſe a negotiation to thoſe miniſters who had ſo often declared that it was impoſſible to make peace with them? Would not every Engliſhman ſooner die than aſk peace from the convention, if that body had declared that it would not treat with England till a reform had taken place in the Engliſh government? Such a declaration we had made with reſpect to France. It was neceſſary, therefore, that we ſhould do away the effect of our arrogant and impolitic expreſſions. If we did ſo, we ſhould either have peace, or we ſhould fight the enemy on equal terms; we ſhould deprive them of the cauſe of their enthuſiaſm, by making them feel that they were no longer compelled to combat to extremity.

As ſecure a peace might, he contended, be obtained at this inſtant as had been obtained at any former time. The idea of an influx of French principles into this country was ridiculous. The terrible and fatal experiments which had been made in France, had only rooted more deeply in our affections the Britiſh conſtitution.

He reminded the chancellor of the exchequer, that the firſt act of his political life was, the ſigning the independence of America, though his venerable father had declared that they ought to periſh on the laſt breach rather than grant the independence. As neceſſity had dictated that act, ſo it ought to induce him to retract the ſyſtem which he had followed with reſpect to France.

The motion was oppoſed by Mr.

Dundas, as too general in its terms, and as fettering the government in a manner that muſt prove highly prejudicial. The amendment was clear, explicit, and conſiſtent with the former votes of the houſe. An eligible peace, he ſaid, was not at this diſaſtrous moment attainable; but there was good reaſon to hope that by continuing the war with vigour, the tide of ſucceſs might be turned in our favour.

The various arguments which had been urged againſt his motion were replied to, with ſome degree of warmth, by Mr. Grey, who pointedly charged the miniſter with unfairneſs, in evading the queſtion, inſtead of meeting it openly and deciſively. The amendment was unſatisfactory, he ſaid, and was merely meant to ſhuffle off, for the preſent, the ſubſtantial object of the motion.

On the houſe dividing, Mr. Grey's propoſition was negatived by two hundred and ſixty-nine voices againſt eighty-ſix. The amendment of the chancellor of the exchequer was then carried; the ayes being two hundred and fifty-four, and the noes ninety.

Mr. Wilberforce's amendment was next negatived by a majority of one hundred and ſixty-four. Mr. Sheridan then roſe and accuſed the miniſter of having ſelected words of ambiguity and prevarication, for the expreſs purpoſe of miſleading the public. The country wiſhed for a ſpeedy peace. The miniſter and many of his friends, had, he was confident, an entirely different wiſh. To bring, therefore, their meaning to a fair trial, he would move an amendment, to be added to that which had been propoſed and carried by Mr. Pitt. His amendment ſtated, that the houſe was not of opinion that there were any circumſtances in the preſent government of France precluſive of negotiation, or which rendered it incapable of maintaining, with other countries, the accuſtomed relations of peace and amity. This amendment was negatived, after a warm altercation, in which Mr. Fox and Mr. Windham were the moſt conſpicuous ſpeakers.

CHAP. XI.

Motion in the houſe of lords, by the duke of Bedford, that no form of government in France ought to preclude a negotiation. Reply of lord Grenville. He moves the ſame amendment as had been carried the preceding day in the lower houſe. Speech of the biſhop of Landaff againſt the war. The marquis of Lanſdowne enlarges on the inconvenience to which the country would be expoſed by the conqueſt of Holland; and contends that the reſources of France are not likely to fail. Arguments in behalf of the motion. Arguments in favour of the amendment. The amendment is carried. Lord Grenville declares the preſent government of France to be one with which miniſters could not treat. Mr. Grey makes a ſecond motion in the lower houſe, to open the way for negotiation. It is negatived by a large majority. Motion to the ſame effect made in the houſe of lords by the duke of Bedford. He grounds it on the neceſſity of an explicit declaration of the preciſe ſituation in which this country ſtood towards

towards France. It is negatived. Mr. Fox moves for the houſe of commons to reſolve itſelf into a committee to inveſtigate the ſtate of the nation. He ſupports his motion by a long and able ſpeech, in which he reviews our loſſes, our alliances, and external and internal ſituation. Reply of Mr. Pitt. He ſpeaks with much ſeverity of Mr. Fox. The motion is oppoſed by Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Canning, and Mr. Baſtard, and ſupported by Mr. Sheridan. Anſwer of Mr. Fox. The queſtion of adjournment is carried. Motion to facilitate peace brought forward by Mr. Wilberforce. Oppoſed by Mr. Windham. It is negatived. Motion to the ſame effect made, in the houſe of lords, by the earl of Lauderdale, is likewiſe rejected.

THE defeat of the oppoſition, on the motion brought forward by Mr. Grey, though, in reality, deciſive, as to the fate of all their efforts in the ſame cauſe, did not deter them from repeatedly introducing, under a variety of forms, the ſubject of peace. On the day ſubſequent to that on which the commons decided againſt the motion of Mr. Grey, the duke of Bedford made Jan. 27. his promiſed motion in the houſe of lords. Differing in words, it was, ſubſtantively, the ſame as that rejected in the lower houſe. It ſtated, that "no form of government which "may prevail in France ſhould pre"clude a negotiation, or prevent a "peace, when the latter could be "made conſiſtently with the inte"reſt, the honour, and the ſecurity "of this country." Its adoption was recommended by the noble mover, in a ſpeech of conſiderable ability. Urging the neceſſity of an explicit declaration as to the object of the conteſt, and deprecating as cruel, impolitic, and dangerous, the idea of internecine war, he declared that his motion left the time and terms of peace to his majeſty's miniſters; and that, deſirable as he thought a peace, he would ſcorn to ſue for it. He was convinced, however, that we might open a negotiation without incurring diſgrace. To the objection drawn from the decree of the nineteenth of November 1792, he replied by quoting later decrees which reſcinded the obnoxious one. The aſſertion, that no permanent peace could be concluded with the French republic he conſidered as not only unſupported by proof, but incapable of proof. A permanent peace, in the abſolute ſenſe of the word, had never exiſted. In its rational and practical acceptation, it meant a peace on conditions likely to give mutual ſatisfaction. The more equitable, therefore, were the conditions, the more probable was the permanence of the peace. Arguing on relative permanence, the only real permanence, he thought a peace with a republic promiſed to be more laſting than a peace with either an abſolute or a limited monarchy, becauſe in the former ſpecies of government the queſtion of peace or war muſt be examined by many minds, and debated; whereas in the latter it depended on the deciſion of a ſingle individual, who, whatever might be his regard for his people, was acceſſible to the influence of pride, caprice and paſſion. The danger expected from the introduction of jacobin principles into England, he believed to be merely viſionary; as Britons would not be tempted to renounce the bleſſings they enjoyed, and adopt a ſyſtem which had been productive in France of ſuch bloodſhed and ruin. Looking to the continuance of the war, he ſaw nothing to hope from the aſſiſtance of our allies, who appeared, he ſaid, unwilling, and were, in truth, unable, to protract the ſtruggle with the enemy. That enemy, on the other hand, had a numerous population, and was far from being as deſtitute of financial reſources as had been often aſſerted. The war had been ſaid to be a war for the cauſe of humanity; but, if it had been ſo in its origin, it had long ceaſed to be ſo. The war which had produced the ſyſtem of terror, with all its horrible concomitants, could not now be called a war of humanity. He then adverted to the change which had taken place in France. The preſent rulers of that country had choſen a ſyſtem of moderation; they had confeſſed the paſt guilt, and in ſome inſtances had puniſhed the criminals, and in many, endeavoured to repair the miſchief done. What was the language of our humanity upon this occaſion. "You ſhall not reſtore order and juſtice, ſaid miniſters, but by our means; we will not be ſatisfied with any thing ſhort of carrying war to your frontiers, and famine into the interior of your country." Such language might bring back the reign of violence and blood, but would never vanquiſh the opinions and armies of France. He likewiſe urged that the war was daily growing unpopular among the Britiſh people, and would more rapidly become ſo, if they were taught to believe that it was waged for the purpoſe of obliterating a whole nation from the face of the earth. If, on the other hand, his motion were carried, the people would be convinced that France continued the conteſt ſolely to conquer us, and they would join with heart and hand, as one man, to repel the enemy. He cloſed his ſpeech by briefly touching upon the depreciation of aſſignats and dearneſs of proviſions in France, which had been dwelt on to prove that the French were in a diſadvantageous ſituation. Aſſignats, he did not allow to have fallen ſo much in value as was aſſerted, nor did he think their depreciation to be ſuch an inconvenience to the republican government as miniſters contended. Our ſtocks, which were our aſſignats, were, he reminded the houſe, fallen no leſs than one-third. With reſpect to the ſcarcity in France, he conſidered it at this moment, when there was too much apprehenſion of a ſcarcity at home, not to be an adviſable topic to urge to the people, as an inducement to ſubmit cheerfully to the inevitable hardſhips and ſufferings of war. On the preſent diſtreſſed ſtate of the poor he would not, he ſaid, enlarge; for he would ſcorn to gain by agitating the feelings, that aſſent which he was unable to gain by convincing the underſtanding.

In the commencement of his reply, Lord Grenville diſclaimed, in the ſtrongeſt terms, any diſinclination on the part of miniſters to make peace with France, merely on account of her particular form of government. Complimenting the noble duke on the candid and manly way in which he had argued the grounds of his motion; his lordſhip confeſſed that, as ſtating a general queſtion of peace or war, he ſhould have no objection to adopt the words of the noble duke; but that as a ſpecific declaration applying to this particular caſe, he thought them inadmiſſible. In treating, it was neceſſary to look to the characters of the perſons with whom we were to negotiate, as upon that point depended the ſecurity of a treaty. The reſolution was a mere abſtract propoſition, on which it was impoſſible to act. He would, therefore, move the ſame amendment as had been carried in the houſe of commons. In ſupport of this amendment, his lordſhip eloquently iterated the arguments on the ſubject of peace, which had before been advanced in both houſes by the miniſters and their partizans, and ſtrengthened them by new facts and reaſonings. He neither believed in the ſtability of the preſent French government, nor in the willingneſs of that government to live in peace with Great Britain. To prove that the French were not unanimous in wiſhing a republic, he cited a recent inſtance of an author who had been ſent to the revolutionary tribunal, for publiſhing a dialogue, in which he expreſſed a doubt whether the people were moſt inclined to a monarchy or a republic, and propoſed to refer the queſtion to the deciſion of the primary aſſemblies. How powerful was the faction, againſt which the moderate party ſtill had to ſtruggle, was made manifeſt, his lordſhip ſaid, by the extreme difficulty which that party had found in bringing the monſter Carrier to puniſhment for his enormous crimes. This was a ſymptom highly unfavourable to the permanency of the power enjoyed by thoſe who now ruled in France. They might ſhortly, perhaps, be overthrown, and the ſyſtem of blood and terror reſtored. But ſuppoſing their authority to be firmly eſtabliſhed, we had, nevertheleſs, nothing to hope from them, as their inveteracy againſt England, which they denominated the new Carthage, was too rooted and too malignant to allow of their ſheathing the ſword till they had accompliſhed our deſtruction. It was to this end that they deſigned to direct all their efforts; it was ſolely for this purpoſe that they wiſhed to conclude a peace with the continental ſovereigns. Were we at this moment to make an offer of peace, it would be conſidered as an indication of exhauſted reſources, while the fact was, that in point of reſources, our ſuperiority over the enemy was immenſe. That the exiſting order of things in France was much better than the ſyſtem which preceded it, he willingly admitted, and ſo far we were in a ſituation leſs remote from that in which we might treat with a rational proſpect of ſecurity. The period when we might ſo treat, he thought, nevertheleſs, to be yet far diſtant, and, therefore, inſtead of attempting to negotiate, we ought to carry on the war with redoubled vigour, till that happy period at length arrived.

The amendment was warmly oppoſed by the duke of Norfolk as uncandid, equivocal, and dangerous, and the conduct of miniſters cenſured as extraordinary, inconſiſtent, and tending to render the war perpetual. Both the amendment and the miniſters were as warmly defended by the earl of Darnley.

The original motion was ſupported in an elaborate ſpeech by the biſhop of Landaff. On the juſtice and neceſſity of our entering into the war, he ſpoke with a ſeemingly ſtudied ambiguity. It was ſufficiently obvious, however, that his opinion leaned towards the ſide of thoſe who thought the war to be neither juſt nor neceſſary. The purpoſe of the war he aſſumed to be the putting a ſtop to the progreſs of democratic principles; and, reaſoning upon this aſſumption, he contended that we ought not to continue the conteſt, as, whatever might be the caſe with the deſpotic monarchs of the continent, we could have nothing to dread from the influence of thoſe principles. He did not believe the people, or any claſs of the people, of this country to be ſo mad as to deſire to exchange their conſtitution for the ſyſtem of France. Alarms of this kind, he thought, were only fit ſtuff to conſtitute the dreams of old women and children. His fears he hinted to ariſe from the corruptions which had imperceptibly crept into the ſtate, and from the diminiſhed veneration which was felt for religion. After noticing, with cenſure, the virulence with which, in this country, the partizans of miniſtry and oppoſition reciprocally accuſed each other of criminal deſigns, he again took up the queſtion, whether it was abſolutely needful, as ſome imagined, to deſtroy the French republic in order to prevent the ſubverſion of the Britiſh monarchy. It was, he ſaid, his firm conviction, that the two governments might co-exiſt, and that the only real danger to the ſtability of the Britiſh throne, and the independence of the Britiſh nation, was to be looked for in an obſtinate hatred of negotiation, and a continuance of expenſive hoſtility. Nor indeed did he ſeem to look upon the re-inſtatement of the French monarch as an event which would be of the ſlighteſt utility to this country. The ſovereign of France could not reſtore to us a ſingle man whom we had loſt, nor would he repay us a ſingle guinea, of all the millions which we had ſpent. Conſidering the war in the light in which ſome had placed it, as a war for religion, againſt atheiſm and infidelity, he declared it to be worthy of the ſevereſt reprobation. The Creator and Preſerver of the univerſe did not ſtand in need of aid from the arm of fleſh, to ſecure the reality of his exiſtence, or the honour of his laws. The infidelity of France had ariſen from its former ſuperſtition. The corruptions of chriſtianity had been miſtaken for chriſtianity itſelf, by thoſe who had overturned the latter. In flying from ſuperſtition the infidel philoſophers had leapt over religion, and ſunk into atheiſm. The reſult, however, his lordſhip ſaid, he had no doubt would be that they would be followed by future Newtons and Lockes, who, laying the foundations on the pure and unadorned rock of chriſtian verity, would rebuild, with more than mortal ſtrength and beauty, thoſe altars which had been ruined and defiled.

The amendment was alſo ſupported by the marquis of Lanſdowne, the marquis of Abercorn, the duke of Leeds, and the earls of Lauderdale and Guildford.

The marquis of Lanſdowne particularly dwelt on the danger to which this country was expoſed from the conqueſt of Holland by the French. If the ſubſidy given to the king of Pruſſia, had been given to the Dutch, the noble marquis thought that Holland might have been ſaved. Now that it was loſt, we ſhould find it exceedingly difficult to protect the trade of the north ſea, and eſpecially that of the Baltic.

tic. To convoy our trade from the Baltic, we ſhould be compelled to employ, during the whole ſummer, at leaſt twenty ſhips of the line. Our internal ſituation he painted in gloomy colours. From information which he had that morning received, he repreſented the poor of the weſt of England as labouring under the ſevereſt diſtreſs; and he expreſſed his belief that the diſtreſs was not confined to that quarter, but extended to every county and corner of the kingdom. Under ſuch circumſtances we had to combat with a government ſuperior in ſtrength to that of the moſt deſpotic ſovereign that ever exiſted. It was idle and abſurd, he ſaid, to talk of the reſources of France being nearly exhauſted, and her finances nearly ruined. A revolutionary government was not circumſcribed and fettered in its operations like a regular government. The reſources of the latter were limited; of the former they were boundleſs. The one could only raiſe a greater or leſſer number of hypocritical taxes; the other, by the ſingle word requiſition, ſwept all before it, the produce of the ſoil, the property of individuals, and the individuals themſelves. No common calculations of finance would, therefore, apply to a revolutionary government. Such a government exiſted but by war, and was diſſoluble alone by peace; and for that reaſon he would give his vote in favour of a motion which ſmoothed the way to a peace, and conſequently to the deſtruction of the formidable ſyſtem which enabled the enemy to act with a ſupernatural vigour.

The other noble lords who ſpoke on the ſame ſide, though they touched upon ſome of the uſual topics of argument againſt the war, chiefly occupied themſelves in proving the ſuperiority of the motion over the propoſed amendment. The conduct of miniſters, in getting rid of the queſtion by an amendment, they conſidered as neither reſpectful to the noble duke nor to the houſe; and the amendment itſelf as purpoſely vague and unſatisfactory. They owned that the original motion was an abſtract propoſition, but, then, it was not of that kind which ought to be rejected as uſeleſs or dangerous. It was, on the contrary, calculated to produce the moſt beneficial effects. Never, they ſaid, had an abſtract propoſition ſo applicable as this, to the urgency of the occaſion, been treated as this had been. The mode of evading it ſhowed, however, that the miniſters no longer ſtood on the ſame high ground as they had formerly done. The public mind was generally changed, and they were, in conſequence, compelled to have recourſe to expedients.

But though the duke of Leeds joined the other peers in diſapprobation of the amendment, he thought it neceſſary to expreſs his diſſent from the opinion of the marquis of Lanſdowne with reſpect to the internal ſituation of the country. The diſtreſs which had been ſo ſtrongly painted, he believed to have no exiſtence, and he was convinced that our reſources, if well applied, were equal to the preſent or to any future emergency.

The amendment was defended by the duke of Athol, earl Spencer, the earl of Hardwicke, lord Mulgrave, the earl of Carliſle, lord Auckland, the biſhop of Durham, and the lord chancellor.

They argued that the original

motion was a mere abſtract propoſition, which could not with more propriety be entered upon the journals of the houſe than any ſimilar propoſition with reſpect to morals or politics. This, however, was not the ſtrongeſt objection to its being adopted. It had the fault of being liable to be conſtrued as well in a prejudicial as a ſalutary manner. The probability was, that it would be conſtrued by the people as laying the country at the feet of France. It would likewiſe weaken the government, both at home and abroad, by eſtabliſhing an opinion reſpecting their motives and intentions, as injurious to the honour of the national councils as it was unfounded in fact. By lord Mulgrave, who was one of its moſt determined opponents, it was declared to be either improper in point of time, or fallacious in itſelf, as leading to more than it profeſſed. If it did not mean to bring on an immediate negotiation with the exiſting government of France, it was premature and impolitic; premature, as expreſſing an anxiety for peace, when peace was unattainable; impolitic, as compelling this country either to retract, or treat at an inconvenient period, if the French government ſhould conſent to treat. If, on the other hand, it meant to produce an immediate treaty, its language was fallacious, inaſmuch as it held out the object of a ſafe and honourable peace, at a time when, from the nature of the government in France, ſuch a peace could not poſſibly be procured.

The amendment was aſſerted to be free from all theſe defects. It embraced the main idea of the original motion, but ſtated it in terms more guarded, and better adapted to all the circumſtances of the occaſion. Lord Auckland, however, though he gave his aſſent to it, declared, nevertheleſs, that he thought there was in the words which cloſed it a latent, but certainly not a ſtudied, ambiguity; and that an alteration, which he pointed out, would have rendered it more conſonant to his feelings.

It was again denied that miniſters had ever conſidered the reſtoration of monarchy in France as a *ſine qua non*; and his majeſty's declarations were referred to as authority for this denial. We did not look to the form of the government, but to the principles upon which it acted. Taking the ſubject in this point of view, lord Mulgrave explicitly avowed his belief that a ſafe and honourable peace could not be made with the preſent rulers of France, whoſe principles he repreſented as inveterately hoſtile to the laws and independence of Great Britain, and even to the well-being of ſociety itſelf.

The debate was terminated by the duke of Bedford, who replied briefly to the arguments of his opponents, and complained of the ſhifting conduct of miniſters, and of the unfairneſs of the manner in which they wiſhed to get rid of his motion. They were, he ſaid, eternally changing their ground, and taking ſhelter under ſome freſh ſubterfuge; and the ſame unfair mode, which they employed in defending themſelves, they alſo employed in aſſailing their antagoniſts. Of this, the ſtyle in which his reſolution had been argued againſt was a ſufficient proof. He had expreſsly diſclaimed the idea of ſuing for peace, yet his motion had, notwithſtanding, been deſcanted upon as if ſuch were its object.

A diviſion being called for, the amendment was carried by a majority of 73; the noes being 15, the ayes 88.

In a converſation which took place after the queſtion was diſpoſed of, lord Grenville was ſaid to have avowed that the exiſting government of France was one with which the Britiſh miniſters could not negotiate. This avowal was regarded by the duke of Bedford and the earls of Guildford and Lauderdale as a full admiſſion that the amendment was completely nugatory.

Undiſcouraged by his former bad ſucceſs, Mr. Grey, on the ſixth of February, made another attempt to open the road to a treaty. He moved a reſolution, that, as the object of the ſupport given by the houſe to his majeſty, in the proſecution of the war, was ſolely to procure an equitable peace, and as without ſome acknowledgment of the exiſtence of a competent power in France, with which this country could negotiate, the war could have no end but in the deſtruction of one of the two ſtates, the houſe thought it expedient to declare its opinion, that the preſent government of France was competent to the purpoſe of entertaining and concluding a negotiation for peace with Great Britain. The reſolution further ſtated, that France had maintained with ſeveral of the European ſtates, and with America, the accuſtomed relations of peace and amity, and that thoſe ſtates had acknowledged the competency of her government.

The debate was long and animated, and on each ſide the old ground of argument was again trodden over. On this occaſion the chancellor of the exchequer declared that, under the preſent circumſtances, he ſaw no proſpect of ſecurity for any ſtipulation that might be the reſult of treating with France; and that any further diſcuſſion of the ſubject was not likely to be productive of the ſmalleſt benefit. The previous queſtion, which was moved by Mr. Dundas, was finally carried by a majority of 190 againſt a minority of 60.

In the houſe of lords a ſimilar motion, brought forward on the twelfth of February, by the duke of Bedford, ſhared the ſame fate. The reſolution moved by the noble duke, aſſerted it to be the opinion of the houſe, that the actual ſituation of the governing powers in France ought not to preclude the concluſion of a ſpeedy peace, if ſuch a peace could be had on juſt and reaſonable terms. But that if the ambition of France ſhould induce her to perſevere in hoſtilities, either to aggrandize herſelf, or carry her principles of government into effect in other countries, the houſe would feel itſelf called upon firmly to ſupport his majeſty in a vigorous proſecution of the war.

The ground upon which the noble mover principally preſſed the adoption of this propoſition was, the abſolute neceſſity of explicitly declaring the preciſe ſituation in which this country ſtood towards France. The amendment, by which miniſters had ſuperſeded his former motion, ſeemed to him calculated to diſcourage the people of England, and to impreſs the people of France with the idea that we would not make peace with them while they continued under a republican government. If this were really not its tendency, ſtill, as it was ſo evidently liable to be miſrepreſented, it ought to be clearly explained by another reſolution. This he thought the more neceſſary, as the declarations of his majeſty, which had been relied on to prove his majeſty's readineſs to conclude a treaty with any French government capable of maintaining peace and amity with other countries, were ſo far from proving any ſuch readineſs, that, in reality, they proved directly the reverſe. They unequivocally called for the reſtoration of monarchy; and the expreſſions in one of them went ſo far as to affirm that there was no intermediate ſtep between monarchy and anarchy. It was impoſſible that, from language like this, the French could draw the concluſion that we would treat with a republic.

The motion was ſtrongly ſupported by ſeveral peers, and as ſtrongly oppoſed by others; but nothing new was urged on either ſide. The only variety which was given to the debate was given by lord Stanhope, who began an eccentric ſpeech, by a declaration that he did not mean to ſpeak to the queſtion, becauſe it did not go far enough to ſatisfy him. Being called to order for this irregular conduct, he, for a moment, ſpoke to the point in debate, and then again deviated into a ſubject which was entirely extraneous. As ſoon as the noble Lord was ſilenced, the duke of Bedford replied to the arguments which had been urged againſt the motion. The previous queſtion, moved by lord Hawkeſbury, was carried by 75 voices againſt 12. A proteſt was entered on the journals by the duke of Bedford, and the earls of Guildford, Buckinghamſhire, and Lauderdale.

Oppoſition having thus been foiled in all their direct efforts to bring about a peace, Mr. Fox, after a pauſe of ſix weeks, reſorted to another mode of proceeding. On the twenty-fourth of March, he moved that the houſe of commons ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee to conſider of the ſtate of the nation. Such a motion, he ſaid, had generally been acceded to, when ſufficient proof had been adduced of its propriety. That proof he intended to give. Previouſly, however, to his entering upon it, he adverted to the diſaffection which was ſaid to exiſt in this country. The great and almoſt unanimous body of the nation he believed to be full of loyalty to the king, and love for the conſtitution; but there was a general opinion that the houſe of commons neither actually nor virtually repreſented the people of England. It was from this circumſtance that danger was to be apprehended; and the danger would be rendered ſtill greater, if the houſe continued to repoſe the ſame blind and implicit confidence in miniſters, to encreaſe the burthen of taxation, and to refuſe all enquiry, notwithſtanding the multiplied diſaſters and calamities of the war, and the diſſatisfaction of the public. The true ground on which reſted the defence of the Britiſh conſtitution was, that though it might not accord with this or that theory, it was practically good, that it produced ſubſtantial happineſs to the people. But if, after having for two years purſued plans from which had reſulted nothing but a ſeries of misfortunes and diſgrace, the miniſtry was allowed to exiſt without a ſolemn and diligent enquiry being made into its conduct by the houſe of commons; if it was privileged by that houſe to go on unchecked and unqueſtioned in the ſame calamitous career, how was it poſſible to defend the conſtitution againſt thoſe who attacked it as radically vicious? Could any thing worſe be imagined under a conſtitution practically bad?

That we had carried on a ſucceſsleſs war for two years, during which the enemy had gained more than the wildeſt imagination could have conceived to be poſſible, would alone have been ſufficient ground for him to call upon the houſe to enquire into the ſtate of the nation. He would not, however, confine himſelf to that general argument. He would take a view of our reſources in men and money, of the manner in which they had been applied, of the ſources whence they were drawn, of our foreign connections and allies, and of the reliance to be placed upon the efforts of thoſe allies.

On the firſt head, the loſs of men, he entered into an elaborate detail, intended to prove that it had been alarmingly great; ſo much ſo that he ſeriouſly doubted whether the country could afford to ſubſtitute new armies in the place of thoſe which it had loſt. From accounts lying on the table, he inferred, that the population of Great Britain had by no means increaſed in proportion to its apparent wealth and proſperity, if even it had increaſed at all; and that it was incapable of ſupporting the preſent waſte of life. Proceeding from men to money, he ſtated at ſeventy millions the debt contracted in the conteſt; and the permanent taxes to be paid, in conſequence, at three millions. This burthen was, he thought, ſeverely felt by the poor and the middling claſſes. Of our manufactures he drew a picture equally diſcouraging. The export of them had declined very conſiderably, and was likely in future to decline ſtill more. That trade and commerce were alſo very deeply affected he argued from the rate of inſurance, which was now enormouſly high; as much ſo as during the American war. No trade, he contended, could long go on under this diſadvantage. Yet, ſuch was the riſk, that even high as the premium was, it was not ſufficiently high to ſecure the underwriters from loſs, and conſequently the buſineſs of inſurance was almoſt totally ruined.

Our foreign connections and alliances formed the next head of his enquiry. Pruſſia he repreſented as having taken 1,200,000 pounds of our money to combat againſt jacobinical principles, by ſubjugating Poland. Auſtria was to receive ſeveral millions, and would probably act with equal fidelity. Sardinia was ſubſidized, and had done nothing but loſe Savoy and Nice. Our ally the king of Spain was ſtill more unfavourably ſituated. His finances were exhauſted, his armies were diſpirited, his officers treacherous, and three of his provinces in the hands of the enemy. Was it from allies like theſe that we could look for effectual aſſiſtance?

On the conduct of Great Britain towards neutral powers he dwelt with much energy, and ſevere cenſure. Juſtice towards other ſtates might, he ſaid, fairly be reckoned among the reſources of a ſtate. What ſtrength, then, had we derived from the eſtimation which rectitude, and dignity, moderation and juſtice, might have procured us in the eyes of Europe? None. We had, on the contrary, enfeebled our cauſe. In our raſhneſs and folly, we had iſſued orders to capture American veſſels, for which veſſels, after recalling the orders, we had ſince juſtly, and therefore, wiſely, agreed to pay. We had been foiled in an attempt, by peeviſh and offenſive memorials, to drive Sweden and Denmark from their neutrality. We had groſsly and ſhamefully inſulted and menaced the grand duke of Tuſcany, and had, at length, been compelled to ſubmit to his concluding a treaty of amity with the French republic. To Genoa we had, while triumphant, behaved with the meaneſt inſolence and injuſtice, and, when unſucceſsful, had made an ungracious apology. Switzerland we had treated in the ſame manner; and had found to our mortification that our threats were diſregarded as being no leſs contemptible for their imprudence than their utter want of decorum. We had, however, talked big only to the weak and defenceleſs; to the great and powerful we had apologized, and made compenſation for the injury we had done. Of this America was an inſtance.

Laying aſide the queſtion whether the war in its origin was juſt or unjuſt, Mr. Fox contended, with much force of argument, that the miniſters had acted fundamentally wrong in not explicitly declaring at its commencement upon what principles, and for what object, it was waged. They ought either to have ſaid that it was for the protection of our allies, and to avenge inſults offered to this country, and had nothing to do with the form of government in France; or that it was for the reſtoration of the French monarchy, and the ſafety of our religion, our laws and our throne. In the former caſe we ſhould have quarrelled with France on equal terms, and combated her on known principles; nor would ſhe have been able, by means of enthuſiaſm and terror, to have excited and compelled her ſubjects to ſuch gigantic exertions as ſhe had done. The French would not have become an armed nation if they had been diſtinctly told that the conteſt was not for their liberties and lives, but for the navigation of the Scheldt and the conqueſt of Holland. On the other hand, if we had avowed that our deſign was to re-eſtabliſh a regular government, and that we had no wiſh to diſmember France, every emigrant, in every part of the world, and every royaliſt in the interior, would have joined us, and gone heart and hand with the Britiſh nation. By indulging the childiſh hope of gaining the advantages of each ſide of the alternative we had gained the advantages of neither. We had ſo ſhuffled in our profeſſions, and been guilty of ſuch duplicity, that no deſcription of Frenchmen would flock to our ſtandard. No man, whatever might be his party, loved to ſee his country diſmembered and degraded, and, therefore, it was impoſſible that the royaliſts ſhould not regard us with feelings of diſguſt.

After having animadverted on the minor errors committed in the courſe of the war, the loſſes ſuſtained by our commercial marine, and the miſmanagement which had been diſplayed in the naval department, Mr. Fox entered on the ſubject of Ireland, which he treated in a manner not leſs argumentative than eloquent. The conduct of miniſters towards lord Fitzwilliam, he cenſured with indignant ſeverity, and, in a warm eulogium upon that nobleman, aſſerted his utter diſbelief that he had held out hopes to the Iriſh which his inſtructions did not warrant. The Iriſh, Mr. Fox ſaid, had been ſcandalouſly treated. They had been deceived and defrauded. When, in expectation of a reform of abuſes, they had granted, with more generoſity than prudence, an enormous ſupply, they were told by miniſters "we have got your money, "and you may now ſeek for your "reform where you can." The reſult was, as might naturally be expected, that at this moment Ireland was in a ſtate of diſcontent and irritation. This alone, Mr. Fox contended, ought to be a ſufficient ground to induce the houſe to form itſelf into a committee of enquiry.

In the cloſe of his ſpeech, after retouching ſome of his arguments, and avowing his belief that the reſult of an enquiry would be the removal of miniſters, Mr. Fox drew an animated, but certainly not flattering picture of the chancellor of the exchequer, whom he depicted as employing the higheſt powers of eloquence, not for the purpoſe of being clearly underſtood, but of being miſunderſtood; and as well deſerving the character which had been given to a great man of antient times—"In rebus politicis, nihil ſimplex; "nihil apertum, nihil honeſtum."

The motion of Mr. Fox was repreſented by Mr. Pitt as having been brought forward ſolely for the purpoſe of producing a diſcuſſion on the affairs of Ireland. That diſcuſſion he held to be highly improper, and this he thought a deciſive objection to the propoſed enquiry. He confeſſed that there was much to regret in what had lately happened in the ſiſter kingdom, but he would boldly aſſert that no blame could attach to himſelf or his colleagues. The inveſtigation required could not produce any poſſible advantage, and might produce much miſchief in a moment, like the preſent, of embarraſſment and diſquietude.

With reſpect to the other points ſtated by the right honourable mover as proper grounds for enquiry, Mr. Pitt admitted that they were of the greateſt importance. The houſe had, however, repeatedly decided upon them, and decided in a manner adverſe to the opinions of Mr. Fox. But, even had this not been the caſe, it would be impracticable to diſcuſs them at ſo late a period of the ſeſſion. That our finances were in a good ſtate was proved by the terms of the loan, the facility with which it was raiſed, and the productiveneſs of the taxes. Commerce and manufactures alſo he affirmed to be flouriſhing, and our population fully able to afford the ſupplies of men which were neceſſary to carry on the war. It was unfair to urge as a reaſon for diſcontinuing the conteſt the loſs of men we had ſuſtained, and ſay nothing of that ſuſtained by the enemy, which was probably in a ten-fold proportion to ours. A compariſon ought to be made, and, when made, inſtead of occaſioning deſpondency, it would tend to hold out to us a proſpect of ſucceſs.

On the ſubject of our alliances the chancellor of the exchequer differed entirely from the right honourable mover. The conduct of Pruſſia he owned had been blameable; but this particular failure formed no argument againſt our availing ourſelves of the aſſiſtance of allies. Our allies had not, it was true, been ſucceſsful, but their efforts had, nevertheleſs, produced a beneficial effect to this country, as they had compelled the enemy to divide a force, which, if acting in one direction, would have been infinitely more deſtructive. It was ſound policy, therefore, to make ſuch pecuniary advances as would enable the emperor to bring his armies into the field. In reply to the charge which Mr. Fox had made againſt the miniſters, of having acted improperly towards neutral powers, Mr. Pitt contended that their mode of acting had been conſpicuouſly marked by moderation and forbearance, and ſtrictly conformable to the true ſpirit of the law of nations. He muſt, however, he ſaid, put in a proteſt againſt the practice of ſelecting particular paſſages from the official papers of ambaſſadors and envoys at foreign courts, and then charging them upon the miniſters at home. Thoſe papers were neither compoſed nor reviewed by the miniſters; they were framed according to the exigency of circumſtances; and miniſters were conſequently not reſponſible for any careleſs or haſty expreſſion, which might, perhaps, have been prompted by an exceſs of zeal for his majeſty's ſervice.

The middle policy adopted by miniſters, with regard to the object of the war, was warmly defended by Mr. Pitt, as founded on wiſdom. He denied that a nation, on entering into a conteſt, was bound to ſtate its object in clear and poſitive terms; and by that means preclude itſelf from taking advantage of any fortuitous circumſtances which might ariſe during its continuance.

The accuſation of miſconduct in carrying on the war had, he ſaid, been ſo often argued before, that nothing new could be ſaid upon it, and its repetition now he conſidered as an implied attack on the gallant commanders and officers in the army and navy. He denied that our commercial marine had ſuffered from the want of protection. The cauſe of the numerous captures of our merchantmen was the almoſt total annihilation of the commerce of France, and the fallen ſtate of her navy, which led her to ſend out her fleets in ſmall diviſions, and to turn her attention to the equipment of privateers, for the purpoſe of haraſſing our trade by a predatory war.

The winding up of the miniſter's anſwer diſplayed a conſiderable portion of bitterneſs. He accuſed Mr. Fox of anxiouſly palliating all the exceſſes of the French, depreciating the ſplendor of our victories, ſtudiouſly exaggerating and dwelling on our misfortunes and temporary difficulties, and as ſtudiouſly avoiding to mention the ſucceſs of our armies, or the proſperity of the country; and he aſſured him that even if miniſters were removed for imprudence or imbecility, the choice of perſons to fill their places would not fall on the members of oppoſition, but on perſons qualified to meet the criſis, inſtead of ſhrinking from it; to ſupport inſtead of endeavouring to lower our dignity, and to carry on a juſt war with vigour and effect. He concluded by moving an adjournment.

The motion of Mr. Fox was diſapproved of by Mr. Canning, Mr. Baſtard, and Mr. Wilberforce, principally on the ground that it would not be prudent to enter into a diſcuſſion upon the affairs of Ireland, as ſuch a diſcuſſion at the preſent moment might probably be productive of dangerous conſequences. Mr. Canning, however, did not confine

fine his diſapprobation of it to this point alone. He thought it in ſome points of view uſeleſs, in others impolitic, and in none as having, on the ſcore of utility, any claim to receive the ſanction of the houſe.

By Mr. Sheridan the anſwer of Mr. Pitt was ſeverely reprobated, as totally irrelevant, and full of the groſſeſt miſrepreſentation. It was, he ſaid, the great misfortune of the country that the miniſter's pride ſtood in the way of the intereſts of the people. The miniſter knew that he muſt acknowledge the republic in order to make peace, and from this acknowledgment his pride revolted. He was, however, not averting, but only delaying the hour of his ſhame.

The ſtrong alluſions and ſarcaſms of Mr. Pitt called forth from the right honourable mover a reply of no common energy. Having controverted many of the aſſertions made by the chancellor of the exchequer, and argued, at ſome length, on the neceſſity of enquiry, and the propriety of calling for it at this period, he indignantly repelled the charges which had been brought againſt his conduct, retorted upon his opponent the accuſation of lowering the dignity of the country, and, contraſting with the meaſures he had adviſed thoſe which had been purſued, drew concluſions highly diſadvantageous to the wiſdom of the latter. In every thing that he had ever propoſed, he had, he ſaid, maintained the dignity of the country, and never had he given an opinion by which Britiſh blood was ſhed, or Britiſh treaſure ſquandered. Nor had any man been more ready or more proud than he had always been to rejoice in the glory of the Britiſh arms, and to praiſe the gallantry of Britiſh heroes. He cloſed his ſpeech by warning the houſe, that if it refuſed a committee of enquiry it would furniſh more arguments againſt itſelf than had been urged by all the writers who had ever written on the ſubject of its defects.

The queſtion of adjournment was carried by 219 ayes againſt 63 noes, and the motion for a committee was conſequently loſt.

A ſimilar motion was made in the houſe of lords, on the thirtieth of March, by the earl of Guildford. It was ſupported by the dukes of Bedford, Grafton, and Norfolk, the marquis of Lanſdowne and the earl of Lauderdale. Lord Grenville took the lead in oppoſing it, and was aided by the duke of Richmond, earl Spencer, the earls of Suffolk, Mansfield and Kinnoul, lord Sydney, and the biſhop of Durham. The arguments uſed on each ſide were little more than a repetition of thoſe which had been urged in the lower houſe. The motion was negatived by a majority of 90 peers out of 104.

The laſt effort made in the houſe of commons to facilitate a peace, was made by Mr. Wilberforce, who, on the twenty-ſeventh of May, moved a reſolution that the preſent circumſtances of France ought not to preclude the government of this country from entertaining propoſals for a general pacification, and that it would be for the intereſt of Great Britain to make peace with France, provided it could be effected on fair terms, and in an honourable manner. The propriety of acceding to this motion, he enforced in a long and able ſpeech. Peace, he declared, was the prevailing wiſh of the people, and though he would not aſſert that the voice of the people was the voice of God, ſtill it ought to be liſtened to with reſpect by thoſe who ruled the ſtate. It was likewiſe a duty in the rulers not only to take care that a war was originally juſt and neceſſary, but from time to time to look out for an opportunity of bringing it to a concluſion. Laying aſide, as having already been abundantly diſcuſſed, the effect of the conteſt upon our finances, commerce, and population; he proceeded to conſider whether any effectual aſſiſtance was to be expected from our allies. In his opinion there was not. On a late reſcript of the emperor, addreſſed to the diet, and declaring a readineſs to negotiate, in order to accompliſh a permanent and ſecure peace with the French republic, Mr. Wilberforce laid great ſtreſs, as proving that we could not much longer rely upon the co-operation of the Auſtrian armies. Spain alſo was ſaid to be treating, and Sardinia was incapable of making any uſeful exertions, Pruſſia had withdrawn, and the empire appeared diſpoſed to follow the example. France, on the other hand, had quieted inſurrection, and by this means, and by the defection of our confederates, had acquired a diſpoſable force of between two and three hundred thouſand men. The ruin of her paper credit had no effect upon her reſources, and with regard to ſubſiſtence ſhe had nothing to fear, as proviſions were obtained by the French at a cheaper rate than they were by the people of this country. The late attack which had been made upon the convention, by a Pariſian mob, he did not think afforded any argument againſt his motion. The French government might as well argue againſt the ſtability of ours, becauſe ſome riſings had taken place in this kingdom. Taking a review of our ſituation in all quarters, Mr. Wilberforce argued that we had much to loſe and nothing to gain by perſevering in the conteſt. That we had it in our power to put an end to it he was firmly perſuaded. There was a growing ſpirit of moderation in France, and, if we held out pacific language, he had no doubt that the French government would try, through ſome of the neutral powers, the effect of negotiation. It had been ſaid that we could not make peace with France without acknowledging the republic; and acknowledging it as founded on the principles of liberty and equality, and the rights of man. This argument, however, was done away by the late treaties which had been ſigned by ſeveral of the continental ſovereigns. The argument that the war muſt be continued for the ſafety of Europe had likewiſe ſhared the ſame fate. Europe ſeemed determined upon peace, as the beſt means of ſafety, and it did not belong to Great Britain to fight unaided, or nearly ſo, the battles of Europe. Our true line of policy he thought to be to cultivate our domeſtic reſources, to conſult the happineſs, comfort, and good morals of the lower orders, to excite their confidence in the adminiſtration, and to keep as clear as poſſible of all continental connections. The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Duncombe.

A reply, deeply tinctured with ridicule and ſarcaſm, was made by Mr. Windham, who moved the order of the day. No change, he contended, had taken place in France, which rendered peace at the preſent moment preferable to war. The boaſted ſyſtem of moderation acquired all its praiſe only from being contraſted with the former infamous proceedings of the government. Nor was this moderation the reſult of virtue, but of neceſſity. It was the conſequence of crippled courage and exhauſted vigour. That the rulers of France, however, were as pacifically inclined as they had been ſaid to be, he denied in the ſtrongeſt terms. On the contrary, their language, when ſpeaking of this country, breathed the moſt inveterate hatred. But were we to conclude a peace, what hope could we entertain that it would laſt? The French government was too feeble, too precarious, and inſecure, to give ſtability to a peace. The late outrage which that government had ſuffered, and which it could neither prevent nor avenge, clearly ſhewed what little probability there was of its permanence. In fact, the whole of France was becoming one entire Vendée. The honourable mover had contended that the French were not diſtreſſed, but Mr. Windham declared that there was ſuch a body of evidence with reſpect to the exiſtence of that diſtreſs, as could not poſſibly be reſiſted. He even thought the ſtate of diſtreſs and the ſtate of opinions in France fully counter-balanced our loſs of allies. Of continental connections, however, he made a warm and an able defence. It would, he argued, be neither becoming nor wiſe in this country, to loſe all regard for military character, renounce all views of general policy, and thus forfeit our reputation of national honour, and of a generous concern for the welfare of Europe, merely that we might attend to the claims of petty gain and mercantile advantage. The motion now before the houſe he thought could only tend to weaken the Britiſh government, and to ſtrengthen the hands of the enemy, and, therefore, it ought to be received with decided diſapprobation. The order of the day was ſeconded by Sir Benjamin Hammet.

The motion of Mr. Wilberforce was oppoſed by Mr. Pitt, and defended by Mr. Fox, with their uſual acuteneſs and eloquence. To advance any new argument upon the ſubject was, in reality, impracticable; but thoſe arguments which, in the courſe of the ſeſſion, had already been ſo often uſed were again arrayed on both ſides, and adorned with all the charms of language. The order of the day was ultimately carried by a majority of 115. Swelled by the acceſſion of Mr. Wilberforce's friends, the minority on this occaſion muſtered a ſtrength of 86 members.

A motion of the ſame purport was made in the houſe of lords, on the 5th of June, by the earl of Lauderdale. It was oppoſed by lord Grenville; and produced only a brief debate. On a diviſion it was negatived by 53 voices againſt 8.

CHAP. XII.

Converſation in the committee of ſupply. Declaration of Mr. Pitt as to the preſent impoſſibility of treating with France. Motion to grant 100,000 ſeamen for the ſervice of the year. Debate in conſequence. Oppoſition ſtate the French ſhips to be better ſailors than the Engliſh ſhips. The fact denied by Captain Berkley, but admitted by Admiral Gardner.

Mr. Fox complains that an undue attention is paid to the army to the prejudice of the navy. Mr. Dundas vindicates the navy department. Mr. Sheridan wiſhes for a larger number of ſailors. Mr. Pitt declares the French reſources to be rapidly declining. Speech of general Tarleton againſt miniſters. Attacks upon the conduct of the late firſt lord of the Admiralty, and defence of him by his friends. Statement of exertions made for the protection of trade. Mr. Windham brings forward the army eſtimates. Speech of colonel Tarleton. He cenſures the ſyſtem of recruiting. Reviews and reprobates the conduct of the war, both in the Weſt Indies and in Flanders. Deprecates the idea of a loan to the Emperor. Speech of Mr. Huſſey. He urges an increaſed naval exertion. Reply of Mr. Pitt. He aſſerts the country to be in a favourable ſituation. Mr. Fox replies to him. He accuſes the miniſter of arrogance and want of feeling. Mr. Pitt replies. Charges Mr. Fox with miſrepreſentation. Defends the conduct of miniſters. Debate on bringing up the report. Plan of the miniſter for manning the navy. Mr. Harriſon and Mr. Jolliffe ſuggeſt meaſures in aid of it. Mr. Pitt's plan is ſanctioned by the legiſlature. Extraordinary expences of the army voted. Meſſage from his majeſty reſpecting a loan to the emperor. Debate on the ſubſidy paid in the preceding year to the king of Pruſſia. Reſolution moved by Mr. Sheridan. It is negatived. Mr. Pitt moves an addreſs in anſwer to his majeſty's meſſage, on the ſubject of the imperial loan. He urges ſtrongly the policy of granting the loan, and defends the good faith of the houſe of Auſtria. Mr. Fox moves an amendment to the addreſs. Declares himſelf decidedly adverſe to the loan. The amendment negatived, and the addreſs carried. Debate in the houſe of lords on the ſame ſubject. It has the ſame reſult.

THE hoſtility of the oppoſition was directed with ſcarcely leſs vigour againſt the meaſures adopted by miniſters to carry on the war, than it was againſt the principle and the continuance of the war itſelf. Every plan was ſcrutinized with a ſuſpicious eye, and every defect, or ſeeming defect, was pointed out with all the force of argument, and cenſured with all the powers of wit and eloquence. This conduct, however, was confined to that party of which Mr. Fox was the head. Thoſe members who, with reſpect to the further proſecution of the conteſt, had lately withdrawn their ſupport from Mr. Pitt, ſtill gave the ſanction of their votes to his military and financial projects; and declared their conviction, that, as long as the conteſt was continued, the government ought to be enabled to continue it with undiminiſhed ſpirit.

The houſe having, on the ſecond of January, reſolved itſelf into a committee of ſupply, a long and deſultory converſation enſued, in which ſeveral members bore a part. Aware that large demands would be made upon the public purſe, Mr. Fox expreſſed his wiſh that the houſe might be informed, as early as poſſible, of the day when the ſubject of the loan would be diſcuſſed, and more particularly the loan to the emperor. Early notice, he ſaid, was indiſpenſably neceſſary, in order to ſecure a full attendance upon a diſcuſſion of ſo much importance. Mr. Steele having

having obſerved, that the miniſter had acted, with reſpect to the loan, as it was uſual to act, not only as to loans, but alſo as to ſubſidiary treaties, Mr. Fox declared that the two caſes were ſtrikingly different in their nature; that of a treaty being an exerciſe of royal prerogative; that of a loan being a bargain between individuals and the miniſter on behalf of the country, and in which, therefore, the houſe, as holding the purſe of the nation, had a claim to be conſulted as ſoon as the miniſter felt inclined to agree to the terms which had been propoſed. Loans he conſidered as ſources of corruption, and conſequently as objects which called for the exerciſe of a jealous vigilance. Of the Auſtrian loan he only hinted his diſapprobation; but Mr. Sheridan went ſo far as to ſay, with regard to it, that he conceived it impoſſible for any man to come down to the houſe and propoſe ſuch a meaſure, without wearing a maſk to conceal his ſhame. In reply to a queſtion aſked by Mr. Fox, the chancellor of the exchequer ſtated, that, with the preſent government of France, under the exiſting circumſtances, there could be no certainty or ſecurity, and of courſe, no ſafety, in treating. A change in part might take place, ſo as to alter the caſe; but there muſt be a great change in one country, or the other, or both, before he ſhould think it proper to negotiate or treat. This declaration was ſtyled by Mr. Sheridan a declaration of inſanity. In plain words it meant, he ſaid, that miniſters would give peace to England whenever we ſhould conquer France, or whenever France ſhould conquer us.

On a ſubſequent day Mr. Jekyll, after alluding to the loan which miniſters intended to advance to the emperor, requeſted to know the amount of the ſubſidy which had been paid to his Pruſſian majeſty. Twelve hundred thouſand pounds was the ſum ſtated by Mr. Pitt in reply.

In the ſitting of the committee, on the ſeventh, admiral Gardner moved that the number of 100,000 ſeamen, including 15,000 marines, ſhould be voted for the ſervice of the year. This gave riſe to a diſcuſſion of a very important nature. It was aſſerted by Mr. Robinſon, that there was, in the conſtruction of our ſhips, a capital defect, which called loudly for a remedy; this defect was their inferiority to the French ſhips in the eſſential point of ſpeed. By captain Berkeley, on the other hand, it was contended, that though the French veſſels were built on a preferable conſtruction, they did not in general ſail faſter than the Engliſh. Their models were better than ours, but our workmanſhip was ſuperior. He thought that a time of peace would be more proper for inquiring into this ſubject; and he ſuggeſted that the offer of premiums and medals would, perhaps, induce men of ſcience to turn their thoughts towards the means of improving our models. Admiral Gardner, however, confeſſed that the advantage in ſailing was on the ſide of the French veſſels, and the reaſon he conceived to be, that whenever a ſhip of a certain rate was to be built for the French navy, a reward was offered for the beſt model; and from the different models, which were conſequently brought forward, the moſt perfect was ſelected by the academy of ſciences. Our own ſhips had, he ſaid, been much improved in their conſtruction by our imitating thoſe which we had captured from the enemy.

It was urged by Mr. Fox, that, ſince the commencement of the war, our navy had not been increaſed as much as it ought to have been, and that it did not poſſeſs at ſea that aſcendancy which we had a right to expect. The facts that our veſſels were inferior to the French in point of ſailing, and that what little improvement we had gained in our models we owed to our having copied our prizes, he conſidered as neither honourable to the diligence of the miniſter, nor flattering to the ſcience, induſtry, and glory of the country. The admiralty had the ſuperintending power with reſpect to whatever related to the navy, and, therefore, though he had been told that it did not belong to them to look to the conſtruction of ſhips, he would contend that he had a right to aſk them, why meaſures had not been ſooner taken to improve the conſtruction. That we were at war, was, he ſaid, a circumſtance which obviouſly made it more neceſſary to adopt, without loſs of time, ſome meaſures for this purpoſe. It had been objected, that no alteration could be made in the ſhips already built, or now on the ſtocks. This was no argument. Miniſters would be guilty of the moſt criminal neglect, if they did not ſet on foot the building of new ſhips, on an ameliorated conſtruction, not only in every dock in the kingdom, but wherever it was practicable. The navy of England was of more importance now than at any former period. The high bounties given for recruiting the army, he cenſured, as obſtructing the naval ſervice; and he declared that the whole of the laſt campaign ought to have taught the miniſters the inefficacy of military operations. No diminution of our military force would, he hoped, be conſidered as a ſacrifice, in order to enlarge the ſcale of our naval exertions.

The naval department was vindicated with great ſpirit by Mr. Dundas. The exertions which it had made had never, he affirmed, been exceeded at any time in this country. At the beginning of the war we had only ſixteen thouſand men, whereas we had at this moment no leſs than ninety-five thouſand. It was to be conſidered alſo that this immenſe number had been obtained with ſcarcely any injury to the merchant ſervice, and in ſpite of the diſadvantage of the powerful ſtimulus of prize-money being entirely wanting in the preſent conteſt. Our naval force he ſtated to be double that of the moſt exaggerated account of the naval force of the enemy. That our ſhips were inferior to theirs in point of conſtruction, he admitted; but he maintained that ours were far ſuperior in every thing which related to workmanſhip; and he had no doubt that admiral Gardner would undertake, with an Engliſh veſſel, to blow out of the water the beſt conſtructed French veſſel which ſhould venture to engage with him. To two cauſes Mr. Dundas attributed the more ſkilful conſtruction of French ſhips. The firſt was the conviction which the enemy felt of our naval ſuperiority; the ſecond was the hatred which in this country was entertained for projectors, and which occaſioned every man who brought forward a project to be treated as a madman, however great might be his merit. To remove the laſt cauſe, Mr. Dundas declared that he would be always ready to receive ſuggeſtions, and to co-operate with their authors, if he ſaw any proſpect of improvement to our naval architecture.

The ſtatements made by Mr. Dundas were controverted by Mr. Sheridan in a ſpeech more remarkable for wit and ridicule than argument. He laughed at the idea of blowing the French ſhips out of the water; and reminded the honourable member who had talked of it, that, before we could do ſo, it was neceſſary to catch them, and this we were not likely to accompliſh, while they could ſail with more rapidity than we could. With reſpect to the vote now under the conſideration of the committee, he was ſo far, he ſaid, from objecting to it on account of its being too large, that he thought it hardly large enough, and he would concur in any vote which might hereafter be neceſſary for the ſupport of the navy; as on the navy, during this war, we muſt place our whole dependence.

That the enemy had made extraordinary exertions was admitted by Mr. Pitt, but he contended that thoſe exertions would not be of long duration; and that they proved thoſe who made them to be rapidly approaching towards a ſtate of imbecility, and of exhauſted reſources. They were the conſequences of unparalleled preſſure, and unexampled violences. It was impoſſible, he ſaid, that exertions, founded on artificial finance, and barbarous extortion, could operate with that vigour and effect which a juſt cauſe and a permanent ſyſtem were calculated to enforce. Our ſyſtem of warfare gave us a right to expect ſucceſs; theirs contained in itſelf the ſeeds of diſſolution.

A very different picture was drawn by general Tarleton, who repreſented the exertions of the French as unbounded, and their policy as full of wiſdom; while, on the other hand, he cenſured, in language of unqualified bitterneſs, the ſupineneſs of the lords of the admiralty, and the ignorance of the Engliſh miniſters. The French, he ſaid, not ſatisfied with vanquiſhing their active opponents, endeavoured to conciliate their fallen foes; and he repreſented their conduct towards the Engliſh priſoners to be ſo humane, as to afford us reaſon to fear that many of them might be induced to enter into their ſervice.

A conſiderable portion of this debate was occupied in animadverſions upon the conduct of the late firſt lord of the admiralty. That conduct was uniformly arraigned, in the ſevereſt terms, by the oppoſition members, as having diſplayed the moſt flagrant incapacity and negligence. His friends, on the contrary, inſiſted that he had filled his office with credit to himſelf and advantage to the country. It was alſo ſaid by ſome of them, that his character was truly amiable. To this Mr. Sheridan replied, that it was not an amiable firſt lord of the admiralty of which we ſtood in need, but one who was active, attentive, and vigilant; and, he added, that if ſuch was really the character of lord Chatham, the noble lord had been moſt ſhamefully deſerted by his colleagues, and moſt ungratefully treated by the public.

In anſwer to ſeveral members who complained that commerce had not received ſufficient protection, admiral Gardner ſtated, that in the courſe of the laſt year 103 applications had been made for convoy, all of which had been granted. A hundred and forty ſhips had been thus employed, excluſively of ſixteen others, which were conſtantly on duty to protect the coaſting trade. The loſſes ſuſtained by our commerce were ſaid to ariſe partly from the whole mercantile navy of France being converted into privateers, and partly from captains of merchant ſhips ſailing without convoy, or, when they did ſail with it, being inattentive to the directions which they received.

On the termination of the debate, the number of ſeamen required was unanimouſly voted.

The army eſtimates were laid before the houſe, on the twenty-firſt of January, by Mr. Windham. Including regulars, militia, and fencibles, he ſtated the whole force on foot to amount to a hundred and fifty thouſand men; independently of the Indian regiments, which, if added, would ſwell it to a much greater number. This force he conſidered as fully adequate to enſure the ſafety and honour of the country. The expence of maintaining it he eſtimated at ſix millions ſix hundred and fifty-three thouſand pounds, and he allowed that ſo heavy an expence was certainly a ſubject of regret, He concluded by moving the firſt of his reſolutions.

As ſoon as Mr. Windham had ended, colonel Tarleton roſe, and in a vehement ſpeech arraigned the conduct of the miniſters. The firſt object of his attack was the ſyſtem followed for recruiting the army. By this ſyſtem of multiplying officers and of crimping men, veterans, he ſaid, were either laid under ſevere contribution, or expoſed to have ſchool-boys put over their heads. The new levies were raiſed by ſchool-boys and crimps, and compoſed of infancy and dotage. In ſupport of this aſſertion, he quoted the caſe of lord Granard, who in ſeventeen days had been promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel commandant. He contended alſo, that by the mode of raiſing independent companies, each man, inſtead of the nominal ſum of three pounds, really ſtood the nation in not leſs than nineteen; and that the mode itſelf, was decidedly hoſtile to the regular ſupply of the army and navy. The whole ſyſtem indeed was deluſive, unſubſtantial, unconſtitutional and corrupt. The conduct of the war, from the period when hoſtilities commenced in 1793, was next reviewed, at great length, by the honourable member. In the Weſt Indies, ſir Charles Grey, he ſaid, notwithſtanding eight regiments had been ſtolen from the expedition which he commanded, ſucceeded by his ſkill and rapidity in reducing moſt of the French colonies; but one of thoſe conqueſts had been ſince loſt, and the whole endangered by the delay of miniſters in ſending reinforcements. At St. Domingo a force had been employed wholly inadequate to effect its reduction; a force more reſembling a corps of buccaneers than a regular army. The conſequence of theſe blunders would be loſs of reputation to the ſtate, and loſs of property to the merchants who had been ſo unfortunate as to ſpeculate by ſending goods to theſe new markets. Looking to the military operations in Flanders he ſaw nothing that did not deſerve cenſure. He analyzed the campaigns of 1793 and 1794, and pointed out the palpable errors which the allies had committed. The ſiege of Dunkirk, in particular,

ticular, he animadverted upon with infinite ſeverity. Nor were the diplomatic proceedings of miniſters leſs worthy, he ſaid, of reprobation. The public money had been profuſely expended without the chance of attaining a ſingle ſerviceable object. The payments and credulity of Britain kept pace with the avarice and perfidy of her allies. The loan to the emperor he conſidered as a wanton and profligate waſte of the national treaſures. After indulging in ſome ſatirical remarks upon, and alluſion to the miniſters, general Tarleton proceeded to form a gloomy eſtimate of the future expences and proſpects of the war. Even from ſucceſs he appeared to anticipate conſequences little ſhort of ruin; but he did not believe that the conteſt would be ſucceſsful; and diſaſter, he thought, would be followed by invaſion, and, perhaps, by ſubjugation. He exhorted, therefore, the members to rouſe from their fatal deluſion, and prevent every thing that was dear to them from being overwhelmed in undiſtinguiſhed and inevitable deſtruction.

The ſame ſide of the queſtion was taken by Mr. Huſſey, who moved for the chairman to leave the chair, and report progreſs. The manning of the navy was, in his opinion, an object which ought, at this moment, to ſuperſede all others. Twenty thouſand ſeamen ought, if poſſible, to be added to the hundred thouſand which had been already voted. He diſapproved of the mode adopted to recruit the newly raiſed regiments, and ſtated that he had himſelf found, on inſpection, ſome of theſe regiments compoſed of men between 70 and 80, and boys between 12 and 13. Our reſources were great, but they were not inexhauſtible. We were approaching to our laſt ſtake, and that laſt ſtake ought to be employed in the moſt beneficial manner.

It was replied by Mr. Pitt that making vigorous exertions for the army by no means impeded thoſe which ought to be made for the ſervice of the navy; that, on the contrary, experience had proved that we were always moſt ſucceſsful at ſea when we were powerful on ſhore; and that, therefore, the preſent reſolution, far from tending to defraud the navy of its ſtrength, ought to be looked upon as having a directly contrary effect. He deprecated contemptible imbecility and unmanly fear, which would induce us to abandon the object of our exertions, and would ſhew us to be unworthy of the bleſſings we enjoyed; and he added, that though the war, which it had lately been the faſhion to call diſgraceful, had preſſed heavily, yet our reſources had increaſed beyond the proportion of our expences. As far as related to the internal ſtate, the commerce, or the credit of the country, and to the means of recruiting the army and navy, never was there, he maintained, a war in which the aſpect of affairs, after two years of hoſtility, was ſo proſperous and encouraging.

A ſpeech of ſevere reprehenſion was called forth from Mr. Fox, by the tone and manner of the chancellor of the exchequer. Had the miniſter, he ſaid, been the moſt fortunate, inſtead of the moſt unfortunate, that this country ever produced; had his plans been the wiſeſt that ever were formed, inſtead of the wildeſt, moſt extravagant and dangerous; even then, the ſtyle which he now uſed would hardly have been juſtified. But that a miniſter who had brought us into a ſituation of calamity never before, perhaps, equalled, ſhould have the hardihood, with a triumphant air, to claim further confidence, was a matter of aſtoniſhment; it was adding inſult to injury, and declaring to the people that he was indifferent to all the defeat, diſgrace, and diſaſter, which had befallen them. Yet this was not ſufficient. He muſt alſo affect to caſt ridicule upon thoſe who oppoſed him. If it had become the faſhion to call the war calamitous and diſgraceful, he ſhould be glad to know, Mr. Fox ſaid, who was the cauſe of it. Would the miniſter pretend to deny that the object for which the war was undertaken on our part was loſt? Would he deny the innumerable misfortunes which we had ſuffered? Would he point out a ſingle event, in the courſe of the preſent winter, which could be conſtrued in our favour? To miniſters he attributed the whole of the blame for what had occurred. Agreeing with Mr. Pitt as to the capability of the country to raiſe money, he differed from him with reſpect to its capability of raiſing men; and he contended, that the ſervice of the navy was crippled by the undue preference which was manifeſted towards recruiting the army. The only concluſion that could be drawn from the vote now under conſideration, was that thouſands of Britiſh troops were to be ſent to be ſlaughtered in Germany, or impriſoned in France. If we muſt ſacrifice either men or money, he ſhould prefer the ſacrifice of the latter. After taking a rapid review of the events of the war, he declared that he could ſee in the conduct of the miniſters nothing but arrogance and incapacity. The miniſters had ſinned both by commiſſion and omiſſion. They had purſued meaſures highly injurious to the country, and had omitted others by which it would have been highly benefited. That our finances and reſources were in a good ſtate, he freely admitted, but he reminded the houſe that our debt was alſo enormous; that if the war continued we ſhould, perhaps, find it difficult to diſcharge the intereſt; that the taxes weighed ſeverely upon the people; and that our manufacturers had ſuffered conſiderably, and, now that Holland was conquered by the French, would probably ſuffer in a ſtill more alarming degree.

Manifeſtly irritated by the ſtrong language of Mr. Fox, the chancellor of the exchequer roſe, and declared that the right honourable gentleman had miſrepreſented him in the moſt groſs and palpable manner, and that when his miſrepreſentations were detected, the whole of his charges would fall to the ground. The confidence, Mr. Pitt ſaid, for which he had called, was not a blind confidence in miniſters, but a confidence in the firmneſs, the zeal, and ardour of the people; in the ſkill, courage and perſeverance of our armies and fleets; in the induſtry, commerce, credit, and increaſing reſources of the country. If to place reliance on theſe was folly, if to proclaim that reliance was arrogance, he was guilty of both. The truth of the charge that he had ſpoken with levity of the events of the war he denied; and he retorted upon Mr. Fox by a charge of deſcanting on our misfortunes with an air of triumph. Our want of ſucceſs, in various particulars, he had acknowledged in the moſt explicit terms; but he did not think, as ſome did, that, becauſe we had met with diſaſters we were to give up the conteſt in deſpair. The war did not, he contended, merit the coarſe epithet of diſgraceful, which had been ſo liberally applied to it. In no one inſtance had we incurred diſgrace. The army had never ſtood higher in point of military glory; the navy had acquired new laurels; and the war out of Europe had been carried on with decided advantage. Allowing it for a moment to be true, that our failures were ſolely to be attributed to the miniſters, did the right honourable member mean that the houſe ſhould throw us upon the mercy of the enemy, by refuſing the ſupplies, and thus leaving us without an army? No. This was not his object. His object was to diſplace the miniſters. But even could he accompliſh that object, what would it avail him? He would never ſucceed to office till he could convince that houſe, and the people of England, that the more dangerous the enemy became, the leſs we ſhould reſiſt them; that the more they augmented their reſources, the more we ſhould diminiſh ours; and that we ſhould chuſe as the moment to ſue for peace, preciſely the moment when they were fluſhed with all the inſolence of conqueſt. Mr. Pitt then entered into a refutation of ſome of the attacks which had been made upon the miniſters. With reſpect to the Weſt Indian expedition, it was, he ſaid, true that a part of the force had been withdrawn from it for another important object. The force was, nevertheleſs, ſtill adequate to effect its purpoſe, and the proof of its being ſo, was to be found in its ſucceſs. Every poſſible exertion had been made to ſend out reinforcements, but thoſe reinforcements had in ſome inſtances been retarded by unavoidable cauſes. In Flanders, the unfavourable iſſue of the campaign had been occaſioned by a concurrence of circumſtances which could neither be foreſeen nor prevented, and which it was as unreaſonable to impute to miniſters, as it would be to attribute to them the preſent ſevere froſt. On the ſubject of the conduct of ſome of our allies, Mr. Pitt touched lightly, yet with unequivocal cenſure. Returning to the defence of himſelf and his colleagues, he argued that the diſaſters ſuſtained in Flanders, and the loſs of Holland, attached no guilt upon them, unleſs it could be proved that thoſe diſaſters, and that loſs, were cauſed by their want of attention, their breach of faith, or ſupineneſs. In no one of theſe particulars could an accuſation be ſupported. It had been ſaid that the Engliſh army ought ſooner to have been withdrawn from the Continent. Surely ſuch an aſſertion could not be ſeriouſly made. To have recalled our army would have been an act of cowardice, and a violation of that good faith for which this country was diſtinguiſhed. To the merits of that army Mr. Pitt paid a juſt tribute, and concluded by declaring that had not the froſt ſet in with ſuch ſeverity, the Britiſh forces would have been fully competent to the protection of Holland.

A ſhort and ſharp reply from Mr. Fox, and a few obſervations from other members, cloſed the debate. The motion to report progreſs was negatived without a diviſion; and the various reſolutions propoſed by the ſecretary at war were then put and carried.

When the report was brought up, on the following day, another controverſy took place between the oppoſition and the miniſters. It was again urged, by the former, that an undue attention was paid to the recruiting of the army, by which means the manning of the navy was impeded. The diſgraceful practice of crimping ought, it was ſaid, to be aboliſhed, and the number of marines to be increaſed. Great negligence was attributed to the miniſters in not forwarding ſupplies and reinforcements to the Weſt Indies, and much cenſure was laviſhed on them for the dreadful ſtate of the troops, who had ſo long been detained on board the tranſports that ſickneſs had ſeized them, and they were now dying to the number of twelve or fourteen in a day.

It was anſwered by the miniſters, that it was a wiſe policy to make the military and naval ſervices go hand in hand, and aſſiſt each other; that we could always aid the ſea ſervice by turning landmen into marines; and that nothing had been, nor would be omitted, on their part, to encourage and increaſe the navy. The delay in the ſailing of the tranſports, which had occaſioned the ſickneſs, was accounted for by the prevalence of contrary winds, and the danger ariſing from the unexpected ſailing of the French fleet; but it was denied that the troops ſuffered as much from the ſickneſs as ſome of the members had ſtated, and it was ſaid that it would be highly abſurd to adopt the ſcheme, which had been recommended, of diſembarking the whole of them, merely becauſe a ſmall part had been affected by diſeaſe.

The attention of the chancellor of the exchequer had for ſome time been turned to the ſubject of manning the navy, which was ſo urgently preſſed upon him by the members of the oppoſition party. While they were ſtimulating him to exertion, he was ſilently engaged in maturing a project at once to ſecure an abundant ſupply of ſeamen, and remove the neceſſity of reſorting to the mode of preſſing; a mode always peculiarly held in deteſtation by the Britiſh people, as inhuman, tyrannical and oppreſſive. At length, on the ſecond of February, he brought forward his plan. The mercantile marine he conſidered, he ſaid, as the great ſource of ſupply. He, therefore, would propoſe that each veſſel, according to its tonnage, ſhould furniſh a certain number of men previouſly to clearing out. From authentic ſtatements he eſtimated that a hundred thouſand ſeamen were employed in the ſervice of the merchants, and that the proportion of men to the tonnage was about one man for every fourteen tons. It was his intention to take about one ſeaman out of ſeven of thoſe who were thus employed; leaving to the ſhipmaſters the alternative of providing, if they pleaſed, two landmen inſtead of one ſeaman. From veſſels under thirty-five tons no contribution would be required; thoſe between thirty-five and ſeventy tons would be called on for one landman; thoſe from ſeventy to a hundred and five tons for one ſeaman, and ſo on to a hundred and forty tons; above that they were to find one landman progreſſively for every fifty tons. By this means between eighteen and twenty thouſand men might be expected to be procured. From the different pariſhes of Great Britain he meant alſo to draw another ſupply; which he computed at ten thouſand men. The manner of diſtributing the quotas, and of arranging the means by which they were to be raiſed, he would leave to the juſtices of the peace, under certain reſtrictions. To the inland navigation, he ſaid, he likewiſe deſigned to have recourſe, but the extent of the aſſiſtance to be derived from this quarter, he could not ſtate till he had obtained a return of the barges in various parts of the kingdom. The laſt meaſure which he propoſed to take, was the paſſing of an act enabling the magiſtrates to apprehend all idle and diſorderly perſons able to ſerve his majeſty, who could give no account of their means of procuring a livelihood.

Some little oppoſition was made to this ſcheme, on the ground of its being partial and oppreſſive. Mr. Harriſon recommended that perſons holding places and penſions ſhould be compelled to contribute towards the raiſing of ſeamen. He propoſed that placemen or penſioners of three hundred pounds a year, ſhould provide one ſeaman or two landmen; thoſe of four hundred a year, two ſeamen or three landmen; of five hundred a year, two ſeamen or four landmen; and that for every hundred pounds above five hundred, another man ſhould be demanded. Mr. Joliffe thought that hair-dreſſers, men milliners, men haberdaſhers, and all ſuch uſeleſs and unmanly beings, who, to the great injury of the female ſex, filled occupations which ought to be held by women, ſhould be called into action, and that it would likewiſe be proper to convert to the ſame purpoſe, a part of the crowd of footmen and attendants maintained by the rich and the privileged orders. After ſeveral debates the whole of the meaſures propoſed by Mr. Pitt received the ſanction of the legiſlature.

The extraordinary expences of the land forces, amounting to a ſum of three millions aud ſixty four thouſand pounds, were, on the twentieth of February, laid before the houſe by the ſecretary at war, who moved a vote for defraying them. Several of the items were animadverted upon by Mr. Fox, Colonel Tarleton, and Mr Huſſey, as in the higheſt degree exorbitant. They were however, ſatisfactorily explained by Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Windham; and the reſolutions propoſed by the latter were finally agreed to.

The ſubject of the loan to the emperor, which had been ſo often alluded to, and deprecated, was regularly brought before the houſe, on the fourth of February, by a meſſage from his majeſty. The meſſage ſtated, that the emperor was diſpoſed to make, in the next campaign, the greateſt exertions for the common cauſe; but that it would be impoſſible for him to carry his good diſpoſitions into effect, without the aſſiſtance of a loan. This loan, conſiſting of four millions, he wiſhed to raiſe on the credit of the revenues of his hereditary dominions, and by this means he would be enabled to bring two hundred thouſand men into the field. The meſſage further ſtated, that his majeſty being of opinion that it was important to enable the emperor to employ a ſtill greater force, had directed his miniſter at Vienna to expreſs his readineſs to recommend to parliament ſuch an addition to the loan of four millions as might be requiſite for that purpoſe.

This meſſage was ordered to be taken into conſideration on the following day. Under the idea that the ſending of large ſums of ſpecie out of the country, might be injurious to its paper credit, Mr. Huſſey moved for the attendance of the governor and deputy governor of the bank, in order that they might be examined upon the ſubject; but his motion was negatived, as both uſeleſs and dangerous.

As preparatory to the diſcuſſion of the imperial loan, Mr. Sheridan, when the houſe aſſembled on the fifth, took the opportunity of bringing on a debate upon the ſubſidy paid in the preceding year to the king of Pruſſia. The ground-work of the debate was a motion that his Pruſſian majeſty had received from this country the ſum of £. 1,200,000, in conſequence of a treaty, the ſtipulations of which he had never performed. Mr. Sheridan admitted that the perfidy of Frederic William was no argument againſt granting a loan to the emperor; but the bad faith of the imperial court having, he ſaid, at all times been proverbial, it would be wiſe in the houſe to come to ſome reſolution expreſſive of contempt and indignation with reſpect to the conduct of his Pruſſian majeſty, as their doing ſo would, he thought, operate as a warning to the Auſtrian miniſters, who might not, perhaps, be callous to the ſenſe of ſhame. A warm ſupport was given to Mr. Sheridan by Mr. Jekyll, Mr. Francis, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Fox, and general Tarleton. The conduct of the king of Pruſſia was reprobated by theſe gentlemen with unbounded and juſt ſeverity. They contended that it had never been his intention to fulfil the treaty; that he had robbed this country of more than a million of money to enable him to plunder and maſſacre the unfortunate Poles; and that his ſhameleſs violation of his engagements had occaſioned the loſs of the Netherlands and of Holland. Miniſters were not allowed to paſs uncenſured upon this occaſion. It was even intimated that they had from the firſt been aware of the manner in which Frederic William would act. By the treaty of ſubſidy it was ſtipulated, that a Britiſh commiſſioner ſhould watch over the performance of the articles. No ſuch commiſſioner had ever been appointed; and this omiſſion was ſuppoſed to have ariſen from a knowledge that the treaty was meant to be broken. It was alſo pointed out by the oppoſition, that the laſt inſtalment had been paid long after the Pruſſian troops had marched to execute the infamous project of the diſmemberment of Poland.

The motion was diſapproved of by Mr. Pitt, as being totally irrelevant to the ſubject on which it was intended to bear. He contended that the honourable mover had not accurately quoted the terms of the treaty; but he freely allowed, that this country had juſt reaſon to be diſſatisfied with the king of Pruſſia, who had performed his engagements in an inadequate manner. Nevertheleſs he could not, he declared, conſider the pecuniary ſacrifice as too great when he adverted to the effect which, under all the circumſtances, the co-operation of the Pruſſian monarch had produced, in retarding the progreſs of the French. He therefore moved the order of the day.

Though Mr. Pitt thus candidly confeſſed his inability to the defence of Frederic William, ſir William Pulteney did not think himſelf incompetent to the Herculean labour. To the great aſtoniſhment of the houſe, he aſſerted that, from a particular inveſtigation of the buſineſs, he was firmly perſuaded that the king of Pruſſia had rendered much more material ſervice to the common cauſe by the way in which he had acted, than he could have done by the moſt ſcrupulous adherence to his original engagements.

So extraordinary an aſſertion was not ſuffered to paſs unnoticed. Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan, but particularly the former, remarked upon it with conſiderable pleaſantry and force of argument. Mr. Sheridan's motion was finally diſpoſed of by the order of the day.

Immediately after the diviſion, an addreſs to his majeſty, reſpecting the imperial loan, was moved by the chancellor of the exchequer. Declaring that the details of the meaſure could not be entered into till the negotiation ſhould be concluded, he confined himſelf to a diſcuſſion of its policy. To contend effectually with the enemy, it was neceſſary, he ſaid, to have a powerful land force, and in this article we were deficient. We muſt, therefore, look to ſome great power on the continent; and to whom could we look but the emperor. At this particular moment too, it was of the utmoſt importance to make every effort to ſend a formidable army into the field. From the confeſſion of Tallien, and ſeveral other deputies of the convention, it appeared that the internal preſſure on France was ſuch that it could not long be ſupported, unleſs the enormous maſs of their paper currency was reduced. This reduction could be accompliſhed only by a diminution of expence, reſulting from a diminution of their military eſtabliſhment. If, then, we compelled them to keep up to the ſame ſcale of exertion, we ſhould fruſtrate their plan of making peace with ſome ſtates, in order that they might, with a diminiſhed force, carry on the war more ſucceſsfully againſt others; and we ſhould ultimately bring about the ruin of their reſources. On the other hand, by allowing them to carry into execution their ſcheme of ſeparate treaties with the continental princes, we ſhould enable them to bend all their ſtrength againſt this country, which was particularly the object of their inveterate and unabated rancour. The loan to the emperor, therefore, could not be oppoſed on the principle of its cramping our navy. It would, on the contrary, be attended with benefit to the navy, as, by compelling the French to keep up large armies, it would prevent them from paying to their marine that attention which they otherwiſe would pay. The argument that, becauſe the king of Pruſſia had acted perfidiouſly, we ought not to grant the loan, he conſidered as futile. It was an argument, which, if puſhed to its extent, would end in the annihilation of all ſyſtems of alliance. Our buſineſs was to enquire whether we had ſuch reaſonable grounds of aſſurance as wiſe and experienced ſtateſmen had always thought ſufficient to ſecure the performance of the conditions of a treaty. Thoſe grounds he ſtated to be a confidence in the good faith of the contracting party, a ſenſe of common intereſt, and an apparently ſincere intention to fulfil their engagements. All theſe were, he contended, to be found in the caſe of the emperor, who was ſtimulated by pride, honour, and intereſt, to act with fidelity and vigour. The paſt conduct of the houſe of Auſtria he warmly defended from the heavy charge of bad faith; and, with reſpect to the preſent loan, he urged that Auſtria could not violate her promiſes without conſequences deſtructive to herſelf, as in time of war ſhe was always compelled to have recourſe to loans, and would, therefore, even from intereſted motives, be careful to preſerve her credit unimpaired. But, ſuppoſing that the entire expence were to fall upon this country, Mr. Pitt maintained that it would be well beſtowed in bringing the whole Auſtrian force into action against republican France. That it would not, however, fall upon this country he was well aſſured. He then ſtated the terms of the loan, and moved an addreſs in approbation of the principle of the meaſure.

A vigorous oppoſition was made by Mr. Fox. He reminded the houſe that, twelve months ago, when it granted a ſubſidy to the Pruſſian monarch, he had warned it that larger demands would in conſequence be made from other quarters. The event had juſtified his prediction. The very ſame arguments which the miniſters then uſed, they had now repeated; and he firmly believed that the reſult of the pecuniary aſſiſtance in the one caſe would be the ſame as it had been in the other. Proceeding to controvert the reaſoning in favour of the addreſs, Mr. Fox noticed, in the firſt place, the reliance which the miniſter had placed on the authority of Tallien, and he contended that the aſſertions of Tallien were not to be held as any proof of the decline of the French reſources. They were merely aſſertions made to anſwer a particular purpoſe, and were, beſides, contradicted by Cambon. The houſe ought to be cautious how it gave credit to ſuch accounts. The reſources of the French might, perhaps, fall; but the great buſineſs of the houſe was, to take care that thoſe of England did not do ſo. Would the miniſter venture to ſay, that if the loan were eventually paid by this country, it would be poſſible for us to carry on the war many years to come? It had been ſaid, and he thought incorrectly, that the money to be advanced for the loan, could not this year be applied with advantage to the naval ſervice. Could it not then be kept in reſerve for future years? From the doctrine that the French, to continue their military exertions, muſt neglect their navy, Mr. Fox expreſſed his diſſent. Their navy neither had been nor would be neglected. In ſpite of the continental war, they had raiſed it to as reſpectable a ſtate, as their comparatively ſmall commerce, and their want of naval ſtores, would permit. As to the employment of foreign troops, experience had taught, he ſaid, that they were little to be depended upon. The conduct of the Auſtrians towards us, he cenſured with marked ſeverity. There never had been, he urged, any amicable co-operation between the Auſtrian and Britiſh armies, during the laſt campaign. In another quarter too we had a proof of Auſtrian ſincerity. Five thouſand imperial troops had been promiſed to garriſon Toulon; but when they arrived at the place of embarkation, the commanding officer ſaid that he had orders not to embark till he received further directions from Vienna. Frederic William had taken our ſubſidy to aid him in diſmembering Poland; and the example which he had given would, perhaps, be followed by the emperor. The two manifeſtos of the prince of Saxe-Cobourg, iſſued upon the defection of Dumourier, were quoted by Mr. Fox as deciſive evidence of Auſtrian perfidy. Nothing more iniquitous could be found, he ſaid, in all the reprobated conduct of the French. He would neither truſt Auſtria nor Pruſſia while their councils were directed by the ſame perſons. Mr. Pitt was this night acting, Mr. Fox ſaid, as chancellor of the exchequer to the emperor, and, in that capacity he had dwelt greatly upon the various motives which muſt influence his imperial majeſty to ſupport the credit of his finances by good faith. He had denied too that the emperor was a deſpot. To deny his deſpotiſm was certainly prudent, as, in reſpect to public credit, the finance and the power of a deſpot always run in an inverſe ratio. As to the intereſt of the emperor, as an independent prince, in the war, Mr. Fox declared that he never could diſcover it. As head of the empire, he had agreed to negotiate for peace. If the empire ſhould conclude a peace, on what ſide of France could the emperor, as duke of Auſtria, make his attack. Beſides, even ſuppoſing him willing to continue the conteſt, it was very doubtful whether he could raiſe the ſtipulated number of troops. That in point of pecuniary reſources he was abſolutely inſolvent, there exiſted irrefragable proof. He had tried to raiſe, upon his own ſecurity, a loan from the monied men, and had completely failed, though he offered terms far more advantageous than thoſe which were now held forth by the miniſter. This was a ſufficient evidence that his ſecurity was conſidered as of no value. As it was almoſt certain, therefore, that the burthen of the loan would ultimately fall upon us, the miniſter, Mr. Fox ſaid, would have done better to give a ſubſidy than to guarantee a loan. Subſidies being paid by monthly inſtalments, the payments could be ſtopped if the ſervice were not performed; but with reſpect to the loan, we were irrevocably bound for the whole, whatever circumſtances might occur. The Sileſian loan was inſtanced, by Mr. Fox, as a caſe in point. But the worſt of this Auſtrian loan was, he ſaid, that as it was lent to continue the war for only twelve months, the emperor would, perhaps, if the war continued, come to us every year for an equal or larger ſupply. Spain, too, would probably be calling on us for aid. So that, at length, a war, undertaken, it was aſſerted, for the ſake of order, morality, and religion, and for the ſafety of Europe, would be carried on ſolely at our expence. Inſtead of ſubſidizing treacherous allies, he thought it would be more proper to apply the money to an increaſe of our naval ſtrength. We might, then, continue the conteſt ſix or ſeven campaigns, which, according to the preſent ſyſtem, would be utterly impoſſible. Mr. Fox cloſed his ſpeech by moving an amendment to the addreſs.

The amendment was ſupported by ſir Francis Baring, Mr. Robinſon, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Brandling. It was oppoſed by ſir William Pulteney. On a diviſion it was rejected; the ayes being 58, and the noes 173.

In the houſe of lords alſo the addreſs gave riſe to an animated debate. It was moved, on the ninth of February, by lord Grenville, and defended by lords Auckland and Hawkeſbury, and the earl of Manſfield. An amendment was propoſed by the marquis of Lanſdowne, and ſeconded by the earls of Guildford and Lauderdale. The arguments uſed on both ſides were nearly the ſame as thoſe brought forward by the two great leaders in the houſe of commons. The amendment was negatived, and the addreſs carried without a diviſion.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The ſupplies, and ways and means, for the year, brought forward by Mr. Pitt. Amount of the supply. Of the ways and means. Terms of the loan. New taxes on wine, ſpirits, tea, inſurance, timber, ſtamps, and hair powder. Sum to be raiſed by regulating franking. Reſources and credit of the country ſtated by Mr. Pitt to be in a flouriſhing ſituation. Statement of exports and imports. Animadverſions of Mr. Fox. He diſapproves of ſome circumſtances belonging to the loan, and doubts the correctneſs of ſome of the miniſter's concluſions reſpecting the improvement of the revenue; objects to ſome of the taxes; ſtates ſome unfavourable circumſtances in the ſtate of the country; and declares peace to be indiſpenſably neceſſary. Mr. Huſſey ſtyles the loan to the emperor a bankrupt bargain; and propoſes an amelioration of it. Obſervations by various members upon the different articles of taxation. Debates on the wine duty bill; on the modification of franking; and on the hair powder duty. Sir M. W. Ridley and general Smith complain of the hardſhip of the powder tax upon thoſe gentlemen who keep ſeveral ſervants. Taxes paſſed. Reſolution brought up from the committee of ways and means, by Mr. Windham, for allowing a proviſion in time of peace to certain militia officers. It is oppoſed as unconſtitutional; but defended by miniſters and finally paſſed. Bill for re-modelling the London militia. It is attacked with great ſeverity by Mr. Sheridan, as a violation of the chartered rights of the city. The bill is defended by Mr. Luſhington and alderman Newnham. Bitter remarks of Mr. Sheridan upon thoſe two members. Bill for recruiting the artillery corps and the navy from the militia. Oppoſed by lord Radnor. Orders iſſued from the war office, for making certain allowances to the ſoldiers. General Macleod moves for a committee of the houſe to take them into conſideration, on the ground of their being highly unconſtitutional. A very animated debate takes place. Miniſters defend themſelves on the ſcore of the urgency of the occaſion. The previous queſtion is moved by ſir W. Pulteney, and carried. Imperial loan. Mr. Pitt moves that the dividends be guaranteed. The loan is violently oppoſed, and the good faith of the emperor impeached, by the oppoſition members. The bill for guaranteeing the dividends paſſes the lower houſe. It is attacked in the houſe of lords, but paſſes there alſo.

THE ſupplies, together with the ways and means, for the year, were brought forward, on the twenty-third of February, by the chancellor of the exchequer. In a ſhort exordium, he ſtated the arrangement which he meant to follow, and declared his intention of winding up the whole with ſome obſervations on the ſtate of the country, its credit, its revenue, its commerce, and its reſources; ſo that the houſe might be enabled to form a judgment of the ability of the nation to bear thoſe large burthens which, by the continuance of a juſt and neceſſary war, were rendered unavoidable. The following was the ſtatement of the ſupply:

NAVY.						
100,000 ſeamen	£. 5,200,000	0	0			
Ordinaries	589,683	3	9			
Extraordinaries	525,840	0	0			
				£. 6,315,523	3	9
ARMY.						
Guards and garriſons 119,000 men	£. 2,777,534	19	1			
Plantations, Chelſea, &c.	2,563,734	19	3			
Militia and fencibles, clothing for ditto, contingencies for ditto	1,607,233	12	0			
Foreign troops	997,226	0	0			
French corps	427,269	0	0			
Subſidy to the king of Sardinia	200,000	0	0			
Roads and bridges in Scotland	4,500	0	0			
Extraordinaries of the army	2,663,968	12	4			
				£. 11,241,467	2	8
ORDNANCE.						
Ordnance	£. 2,321,010	13	10			
Balance due to the Landgrave of Heſſe	68,850	12	0½			
D° to Oſwald's executors	41,688	14	6¾			
				£. 2,431,550	0	5¼
Miſcellaneous ſervices				257,743	16	5
Annual addition to ſinking fund				200,000	0	0
Deficiency of grants				745,000	0	0
Ditto land and malt				350,000	0	0
Exchequer bills				6,000,000	0	0
Total amount to be provided for				£. 27,541,284	3	3¼

Mr. Pitt next proceeded to detail the ways and means for raiſing theſe ſupplies. The firſt and ſtanding article of the land and malt tax, he eſtimated, as uſual, at £. 2,750,000. The next ſource was the growing produce of the conſolidated fund. From an average eſtimate of four years, he calculated that this would amount to the ſum of £. 2,235,000. Here he took occaſion to expreſs to the committee, his ſatisfaction at the circumſtance, that, in the ſecond year of an extenſive war, the revenue had only been about £. 126,000. leſs than in the preceding year. It was ſtill more pleaſing, he ſaid, to know that it would have even been larger than that of 1794, but for the delay of a fleet expected from Portugal. Continuing the detail of the ways and means, he ſtated that there was a probability of 150 or £. 160,000. impreſt money; and that he ſhould take credit for half a million from the Eaſt India company. The latter ſum it was neceſſary to vote, becauſe, if the company ſhould fortunately be able to diſcharge it, the public could not avail itſelf of it unleſs it were now voted. The iſſue of exchequer bills would, he ſaid, be £. 3,500,000;

and the remainder of the money wanted for the ſervice of the year, would be provided by a loan of eighteen millions. The following was the total amount of the

Ways and Means.

Land tax		£.2,000,000 0 0
Malt		750,000 0 0
Growing produce of the conſolidated fund	£.2,235,000 0 0	
Impreſt money to be repaid	160,000 0 0	
Eaſt India company	500,000 0 0	
		£.2,895,000 0 0
Exchequer bills		3,500,000 0 0
Loan		18,000,000 0 0
		£.27,145,000 0 0

The deficiency in the ways and means, ſuppoſing the Eaſt India company unable to pay the £.500,000. would, he ſaid, be £.983,000. It was his intention to find taxes for the whole deficiency; but it was not to be argued that, becauſe the company could not pay in the preſent year, the ſum would not be forthcoming in a future year. The loan alſo might, perhaps, fall ſomewhat ſhort of anſwering all the exigencies of the year. The conſequences, however, would not be material with reſpect to the ſervice. Of the navy debt, which, through the exertions made to provide a large fleet, had increaſed much beyond the eſtimate, he meant to fund three millions and a half. In addition to the two millions and a half of the vote of credit, it would be neceſſary, likewiſe, to make proviſion for a million and a half, for the land ſervice, in the courſe of 1795. For diſcharging the annual intereſt of all the ſums, he deſigned to provide adequate funds.

The terms upon which the loan had been procured, were next detailed by the chancellor of the exchequer. He had, originally, he ſaid, felt ſome apprehenſions that the raiſing of a loan for the emperor would materially interfere with our procuring money by loan for our own purpoſes. It had, however, acted in a directly oppoſite manner. Perſons had readily ſtood forward to furniſh the ſum required for this country, and alſo for the emperor. For every 100 pounds ſubſcribed, the ſubſcribers were to have a capital of 100 pounds in the three per cents, a third of a hundred in the four per cents, and a long annuity of eight and ſixpence. At the price of ſtocks when the bargain was made, the intereſt paid for each hundred by the public would be only £.4. 15. 2. The bonus was to ariſe from the imperial loan of ſix millions; each ſubſcriber for £.100. in the Britiſh loan being entitled to a third of that ſum in the loan to the emperor. In this way they looked to a profit of about four pounds. There was likewiſe another bonus, namely, the diſcount which amounted to two and a half per cent. But ſhould the imperial loan not be ſanctioned by parliament, the deficiency was to be made up to the ſubſcribers, by an additional annuity of four ſhillings, which would raiſe the rate of intereſt to £. 4. 19. 2. which terms, in the third year of a war, Mr. Pitt conſidered as highly favourable, and indicative of the flouriſhing ſtate of the reſources and credit of the country.

For the whole of the charges, as well of that debt which could not now be funded, as of that which could, the chancellor declared his intention to make an equal and ample proviſion. The intereſt of the loan, exceſs of navy debt, and other items, to be covered by new taxes, amounted to £. 1,637,000. He truſted that the burthens, heavy as they were, would be ſuſtained without any very ſevere preſſure upon the bulk of the people, and he pointed out, as conſolatory, the circumſtance that, of the money raiſed from theſe burthens, no leſs than £. 357,000. a year was to be applied to the gradual redemption of the debt.

The firſt tax which he propoſed was a duty of £. 20. per tun upon wine, the produce of which he eſtimated at five hundred thouſand pounds.

An additional duty of eight pence per gallon on rum, ten pence on brandy, and one penny on Britiſh ſpirits, he reckoned at two hundred and fifty-nine thouſand pounds.

Tea, which he ſeemed to regard as prejudicial to health, he thought would very well bear an increaſe of ſeven and a half per cent. duty, which would add a hundred and eighty thouſand pounds to the revenue. From coffee and cocoa he looked for a ſum of forty thouſand.

Inſurance of veſſels and merchandize, and of lives, conſtituted the next ſource whence he hoped to draw aſſiſtance. The former, he imagined, would, by a tax of two and ſixpence per cent. ſupply a hundred and thirty thouſand pounds; the latter, at ten per cent. on the premium, might realize thirty thouſand, making in the whole a hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds.

From various ſmall articles, under the head of cuſtoms, he expected to obtain ſeventy-ſeven thouſand pounds; and from a tax on fir timber and deals, a hundred and ten thouſand.

Stamps on affidavits, writs, probates, &c. and a ſmall addition on receipts, he rated at ſeventy-eight thouſand pounds.

From a regulation of the privilege of franking, he calculated that a revenue of forty thouſand pounds might be obtained in aid of the public.

The laſt article to which he ſhould reſort, would, he ſaid, probably excite a ſmile. It was a tax upon the wearers of hair powder; a tax which he could not conſider as in the ſmalleſt degree exceptionable. He meant that each wearer ſhould pay a guinea for a licence, and that the names of thoſe who took out licences ſhould be regiſtered and publiſhed, that no perſon who choſe to indulge in the luxury might hope to evade the tax. Two hundred and ten thouſand pounds would, he flattered himſelf, be raiſed by this impoſt.

The total produce of theſe new taxes would be £. 1,644,000. leaving a ſurplus of ſeven thouſand pounds above the ſum required to diſcharge the intereſt of the loan, and the other claims, which he had previouſly enumerated.

Having concluded his financial ſtatement, Mr. Pitt called the attention

tention of the committee to the proſperous ſituation of the country. The articles choſen for taxation ſhowed, he ſaid, the ſufficiency of our reſources; and the facility with which ſo large a loan had been obtained, was a convincing proof of the high ſtate of the national credit. The taxes impoſed in 1791, 1793, and 1794, had been productive beyond the example of any former period of hoſtility. Not only were we able to meet the exigencies of the times, but we had, likewiſe, at this moment, a fund of £. 1,800,000. applied to the purchaſe of ſtock, in diſcharge of the national debt. Much reliance was to be placed on the ſpirit of the people, determined to carry on with vigour the conteſt in which they were engaged, and to ſubmit with alacrity to the needful ſacrifices. The ſecurity for the continuance of Britiſh proſperity ſtood on ſolid and permanent ground. It ſtood on the unexampled and increaſing extent of the commerce of the country. The total amount of the trade, during the laſt year of the war, not only exceeded the average of former years of war, but even what had been the caſe in the brighteſt periods of tranquillity. In the laſt year our export of domeſtic manufacture was only exceeded by the exports of two of the moſt extraordinary years we had ever known; and our foreign trade ſurpaſſed the reſults of the moſt flouriſhing years of peace. The higheſt year ever known in peace was 1792. In that year we exported £. 18,336,000. in home manufactures; in 1794 we exported £. 16,301,000. In 1792 our imports were £. 6,563,000; in 1794 they were £. 8,868,000. ſo that though the export of manufactures in 1794 was two millions leſs than in 1792, our exports and imports combined exceeded thoſe of that year in the value of more than a quarter of a million. The miniſter cloſed his ſpeech by re-aſſerting the juſtice and neceſſity of the war, and declaring his ſincere deſire for the reſtoration of the bleſſings of peace; but of a peace founded on a ſecure and permanent baſis.

From Mr. Fox ſome parts of the ſtatement made by the chancellor of the exchequer underwent a minute and ſevere examination. He complained that the miniſter had abandoned the plan ſo much and juſtly praiſed laſt year, of encouraging competition among thoſe who were deſirous of ſubſcribing to the loan. No reaſon had been given for now adopting a ſyſtem which was liable to many objections. He contended alſo againſt the principle of making a bargain for the loan, ſo much before the proper time. It was ſaid, indeed, that in the preſent inſtance the public had benefited by it, and this he might be diſpoſed to allow was the caſe. The ſubſcribers had certainly, from the alteration in the funds, a profit of only ſix and thirty ſhillings inſtead of the uſual profit of two pound ten ſhillings. This ſeemed an advantage; but it ſhould be conſidered, that ſuch a change might have taken place in the funds, as would have made the tranſaction as diſadvantageous to the public as it now was to the ſubſcribers. The imperial loan was the next ſubject of comment. He thought it an extravagant bargain, and dangerous in two ways. It was dangerous, in the firſt place, becauſe there was no proviſion made for its payment ſhould the emperor not fulfil his engagements, and thus the people were not acquainted with what they would have to encounter. In the ſecond place it was dangerous, becauſe in proportion as the terms were bad, the probability was leſs of the emperor being able or willing to think of the payment. Thoſe who were the moſt ready to comply with exorbitant and uſurious demands, were generally the leaſt punctual in the diſcharge of their debts. So we ſhould find it, he feared, with reſpect to this loan, the mere guarantee of which was to coſt the emperor the enormous ſum of £. 36,000.

Turning to the general views which the miniſter had taken, Mr. Fox declared that, although he agreed with him in ſome of them, he differed from him materially in others. In particular he could not conceive by what mode of calculation Mr. Pitt was led to expect that we ſhould go on improving in revenue, when the only evidence we poſſeſſed ſhewed that we had been lately declining. It appeared ſtrange to look for a ſurplus in ſuch a caſe.

On the new taxes he made a few obſervations, not generally of a hoſtile nature. He thought that the miniſter had not ſufficiently reflected upon the tax on tea before he brought it forward, and had uſed arguments in behalf of it which were inconſiſtent with each other. Tea was to be taxed as an article of luxury; and the right honourable gentleman had ſaid, that, if the poor diſuſed it, they probably would find ſomething better for their health. Mr. Fox feared that it had of late years formed a great part of their conſumption. Perhaps they might abandon it in conſequence of the increaſed price. But, then, where would be the expected revenue? To make a tax effectual, it ſhould be laid on articles, the uſe of which the conſumer would not relinquiſh on account of the tax. To the duty on wine he objected only in as far as it might give the retailer an unfair advantage; and to that on ſpirits as being but of a temporary nature, whereas our neceſſities would require a permanent produce. The hair powder tax had likewiſe the latter fault, and on that ground alone it was exceptionable. It might be put an end to in the courſe of an hour, by the whim or caprice of ten or a dozen individuals of rank, who led the faſhion in dreſs; or the wearing of powder might, from prudential motives, be prohibited by a legiſlative act. There would then be an inſtant deſalcation of two hundred and ten thouſand pounds.

From the taxes he proceeded to notice the other topics which had been touched upon by the miniſter. Great ſatisfaction, he ſaid, had been expreſſed, that we were continuing the payment of our old debt. He, too, felt gratified that ſuch was the fact; but, nevertheleſs, he could not be ſo bigoted to that plan as to ſhut his eyes to the magnitude of the new debt, which we were increaſing every hour. To the funded debt we had already added a capital of forty-ſix millions; and we had alſo incurred a mighty load of unfunded debt, which muſt be a ſubject of inquiry to the houſe at ſome future period. The juſtice and neceſſity of the war which had occaſioned this expence, Mr. Fox denied in the ſtrongeſt manner. That our reſources were great, he was ready to admit; they were, however, not as boundleſs as they had been repreſented. It was not conſolatory to him that our exportations had diminiſhed laſt year in the ſum of two millions. He feared that, from the ſituation of the Weſt Indies and the Continent, we muſt make up our minds to a ſtill further diminution. Our internal condition was certainly not proſperous. The manufacturers of the kingdom declared, with one voice, that a protracted war would be their utter ruin. As to commerce, though it had increaſed, he doubted its flouriſhing continuance. Inſurance had riſen to an enormous rate, and the depredations on our trade, which, in the laſt war, were as 14 to 11, were now more than 14 to 7. Perhaps we might be able to carry on the conteſt for two or three years; but that we ſhould ſoon after be in a fallen ſtate, no man could diſpute. Large as the ſum was, which was to be voted to-night, a much larger would be wanted in the following year. The houſe of commons ſhould take care not to vote what the people had not the means to grant. Peace, ſpeedy peace, he declared in concluſion, ought to be the object of every reflecting man in the country, and was the only meaſure which could ſave us from being finally and rapidly involved in irretrievable deſtruction.

The loan to the emperor was denominated by Mr. Huſſey a bankrupt bargain, under every point of view. He recommended to the miniſter to change his plan, and to fund that loan, as he had done the navy bills, at five per cent. The intereſt could then be no more than three hundred thouſand pounds; whereas, according to the exiſting arrangement, it would be four hundred and fifty thouſand. The yearly ſaving of a hundred and fifty thouſand pounds would, in twenty-five years, diſcharge the loan. This project was alſo recommended by Mr. Fox, who maintained that the loan would ultimately fall upon this country, and that, therefore, it was prudent in us to raiſe it on terms as economical as poſſible. In reply to a queſtion from Mr. Fox, the chancellor of the exchequer ſtated, that the ſubſcribers to the imperial loan would have, on the whole, a profit of about ſix per cent. As the circumſtance of borrowing 24 millions had made the terms much worſe to us than if we had only borrowed 18 millions, he thought it fair to arrange the terms of the reſpective loans in ſuch a manner as to ſecure us a compenſation for the diſadvantage we had ſuſtained.

When the reſolutions were brought up, on the enſuing evening, an objection was made to the tax on foreign timber. Lord Sheffield, and other members, urged, that the duty already ſubſiſting had induced many perſons to make uſe of oak, and that the new impoſt would increaſe this evil, and thus prove injurious to the navy; that a number of houſes now remained unfiniſhed, eſpecially in Mary-le-bone; and that more would be in the ſame ſituation if the tax were not relinquiſhed. The reſolution, however, was agreed to.

A few obſervations were made with reſpect to the tax upon life inſurance, which was ſaid to be peculiarly open to evaſion. The tax was, on a ſubſequent day, abandoned by the miniſter, who ſtated that he was enabled to do ſo, by finding that the duty on ſpirits in Scotland would produce, above the original eſtimate, a ſum more than equal to that which he had expected from inſurance on lives.

When the wine bill was read a ſecond time, on the third of March, alderman Anderſon preſented, from the wine merchants of the city of London, a petition againſt that clauſe of the bill which enacted, that the duty ſhould commence from the twenty-third of February. It was unuſual for any duty to commence, he ſaid, till ſuch time as the bill impoſing it had received the royal aſſent. As, on inquiry, it appeared that there was no precedent of a petition being received againſt the taxes of the current year, the petition was withdrawn. On the third reading of the bill, however, alderman Anderſon moved an amendment, to prevent the duty from commencing till after the bill had paſſed into a law. He was ſupported by Mr. Howard, Mr. Grey, and Mr. W. Smith. The caſe was ſtated to be one of great hardſhip, and eſpecially to the country dealers. Mr. Fox propoſed that the twenty-fourth of February, or ſome ſubſequent day, ſhould be fixed. Mr. Pitt ſtrenuouſly defended the retroſpective effect of the bill, and affirmed that all poſſible care had been taken that no inconvenience ſhould be ſuffered. The queſtion, he ſaid, was merely whether, as the retail dealer had, on hearing of the tax, raiſed the price to the conſumer, the profit ſhould go into his pocket, or into that of the public. The amendment was negatived. In the houſe of peers, lord Lauderdale made, but without ſucceſs, the ſame objections to the bill as had been made in the commons. No diviſion, however, took place.

The intended modification of the privilege of franking gave riſe to more than one debate, and ſeveral diviſions. It was oppoſed by Mr. Cawthorn, Mr. Porter, major Henniker, lord Sheffield, Mr. Windham, and ſir William Pulteney. By thoſe who ſupported the meaſure many flagrant breaches of the privilege were adduced. Among others it was ſtated, that forty members of parliament franked letters to the amount of thirty thouſand pounds per annum. The number of letters to be received by each member was finally limited to fifteen, and the weight of each frank to a ſingle ounce.

No diſcuſſion was occaſioned by any other of the tax bills, except the bill for compelling the wearers of hair-powder to take out a licence. From the operation of this law, the officers of the army and navy, and curates and clergymen not poſſeſſing a hundred a year, were exempted. The ſame favour was extended to all the daughters, but the two eldeſt, in private families. Several members pleaded ſtrongly for allowing the exemption to half-pay officers. The propoſition was, however, overruled.

Half-pay officers might, perhaps, with juſtice complain that they were to be ſubjected to the tax; but it was hardly to be expected that men of independent fortune would plead their own luxury as a reaſon for their being leſs heavily taxed. The caſe did, nevertheleſs, occur. Sir M. W. Ridley ſpoke in behalf of thoſe who had the misfortune, as he called it, of having ſeven or eight ſervants, and ſaid, that he thought they ſhould not be compelled to pay more than half a guinea for each. He was followed by general Smith, who deſcanted upon the pleaſure a man felt in being attended at table by a ſmart powdered footman; and urged the hardſhip of being obliged to pay ſo ſeverely for the gratification of ſo innocent a vanity. Theſe ſtrange remarks very properly drew down on their makers the ſeverity of colonel Macleod, and the pleaſantry of Mr. Courtenay.

Mr. Dent, on the other hand, wiſhed a bill to be brought in for the total prohibition of hair powder, and he grounded this wiſh on the dread of an approaching ſcarcity. Lord Sheffield and Mr. Pitt attempted to remove the fears of the honourable member, by aſſuring him that there was no danger of the circumſtance which he apprehended.

An effort was made in the houſe of lords to introduce a clauſe in favour of half-pay officers. The clauſe was ſupported with much ſpirit by the earl of Moira, viſcount Sidney, the earl of Guildford, lord Mulgrave, and the biſhop of Rocheſter, and was ultimately rejected by a majority of only four. The bill then paſſed.

The jealouſy with which the oppoſition regarded every miniſterial meaſure was ſtrongly manifeſted, when, on the nineteenth of March, Mr. Windham brought up from the committee of ways and means a reſolution, that proviſion ſhould be made, in certain caſes, for ſubalterns of militia, in time of peace. The reſolution, Mr. Windham ſaid, came recommended by the whole body of general officers. Its deſign was to obtain expert ſubalterns for the militia, ſo as to render that ſpecies of force as effective as poſſible. This object could not be accompliſhed, unleſs an adequate encouragement was held forth. The reſolution, however, propoſed to grant during peace an additional pay to thoſe officers only who had ſerved in time of war. It was not, therefore, an encouragement in the way of half-pay, but exactly the reverſe.

A ſtrenuous reſiſtance was made to this plan by general Tarleton, Mr. Robinſon, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Sheridan. They objected that it was, in truth, an altering of the land-marks of the conſtitution. The militia was the force of the country; the ſtanding army the force of the crown; and they ought to be kept as diſtinct as they could be. The militia had already been made too much like the ſtanding army, and this meaſure tended to aſſimilate them ſtill more. It was a meaſure contrary to the very principle on which the militia was formed. In the militia men did not enter for the purpoſe, and with the proſpect, of making a fortune. They had nothing to do even in time of war, but on the event of the country itſelf being in danger. The pay was not given to them as a remuneration, but to indemnify them for the expences of their attendance. Looking at the meaſure in another point of view, its opponents contended that it was unfair, becauſe it did not include the ſtanding army, which was expoſed to ſevere fatigue, and to the influence of unhealthy climates. It was alſo unwiſe, becauſe it tended to excite the jealouſy of that army. The diſtinction which had been made by Mr. Windham, between half-pay, and the propoſed allowance, was ridiculed as a diſtinction without a difference, and the care which he had taken to impreſs upon the houſe the belief of the difference, was alleged as a proof that this meaſure had a tendency to increaſe the ſimilarity of the militia to the regular army. All thoſe who wiſhed to preſerve the true ſpirit of the conſtitution were, therefore, called upon to give their negative to the motion.

The meaſure was defended by

Mr. Pitt, Mr. Wilberforce, general Smith, colonel Sloane, Mr. Yorke, Mr. Baſtard, and Mr. Stanley. They denied that it was deſigned, as had been ſaid, to aſſimilate the militia to the army. It merely went to introduce a certain reſemblance, for a particular object, and that in ſo ſlight a degree as to afford no juſt ground for the exerciſe of that conſtitutional jealouſy, which certainly ought to be ſhown on a proper occaſion. There was in the militia a great deficiency of ſubalterns, which it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſupply. The pay alſo of thoſe officers was very inadequate to their expences. By their rank as officers, and the habit of aſſociating with perſons of ſuperior fortune, they were drawn into expences not always ſuitable to their private income. It was equitable, therefore, that they ſhould receive ſome compenſation for the inconvenience to which they were ſubjected in the public ſervice. The militia, though the duty was comparatively light, muſt be ready at a call, and it was of the utmoſt conſequence to the country that it ſhould be provided with experienced officers in caſe of emergency. The diſtinction made by Mr. Windham, between the peace allowance and half-pay, was maintained to be a juſt one. In the firſt place, the proportion was by no means to be the ſame. In the ſecond place, there was a more material diſtinction; which was, that regular officers quitting their corps retained their half-pay, whereas the allowance would be granted only to thoſe militia officers who continued their ſervice in time of peace. On theſe grounds the friends of the meaſure called for the ſupport of the houſe.

The reſolution was ultimately agreed to, and a bill was brought in to convert it into a law.

In a few days another opportunity occurred for ſounding the alarm against the unconſtitutional principles which the gentlemen of oppoſition thought proper to attribute to the perſons in power. When the bill to amend an act, paſſed laſt ſeſſion, for remodelling the London militia, was read a third time, on the thirtieth of March, it was attacked with great bitterneſs by Mr. Sheridan. The bill was an infringement, he ſaid, of the chartered rights and military privileges of the city. It was alſo oppreſſive, as it extended the ward-rate even to the pooreſt houſeholders, to women, to the lame and the blind. At the ſame time it deprived the poor of the benefit of the trial by jury, in caſe of their being unjuſtly fined. The city of London had poſſeſſed, from time immemorial, the right of commanding and keeping at home its own militia. This point he fully proved by a reference to the different charters received by the city, ſince the reign of the firſt William. Not one inſtance could be produced of the king having commanded by proclamation the ſervice of the London militia, as he uſually commands that of the other militia regiments. To the raiſing of two regiments for the defence of the capital he had no objection, but he wiſhed them not to be conſidered as aboliſhing the ancient militia. He concluded by moving an amendment to that effect.

The bill was ſupported by Mr. Luſhington, and Mr. alderman Newnham. The latter ſpoke with contempt of the diſcipline of the trained bands, and aſſerted the right of the ſovereign to ſend them out of

London, in the event of invaſion or inſurrection. The former gentleman ironically thanked Mr. Sheridan for his zeal and regard for the city, but aſſured him that the citizens were perfectly ſatisfied with the law which was repreſented as ſo injurious to them. For his part he could ſee no loſs of honour in giving up the old Gothic eſtabliſhment of trained bands, which were rendered uſeleſs by their want of diſcipline. The magiſtrates of the city were not ambitious of military truſts. They knew that it was wiſe to confine themſelves to their civil duties, and to confide the military defence of the metropolis to the hands of military men.

Theſe aſſertions called forth a ſevere reply from Mr. Sheridan. He ſarcaſtically congratulated the citizens on the valuable acquiſition which they had made in their new repreſentative, Mr. Luſhington, who had commenced his parliamentary career by an attack upon their chartered rights. The old military privileges of London had been fooliſhly maintained, it appeared, as one of the Gothic prejudices of our anceſtors. Probably it might be ſo. Our anceſtors had certainly many Gothic prejudices. They had Gothic prejudices againſt ſtanding armies and barracks. They had a Gothic notion of governing the city by the civil, unaſſiſted by the military, power. In ſhort, they had ſo many Gothic notions about freedom and independence, that, doubtleſs, their memory was odious to the men of the preſent day. He, however, was aſhamed and indignant to hear this new city doctrine, that the purpoſe of any military force could be the internal peace of the metropolis. The whole meaſure he ſtigmatized, as a juggle between the craft of deſpotiſm and the lazineſs of commercial luxury, aſſiſted by the vanity and corruption of individuals. The reſult was, the ſurrender of a great and proud diſtinction, and a confeſſion of imbecility and unworthineſs in thoſe who made the ſurrender. Having thus entered his proteſt againſt the bill, he declared that, knowing all oppoſition to be fruitleſs, he would not divide the houſe upon the amendment which he had moved.

A bill for augmenting the royal corps of artillery, and providing ſeafaring men for the navy, out of the militia, paſſed through the houſe of commons unoppoſed. On its ſecond reading, however, in the houſe of peers, it was warmly contended againſt by lord Radnor, as unconſtitutional, unjuſt, and highly injurious to the diſcipline and ſervice of the militia. It might, he ſtated, weaken that body in a very ſerious degree. Lord Romney and the marquis of Buckingham coincided in opinion with his lordſhip. It was defended by lords Grenville, Mulgrave, and Spencer, and finally paſſed. A ſpirited proteſt againſt it was, in conſequence, placed on the journals of the houſe by lord Radnor.

At nearly the ſame period the attention of the lower houſe was loudly called, by one of its members, to a circumſtance of conſiderable importance. Towards the latter end of April circular letters were ſent, by the duke of York and the war-office, to generals commanding diſtricts, ordering them to give a penny a day to the troops for bread, and to furniſh them with meat at fourpence halfpenny per pound, whatever might be the price. The burthen impoſed on the nation by theſe allowances was eſtimated at the ſum of £.760,000 per annum. Yet even the ſum itſelf was not ſo much a ſubject of complaint, as the dangerous principle on which it was given. Parliament was ſitting at the time, and had an indiſputable right to be conſulted upon the ſubject. Many firm friends of the miniſter thought that the meaſure, though not taken with the criminal deſign which ſome attributed to it, was irregular and imprudent.

The ſubject was, on the eighteenth of May, regularly brought under the view of the legiſlature by a motion from general Macleod, for the houſe to reſolve itſelf into a committee, to take into conſideration the orders iſſued by the duke of York and the war-office. He was ſeconded by Mr. Courtenay. They urged that the proceeding was one of the moſt daring and unconſtitutional, that had ever taken place in this country. A fixed maxim of the conſtitution was, that the king could not take money, for any purpoſe, from the pockets of his ſubjects, without the conſent of parliament. Here was an attempt to diſpoſe of a million of money on the ſole authority of the ſovereign. The whole weight and authority of the houſe of commons depended on their retaining the power of the purſe, and, therefore, every attempt to deprive them of that was directed to their annihilation. So rigid was the principle that the king could not give money to the ſoldiers, that the houſe ought not to ſuffer him, if he were willing, to give them a ſingle ſhilling even from his own private funds. The principle of the preſent meaſure was ſo bad, that the miniſter who adviſed it deſerved to be impeached; and if it were once admitted, there was no knowing where it would end. The caſe of ſhip-money was aſſerted not to be worſe. The intention of granting the allowance in this manner they declared to be, to impreſs upon the minds of the ſoldiers that the money was a gratuitous donation from the king alone; and that he was conſequently entitled to all their gratitude. The allowance was like the donatives of the Roman emperors, whereby the hearts of the ſoldiers were corrupted, and the liberties of the Roman people overthrown. Other prejudicial conſequences, though of comparatively minor importance, were pointed out, as likely to reſult from it. The people would pay the difference of price in a tax; and as the meat muſt be had for the ſoldiers at any expence, the price of the commodity would thus be raiſed to the community, which would, by this means, pay doubly. From this a worſe effect would happen. The military and the people would be arranged in two moſt dangerous diſtinctions; the one paying cheaply and the other dearly for proviſions. This was a natural introduction to a military deſpotiſm. They did not wiſh, they ſaid, to deny, that it might be neceſſary to grant ſome relief to the troops, as their pay, ſettled long ago, was aſſuredly inadequate to their ſubſiſtence. That relief, however, ought to have been granted in the proper, conſtitutional mode, through the medium of the houſe of commons.

That it would have been more regular to have previouſly notified the meaſure to the houſe was admitted by the miniſters. The reaſon why no meſſage had been communicated they ſtated to be that no eſtimate could be made out of the amount of the aid required. The meaſure was dictated by the urgency of the occaſion, and was to be defended on that ground alone.

Theſe arguments were replied to, at ſome length, and with no ſmall degree of cenſure, by Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, Mr. Francis, general Tarleton, and ſeveral other members. The debate was cloſed by ſir William Pulteney, who expreſſed his approbation of the allowance, though he could not, he ſaid, entirely applaud the manner in which miniſters had managed the affair. In order, therefore, to avoid either diſapproving the act, or approving the mode of doing it, he moved the previous queſtion. On the diviſion his motion was carried by 67 affirmative votes againſt twenty-two negative.

It was not till late in the ſeſſion that the imperial loan received its final diſcuſſion. The ſubject was brought forward, on the twenty-eighth of May, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who moved that proviſion ſhould be made for guaranteeing the payment of the dividend of £. 4,600,000. He prefaced the motion by a ſhort ſpeech, in which he informed the houſe that every precaution had been taken which could render the tranſaction ſafe or advantageous to us. The advances that had been already made went, he ſaid, to the exceedings above four millions. They amounted to about £. 550,000.

The policy of the loan was once more arraigned by Mr. Fox, with the ſame determined enmity which he had before manifeſted. On a former day the houſe, he ſaid, had been told that four millions were to be granted to the emperor, on condition of his providing two hundred thouſand men for the common cauſe; and that if he would provide a larger army, ſix millions ſhould be granted. He was alſo ſtated to have received ſome money in part of the whole. Now, it appeared, that he was to receive £. 4,600,000 over and above the ſums which had already been advanced. But did he undertake, therefore, to increaſe his army to more than two hundred thouſand men? No ſuch thing. It was now obvious that the emperor had never agreed to what the miniſter had ſtated to the houſe. It had been aſſerted too, and without contradiction, that this faithful ally had acted in a manner not very conſiſtent with the character given to him; that when the Britiſh and allied armies were in a moſt perilous ſituation, and a delay of the Auſtrians for only twenty-four hours would have been eſſential, that delay had been refuſed by his imperial majeſty. The preſent treaty, he urged, was worſe than the Pruſſian treaty, as that contained an article, by which we were entitled to call for an account; while by this we had, in point of fact, no ſuch power. Mr. Fox repeated his former aſſertions that the loan would ultimately fall upon this country, and he cited, as a proof of the emperor's breach of engagements, a particular inſtance which had recently occurred. He next remarked, that in the convention which we had concluded with the emperor, there was no ſtipulation to bar him from making a ſeparate peace. On the contrary, it ſeemed to be carefully avoided. It was to be obſerved, too, that this convention was ſigned at the very time when the emperor, by his reſcript to the diet, declared his readineſs to negotiate. If the emperor ſhould make peace, the houſe would have given the £.4,600,000 abſolutely for nothing. It had been contended, indeed, that he might make peace as emperor, yet, as king and archduke, continue the war with vigour. This was perfectly ridiculous. The leading article of a treaty would be, that he ſhould not ſuffer troops deſtined againſt France to paſs through his dominions. He feared, however, that the hopes of thoſe members who ſupported this war were built upon the belief of the inſincerity of the emperor in his reſcript; but he warned them that this was a bad ſecurity upon which to found their hopes, for there was no reliance to be placed upon any man whoſe conduct was not governed by the principles of fair dealing. After a few more obſervations on the preſumed duplicity of the emperor, he ended by declaring that he was reſolved to take the ſenſe of the committee upon the buſineſs, even in its preſent ſtage.

The arguments uſed by Mr. Fox were enforced by Mr. Huſſey, Mr. W. Smith, and Mr. Joddrell. Mr. Robinſon ſarcaſtically obſerved, that we were certainly under great obligations to the emperor for not accepting the whole of our offered ſix millions. The committee having divided, the reſolution was carried by 77 votes againſt 43.

When the report of the committee was brought up, the oppoſition again renewed their attack, and reiterated all the arguments which they had before adduced. In addition, it was urged by Mr. W. Smith that, ſuppoſing the emperor to be ſincere in his intention to continue the war, there was but one point on which he could attack France. That point was her ſouth-eaſt frontier, between Geneva and Nice; a point at a great diſtance from his hereditary dominions, and by no means vulnerable, even were the French not in poſſeſſion of all the paſſes by which it could be approached. The poſſibility that his Sardinian majeſty would deſert the alliance was likewiſe to be conſidered. Such an event, Mr. Smith aſſerted to be highly probable, as the Court of Turin had for centuries been celebrated for a Punica fides. If it ſhould happen, the emperor would be reduced to a ſtate of inaction.

In the courſe of the debate, the good faith of the emperor, which Mr. Fox had, on the preceding day, impeached on the credit of a ſtory told in a private letter, was warmly and ſatisfactorily vindicated by the chancellor of the exchequer. He maintained alſo that the emperor could carry on the war even ſhould the empire give up the conteſt; but he thought it not likely that the empire would be ſo ready to make a peace as the opponents of the loan appeared to imagine. With regard to the defection of the king of Sardinia, he held the fears which had been expreſſed to be entirely groundleſs.

The ſecond reading of the report was carried by a majority of twenty-five; the noes being thirty-five and the ayes ſixty. The bill to guarantee the loan was afterwards brought in. It was oppoſed on the ſecond and third reading; but with no other effect than that of diſplaying the weakneſs of the minority, in reſpect to numbers.

In the upper houſe, the bill encountered no oppoſition till the third reading, when the loan was decidedly reprobated by the dukes of Norfolk and Grafton, as one of the moſt dangerous and deſtructive meaſures that the worſt of miniſters could have propoſed, in the worſt of times. No man, they ſaid, could countenance it, without ſacrificing his duty to the public, and betraying the truſt repoſed in him. It was juſtly and ſeverely condemned by the general and almoſt unanimous voice of all deſcriptions of people. The perfidy of the king of Pruſſia ought, they contended, to have been a leſſon to miniſters, on the bad policy of ſuch alliances, and the little dependence which was to be placed on ſuch courts.

In aid of theſe arguments, or rather aſſertions, it was urged by the earls of Lauderdale, Guildford, and Derby, that the emperor was treacherous; that to his ſupineneſs had been owing the loſs of Toulon, and of Flanders; that he would moſt probably make peace with France; that we had not the ſmalleſt ſecurity for the fulfilment of his pecuniary engagements; and that there was every reaſon to believe that the burthen of the loan would at laſt be laid upon the ſhoulders of this country. Nor did they let ſlip this opportunity of paſſing a general cenſure on the miniſters, whoſe plans they pronounced to have been uniformly raſh, ridiculous, and chimerical.

The policy of the loan, and the conduct of miniſters, were ably defended by lords Grenville, Sydney, and Hawkeſbury, and the earl of Mansfield. The noble lords maintained that the war was a war of neceſſity; and that it was thoroughly approved of by a very large majority of the people. The people were alſo fully convinced of the propriety of continental alliances, in a war with France. The idea that becauſe Pruſſia had been perfidious we were to relinquiſh all alliances, they conſidered as too ludicrous to merit a ſerious refutation. From the loan to the emperor, they ſaid, there was much to be hoped, and little to be dreaded. For the fulfilment of his engagements, we had ample ſecurity in his inclinations, his ſituation, and his intereſt; independently of the ſecurity derived from his hereditary revenues, and the bank of Vienna. But, allowing there to be a riſk, in giving our guarantee, it was, nevertheleſs, wiſe to run that riſk, trifling as it was, in order to obtain a ſufficient force for a vigorous proſecution of the war. Peace at this moment was clearly unattainable, with any regard to the future tranquillity of Europe or ſafety of Great Britain; and, therefore, the only queſtion was, whether it would be better for us to continue the conteſt alone, or in conjunction with allies. The Roman empire had extended itſelf all over the world, becauſe the other powers had not formed a combination to reſiſt, and had conſequently, one by one, fallen victims to its enormous ſtrength and inordinate ambition. That which had happened in the caſe of Rome, would, they predicted, now happen in the caſe of France, if the proper ſteps were not taken by other ſtates to avert the danger.

The adverſaries of the bill, having divided the houſe, were left in a minority; and the bill was paſſed; the numbers for it being ſixty, and thoſe againſt it no more than twelve.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Parliamentary proceedings on Weſt and Eaſt India Affairs. Slave trade. Mr. Wilberforce moves for leave to bring in a bill to aboliſh the ſlave trade. He urges that the houſe is bound by its reſolution of 1792, to aboliſh the trade, and adduces additional evidence to prove the iniquity of the trade. The abolition oppoſed by Mr. Barham, Mr. Eaſt, Mr. Dent, and Mr. Alderman Newnham. They aſſert the impracticability of the meaſure, and ſpeak diſreſpectfully of the reſolution of 1792. Mr. Barham moves to poſtpone the conſideration of the ſubject for ſix months. Mr. Dundas takes a middle courſe. He gives his opinion againſt the trade, but ſtrenuouſly contends againſt an immediate abolition. Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. W. Smith, ſupport Mr. Wilberforce with much warmth, and refute the arguments uſed in favour of continuing the trade. The dilatory conduct of the peers ſeverely cenſured by Mr, Whitbread. Mr. Wilberforce's motion is negatived. Attacks made, during the diſcuſſion of the ſlave trade, on ſir Charles Grey and ſir John Jervis, in conſequence of their having iſſued certain proclamations in the Weſt Indies. Mr. Grey calls for an enquiry. The ſubject is brought forward by Mr. Barham, who moves for papers, which are granted. Motion to receive the affidavit of a Mr. Maleſpine. It is negatived. Mr. Barham brings forward his motion. He aſſerts the illegality of the proclamations iſſued by the two commanders, and denies that the Britiſh troops had met with a determined reſiſtance from the French in the Weſt India Iſlands. He moves for an addreſs to his majeſty to diſavow the proclamations. Spirited reply of Mr. Grey. He proves the erroneouſneſs of Mr. Barham's aſſertions. Mr. Dundas declares againſt the motion, and moves three reſolutions of an oppoſite tendency. The reſolutions are carried. Vote for erecting a monument to the memory of General Dundas. Petition for relief preſented by lord Sheffield in behalf of the merchants trading to St. Vincents and Grenada. Supported by Mr. Pitt. Mr. Fox objects to the meaſure, on the ground of its giving too much influence to miniſters. A committee appointed to conſider of the petition. Bill brought in to relieve the merchants. The oppoſition arraign the conduct of the miniſters with reſpect to the military proceedings in the Weſt Indies. Defence of the miniſters. Second debate on the ſubject. Mr. Fox pledges himſelf to prove the miſconduct of miniſters. Relief granted. Attempt of general Smith to obtain redreſs for Eaſt India officers. It fails. Concluſion of the trial of Mr. Haſtings. Mr. Haſtings is acquitted by a large majority. Eaſt India Budget brought forward by Mr. Dundas. Flouriſhing ſtate of the Company. Meaſures in favour of Eaſt India officers.

IN the courſe of this ſeſſion, the attention of the legiſlature, and particularly of the houſe of commons, was, on ſeveral occaſions, called to ſubjects relative to the welfare and ſafety of our Weſt Indian and oriental poſſeſſions. The natural connection of thoſe ſubjects induces us to aſſign a ſeparate chapter to the narrative of the debates to which, at various periods, they gave riſe.

Firſt, in order of time, and in magnitude of moral and political importance, was the renewal of the diſcuſſion which had for ſo many years exerciſed the talents, and divided the opinions of the Britiſh ſenate. The ſlave trade, though hoſtile parties had united againſt it, though all the powers of reaſoning and eloquence had been arrayed for its deſtruction, and even though it had been branded by a deciſion of the houſe of commons, ſtill maintained its ground, and threw a deep ſhade of cold blooded avarice, inhumanity and oppreſſion, on our national character. But the zeal and perſeverance of thoſe who ſought to aboliſh it, were not of a nature to be turned aſide from their object by any length of time, or ſtubbornneſs of oppoſition. On the twenty-ſixth of February the queſtion, therefore, was once more brought before the houſe, by the diſtinguiſhed advocate of the African cauſe.

Mr. Wilberforce commenced his ſpeech by reminding the houſe of the reſolution, paſſed by it in the year 1792, "that the ſlave trade ſhould "be aboliſhed on the 1ſt of January "1796," and he briefly, yet forcibly recapitulated the numerous and weighty reaſons which led to the paſſing of that reſolution.

He then proceeded to inquire, whether any thing had ſince occurred, or now exiſted, by which a change of opinion was rendered neceſſary. Againſt the principal arguments originally urged by his opponents, that the trade could not be immediately deſtroyed, without ſeverely injuring the Weſt India iſlands, becauſe the number of female ſlaves was conſiderably inferior to that of the males, he had he ſaid contended, in the firſt place, that the aſſerted inequality did not exiſt, and, in the ſecond, that even allowing it to exiſt, it did not bear out the concluſions of thoſe by whom it was alleged. The houſe nevertheleſs had thought otherwiſe, and had poſtponed the abolition from 1792 till the preſent period, that the planters might obtain ſuch a ſupply of ſlaves, and eſpecially females, as would enable them, for the future, to keep up their numbers. The ſupply had, he urged, been fully obtained, and the chief ground on which the neceſſity of importation reſted was now, therefore, entirely taken away, even allowing, which he did not, that it had ever been valid.

The houſe, he ſaid, muſt of neceſſity act up to its reſolution, unleſs it could be ſhown that the ſlave trade was not juſtly charged with the evils which it had been ſtated to produce, or unleſs the argument on the ſcore of policy had grown ſo much ſtronger, from preſent circumſtances, that the acknowledged evil was more than counterbalanced by theſe new political conſiderations. The reverſe, however, was the fact. Freſh evidence had been brought forward of the iniquity of the trade; while, on the other hand, the preventing all farther importation of Africans had evidently become almoſt indiſpenſable to the very exiſtence of our Weſt Indian poſſeſſions.

In ſupport of what he affirmed with reſpect to the additional evidence againſt the trade, the honourable member referred to the teſtimony of gentlemen of unexceptionable underſtanding and veracity, who held the foremoſt ſituations under the Sierra Leone company, and who unanimouſly agreed in corroborating the ſtatements which he and his friends had made of the direful effects produced by the ſlave trade on the African continent. But one ſtriking and deciſive proof yet remained behind. It was a ſettled axiom, that the ſea coaſts were always firſt civilized, and that from thence civilization gradually found its way into the interior. In Africa this order of things had been deſtroyed by the traffic in ſlaves. The coaſt, which for three hundred years had been viſited by Europeans, was in a ſtate of barbariſm, but when two agents of the company travelled into the interior, where no white man had been ſeen before, they found a city containing ſeven thouſand inhabitants, a comparatively cultivated ſtate of ſociety, and a kind and hoſpitable people. It had likewiſe, Mr. Wilberforce ſaid, been acknowledged by the great men among the blacks that wars were carried on for the expreſs purpoſe of procuring ſlaves to exchange for European commodities, and that if a more innocent manner of obtaining thoſe commodities could be pointed out to them, they would gladly avail themſelves of it.

With reſpect to the queſtion of policy, Mr. Wilberforce forcibly argued, that it was equally clear againſt the continuance of this horrible traffic. At a period when the French had made ſuch a dreadful uſe of the negroes, and when the inequality of numbers between the whites and blacks was already ſo great, it was downright infatuation to increaſe that inequality, and to bring freſh combuſtibles where every thing was but too well prepared for an exploſion. To guard againſt the danger, it would be neceſſary to augment continually our military force in the Weſt Indies; in a climate which while it was friendly to the negroes, was well known to be fatal to our ſoldiery. Could this country bear, or would it bear, the inceſſant drain upon its army which would be thus occaſioned?

After conjuring the houſe not to diſparage and degrade its character, and provoke the indignation of the Supreme Being, by authorizing the continuance of a traffic which it had ſolemnly declared to be iniquitous, Mr. Wilberforce concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill for the abolition of the ſlave trade. The motion was ſeconded by Mr. W. Smith.

It was oppoſed with conſiderable aſperity of manner and language, and ſomewhat of unparliamentary perſonality, by Mr. Barham, Mr. Eaſt, Mr. Dent, and Mr. alderman Newnham. Mr. Eaſt, in particular, charged the honourable mover with a want of diſcretion, and with having excited in the ſlaves a diſpoſition to rebel. Few arguments were uſed by theſe opponents of the meaſure. They chiefly confined themſelves to the impracticability of carrying it into execution, without occaſioning the ruin of the colonies. It was ſaid alſo, that the reſolution of 1792 had been paſſed at a late hour of the night, after ſeveral motions for a ſpeedy abolition had been negatived; and that it had only been conſented to in the expectation, that before the year 1796 the houſe would be reſtored to its ſenſes. The veracity of the teſtimony given by the ſervants of the Sierra Leone company was impeached, as coming through a ſuſpicious channel; and Mr. Newnham even contended that the propoſed abolition was inconſiſtent with humanity. Mr. Barham, though he owned that on the ground of morality and juſtice he agreed with the honourable mover, yet diſagreed with him on that of policy and intereſt; maintained that ſlavery might be legal; and affirmed that nothing would excite diſcontent ſo ſtrongly in the minds of the already enſlaved negroes, as depriving them of that day of joy and feſtival, the day of the arrival of freſh ſlaves. In aid of theſe reaſons it was likewiſe ſtated, that it would be decorous to wait for the deciſion of the lords, to whom the reſolution had been ſent, and who had not hitherto made any communication in return. Mr. Barham, therefore, ſeconded by Mr. Eaſt, moved to poſtpone for ſix months the conſideration of the ſubject.

A middle courſe was followed by Mr. Dundas. He agreed in the juſtice and policy of aboliſhing the ſlave trade, but declared himſelf decidedly hoſtile to an immediate abolition. The planters, he contended, ought to have a ſufficient time allowed them to import the number of ſlaves neceſſary to keep up their future population. During the war the trade had been entirely at a ſtand, and, therefore, the houſe would ſee that, even upon its own reſolution of 1792, the trade ought not to be deſtroyed ſo early as 1796. With reſpect to the period at which it would be proper to deſtroy it he gave no definite opinion; contenting himſelf with ſaying, that the abolition ſhould be accompliſhed gradually, and with ſuch an allowance of time as would not make it felt very ſeverely. Some plan for ameliorating the condition of the ſlaves already in the iſlands ought, he thought, to be brought forward, to prevent the Jacobin emiſſaries from inciting the ſlaves to rebellion, by telling them that they were entirely neglected by the Britiſh legiſlature.

The propoſition of Mr. Wilberforce was ſtrenuouſly ſupported by Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Fox, and the Chancellor of the exchequer. They reprobated, in the language of indignant eloquence, the enormities of the ſlave traffic, and the tricks and miſrepreſentations made uſe of by its defenders. Not a ſingle new argument, they ſaid, had been urged to juſtify a continuance of the traffic, except the argument of Mr. Dundas, that the planters had been prevented by the war from importing a ſufficient number of Africans to keep up their ſtock. A reference to the accounts clearly ſhewed this argument to be without the ſlighteſt foundation. The planters were called on by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox to put a ſtop, for their own ſakes, to any further influx of ſlaves. It was, they urged, notorious, that the newly imported Africans were the moſt dangerous. To continue the importation was not to import ſo much wealth and ſtrength, but ſo much weakneſs, diſcontent, and rebellion. It was importing auxiliaries for the French republicans. To what, they aſked, could the enemy turn his views with greater hopes of ſucceſs, than to all thoſe bad paſſions engendered by negro ſlavery. If the trade were aboliſhed, the condition of the exiſting ſlaves would be rendered better, and the ground of diſcontent removed. The laſt ſpeaker in favour of the motion was the Chancellor of the exchequer. He concluded his ſpeech by an explicit declaration, that it was incumbent on the houſe to take the ſpeedieſt meaſures to heal the wounds which humanity had ſuffered in the proſecution of the ſlave trade, and thus diſarm the Jacobins of this moſt dangerous engine of attack, and provide for the country the ſureſt and moſt effectual means of ſafety.

In the courſe of the debate the dilatory conduct of the lords, in only devoting fourteen days out of three years to the ſubject of the ſlave trade, was ſo ſeverely animadverted upon by Mr. Whitbread that he was repeatedly called to order. He ſtigmatized it as being in the higheſt degree diſgraceful to them. Mr. Fox, alſo, in milder terms, expreſſed his diſapprobation of their ſingular tardineſs.

On a diviſion, prejudice and intereſt once more triumphed over reaſon and eloquence. The motion of Mr. Barham to poſtpone the conſideration of the queſtion for ſix months was carried by a majority of ſeventeen.

This diſcuſſion gave riſe to another, on the conduct of the late Britiſh commanders in the Weſt Indies. In the courſe of the debate, ſeveral inſinuations having been thrown out againſt thoſe officers, by ſome of the defenders of the ſlave trade, Mr. Grey warmly animadverted upon the unfairneſs of ſuch a proceeding, called for an enquiry, and pledged himſelf that if it were granted, it ſhould not be eluded as other enquiries had been. Nothing was, however, done for more than two months; at the expiration of which period, Mr. Barham gave notice of a motion for papers relative to the conduct of ſir John Jervis and ſir Charles Grey, towards the French in the Weſt India iſlands, after they had ſubmitted themſelves to the Britiſh troops. On theſe papers he profeſſed his intention to found an enquiry.

The motion for papers was made on the fourth of May, and occaſioned a long and animated converſation, in which the friends of the two commanders reprobated the unfair manner in which the buſineſs was conducted by thoſe with whom it had originated. The papers were finally granted.

On the ſecond of June Mr. Thelluſſon moved that the affidavit of a Mr. Maleſpine, reſpecting the tranſactions in the Weſt Indies, ſhould be laid upon the table. Mr. Grey, though he thought it inadmiſſible, was not adverſe to its being received; and he pledged himſelf, in the ſtrongeſt manner, to prove, by undeniable teſtimony, that it was a groſs and ſcandalous perjury, ſuch as he hoped would not only be detected in that houſe, but might afford matter for future puniſhment in a court of juſtice. In this opinion he was joined by ſeveral members. The motion was, at length, negatived without a diviſion.

As ſoon as ſome buſineſs before the houſe had been diſpoſed of, Mr. Barham roſe to make his promiſed motion. In the exordium of his ſpeech he defended his motives, and the manner in which he had proceeded, and exculpated himſelf from the charge of delay. To the tranſactions in the Weſt Indies of which he complained, he declared his firm conviction that we chiefly owed the loſſes which we were daily ſuſtaining; and he affirmed that few caſes had exiſted which more demanded the interpoſition of parliament, whether for the protection of our intereſts, or the recovery of our honour.

After

After animadverting upon the circumſtance that no copies of the obnoxious proclamations had been ſent home to the government by the commanders who iſſued them, Mr. Barham proceeded to comment upon the proclamations themſelves. He ſtated, that the firſt proclamation promiſing to the inhabitants, in caſe of ſubmiſſion, perſonal ſafety, and full and immediate poſſeſſion of all their lawful property, did not threaten them with the loſs of their property in caſe of reſiſtance. The ſubſequent proclamations were, he contended, a general confiſcation of every thing which the inhabitants poſſeſſed. This he conſidered as a meaſure unjuſt to the inhabitants, and illegal in itſelf. It had been defended by the uſage of war with reſpect to places taken by ſtorm. The iſlands were ſaid to have been taken by ſtorm. Mr. Barham, however, denied that this was the fact, and he appealed to the little time required to reduce the iſlands, and the trifling loſs ſuſtained in the reduction, as a proof that no deſperate reſiſtance had been made. At Martinico the conteſt laſted only 23 days, and not more than 88 men were loſt. Guadaloupe held out eleven days, and St. Lucia but four. But, even admitting the fact of the ſtorming, he aſſerted that the confiſcation was unſanctioned by any law or uſage. The commanders had proceeded throughout, on a confuſion of the laws of war and the right of conqueſt. At the moment when the contribution was levied, the conqueſt of the iſlands was complete, the inhabitants had been admitted to take the oath of allegiance, and were, therefore, entitled to protection as ſubjects. They could no longer be conſidered and treated as enemies. The conduct of the commanders was alſo equally at variance with the inſtructions they received. It was ſaid, however, that the proclamations had never been acted upon; they had been annulled by orders from home. He would not admit that they had not been carried into execution, but, even ſuppoſing they had not, the principle on which they were iſſued ought to be ſolemnly condemned. It was not ſufficient for miniſters to ſend out private letters to reſcind acts which had been publiſhed in the name of the ſovereign. This would not prevent a repetition of the evil. He in conſequence moved an addreſs to his majeſty, praying him to recall the proclamations, as being unwarranted by the law of nations, of dangerous precedent in all future caſes of hoſtility, and having occaſioned great alarm and diſſatisfaction in his majeſty's colonies.

Mr. Manning, in a ſpeech of ſome length, ſeconded the motion, and reprobated the proclamations as illegal and oppreſſive.

Sir Charles Grey and ſir John Jervis were vindicated by Mr. Grey in a long and animated ſpeech. With conſiderable ſeverity he firſt expoſed and cenſured the inſidious and contradictory language and charges of the enemies of thoſe two gallant officers, and then proceeded to controvert the doctrines which the hon. mover had advanced. He maintained, that, according to the law of nations, when terms had been refuſed, and the utmoſt reſiſtance had been made, the perſons and property of the vanquiſhed became ſubject to the ſovereign whoſe troops occupied their territory. Such was the law, and it had not been carried by the proclamations beyond the mitigated practice of modern times. The confiſcation, as it was called, was not, as it had been deſcribed, a ſweeping confiſcation of all the property of the iſland; it included nothing but the ſtores and produce of the planters, which had been manufactured and packed up to be exported, previous to the 23d of March; and this booty had been aſſigned to the ſoldiers, only under grant of his majeſty, and ſubject to his future diſpoſal. The meaſure was beneficial even to the vanquiſhed. It tended to ſecure the diſcipline and good behaviour of the military force. If the ſoldiers did not receive what they felt to be a due reward for their labours, they might perhaps take it. What they now thankfully accepted as a boon they might extort by violence, and inſtead of a moderate contribution, a ſyſtem of univerſal plunder would follow. Mr. Grey next touched upon the inſtructions, and ſhowed that they had not been violated, but, on the contrary, that they fully bore out the proceedings of the commanders. As to the obnoxious proclamation, whatever were its faults, it had never been acted upon. No ſooner did the commanders know that it occaſioned the ſlighteſt degree of diſcontent as oppreſſive, than it was immediately annulled.

It had been ſtated, by the hon. mover, that the firſt proclamation did not threaten the loſs of property in caſe of reſiſtance, but only the removal from the iſland of the perſons reſiſting. To falſify this ſtatement, Mr. Grey read a paſſage of that proclamation, which clearly proved that the threat againſt property had been held out in the plaineſt manner. But it had been ſaid that the white inhabitants of Martinico had been generally favourable to the Britiſh. Mr. Maleſpine had ſworn, that the white inhabitants of the town of St. Pierre were ſo abſolutely at the diſpoſal of the negroes and people of colour, that they could not manifeſt their deſire of ſurrendering. The affidavit of Mr. Maleſpine the hon. member mentioned with the keeneſt ſeverity. It was, he declared, an inſtance of the groſſeſt perjury. So far was it from being true that the whites of St. Pierre had been reſtrained by the negroes and mulattoes, that the town was chiefly occupied by whites, that the whites worked the guns, and almoſt the whole of the ſlain were whites. Such was their ſuperiority of numbers, that if they had pleaſed, they would have found no difficulty in overpowering the ſlaves and men of colour. The people of St. Pierre were notoriouſly inveterate republicans. The ſame ſpirit of reſiſtance as in St. Pierre was manifeſted by the whites in every part of the iſland. There was not a battery, redoubt, or poſt, which they did not defend as long as they poſſibly could. Not a white inhabitant joined the Britiſh army during its march; nor was one of them ſeen by any of the detachments, except in the character of an enemy, with arms in his hands. The negroes would, in numerous inſtances, have aided the Britiſh, had they not been prevented by their maſters. All theſe facts Mr. Grey incontrovertibly proved, by the concurrent teſtimony of colonel Cradock, lieutenant-colonel Chalmers, and ſeveral other officers employed in the conqueſt of the iſland. He likewiſe refuted the aſſertion, that the iſland had been reduced in twenty-three days, with the loſs of little more than eighty men. The conqueſt of it took up, in reality, from the ſixth of February to the twenty-fifth of March, and was accompliſhed at the expence of between two and three hundred men, in killed and wounded. Mr. Grey concluded by giving his decided negative to the motion, as uſeleſs, and as intended to wound the feelings and injure the fame of commanders who had rendered to their country the moſt eminent ſervices.

Mr. Dundas declared his hoſtility to the motion, as in all its bearings an improper one to be entertained by the houſe, and he paſſed an oblique cenſure upon the unfairneſs of the manner in which the buſineſs had been conducted by thoſe with whom it originated. No proof, he ſaid, had been given, nor indeed had even an attempt been made to prove, that any thing ariſing from the proclamations gave a juſt cauſe for the fears and alarms which gentlemen had ſo induſtriouſly circulated. It was, in fact, obvious that the late misfortunes ſuffered by the Weſt India iſlands were not in the ſlighteſt degree attributable to the proclamations, which had never been carried into effect. As to the right of the Britiſh commanders to claim, in the preſent inſtance, a contribution, he contended that the degree of reſiſtance which the Britiſh forces had met with, fully juſtified and warranted every proceeding that had taken place. Having paid a very handſome tribute to the merits of ſir Charles Grey and ſir John Jervis, the right honourable ſecretary concluded by ſaying, that he felt it his duty not merely to give his negative to the propoſition moved, nor to diſpoſe of it by the order of the day, but alſo to repeat the expreſſions of gratitude which the country owed to the gallant and meritorious men who had done to it ſuch brilliant ſervice, and he would therefore, after getting rid of the original motion, move the following reſolutions:

"That the inhabitants of the "French iſlands not having availed "themſelves of the proclamation "of the 1ſt of January 1794, the "ſaid proclamation cannot be con"ſidered as having formed a general "rule for the conduct of the com"manders of his majeſty's forces, "by ſea and land, reſpecting the "properties of the inhabitants of "thoſe iſlands."

"That the proclamations of the "10th and 21ſt of May 1794, not "having been carried into effect, it "is unneceſſary for this houſe to "give any opinion thereon."

"That this houſe retains the "cordial ſenſe which they have al"ready expreſſed, in their vote of "the 20th May 1794, of the diſ"tinguiſhed merit and ſervices of "ſir Charles Grey and ſir John "Jervis, in the conqueſt of the "French iſlands."

A debate now took place on the previous queſtion, moved by Mr. Dundas. It was ſupported, and the motion of Mr. Barham conſidered as highly objectionable by ſir William Scott, colonel Wood, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Fox. After a faint reſiſtance from ſir William Young, Mr. Eaſt, Mr. Luſhington, and general Smith, the previous queſtion was carried by ſixty-ſeven affirmative voices againſt fourteen negative. The three reſolutions propoſed by Mr. Dundas, were then put to the vote. The firſt was adopted by ſixty-four votes againſt thirteen, the ſecond by fifty-ſeven againſt fourteen, and the third was met by only one diſſentient voice, that of the younger Mr. Roſe.

Three days after this deciſion, by which juſtice was done to the living, equal juſtice was done to the memory of the dead, by an unanimous vote of the houſe, requeſting his majeſty to order a monument to be erected in the cathedral of St. Paul's, as a teſtimony of the grateful ſenſe of the ſervices rendered to his country by general Thomas Dundas in the reduction of the French Weſt India iſlands.

The conſequences of the devaſtation occaſioned by the inſurrection in the iſlands of St. Vincent and Grenada, were ſo ſeverely felt by the merchants connected with thoſe colonies, that they found themſelves under the neceſſity of applying to the legiſlature for pecuniary aſſiſtance, to enable them to preſerve their credit from being eſſentially if not irretrievably injured. A petition on their behalf was preſented to the houſe of commons by lord Sheffield, who ſtated, that unleſs relief were afforded, there would be great danger of widely extended bankruptcy, and that the advantage of a produce equal to a million yearly, and alſo the revenue ariſing from that produce, would be loſt to the country. Many great houſes in London, Liverpool, and Glaſgow, would, he ſaid, be involved in ruin. He therefore moved, that the petition ſhould be referred to a ſelect committee. The motion was warmly ſupported by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas.

June 11.

Mr. Fox was decidedly hoſtile to ſuch meaſures, as they gave miniſters an irreſiſtible influence over the whole of the commercial intereſt. Men who were aware that they might be compelled to aſk the boon of a loan, to relieve them from embarraſſments, would never venture to ſpeak their minds upon public affairs, leſt they ſhould diſoblige the miniſters; they would ſanction with their voices what they diſapproved in their hearts. Great as the evil might be from abuſes in the election of members of parliament, he thought meaſures like the preſent, were ſtill more dangerous to the conſtitution of the country. He attributed, he ſaid, no blame to the petitioners, except in the circumſtance of their not having oppoſed that which brought on their miſfortunes. Miniſters, he hinted, had been groſsly negligent in the Weſt Indies, and he truſted that an inquiry would ſome day or other be inſtituted by the houſe of commons.

After a deſultory converſation, in the courſe of which Mr. Dundas denied the truth of the accuſations made by Mr. Fox, a Committee was appointed to conſider of the petition.

When the report of the Committee was brought up, Mr. Pitt moved a reſolution for leave to bring in a bill to authorize, under certain reſtrictions and regulations, the iſſuing exchequer bills, to the amount of one million and a half, to be applied to the purpoſe prayed for by the petition. On this occaſion, the ſubject of the diſaſters which had occurred in the Weſt Indies was again introduced. It was aſſerted by the oppoſition, that the force ſent to the Weſt was inadequate to its object, that the troops had not been diſpatched at a proper period, and that they had not been diſtributed in a judicious manner among the different iſlands.

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By the miniſters it was, on the contrary, aſſerted, that the force, conſiſting of more than twenty thouſand men, was amply ſufficient; that ſir Charles Grey himſelf, had not been able to foreſee the recent diſaſtrous events; that Guadaloupe would not have been loſt had general Dundas lived; and, finally, that the unparalleled mortality among the troops tended to reduce the iſlands to a defenceleſs ſtate.

On the ſecond reading of the bill, the oppoſition renewed their attacks upon miniſters with reſpect to the Weſt Indian campaign. They poſitively denied the truth of the aſſertion, that twenty thouſand troops had been applied to the ſervice in the Weſt Indies, and aſſerted, that not more than half that number had been ſent, not one of whom had arrived at a proper time. Troops, they likewiſe ſaid, had been kept on board the tranſports till they were in ſuch a ſickly ſtate that they were not fit for duty, and were obliged to be re-landed. Nor was there, they urged, only a neglect with regard to ſending a ſufficient body of men, but alſo with regard to ſupplying the articles required for the uſe of the troops. Mr. Fox, in particular, pledged himſelf, that if the houſe would order an enquiry, he would ſatisfactorily prove the inadequacy of the army for the purpoſes of the expedition. In anſwer to theſe charges, miniſters repeated the arguments which had been uſed by them on the former debate. The bill was finally paſſed without a diviſion.

Early in the ſeſſion the attention of the houſe was called, by general Smith, to the ſituation of the military officers in the Eaſt Indies. Mr. Dundas, he ſaid, had laſt year promiſed that ſomething ſhould be done for them, and he was anxious to know whether any ſteps had been taken for the fulfilment of the promiſe. He hoped they would not be ſuffered to languiſh from year to year, without ſome effort being made to relieve them.

Mr. Dundas, in reply, aſſured the general, that the buſineſs had not been neglected, that ſome difference of opinion and difficulties had ariſen, but that he truſted ſomething might be effected even in the preſent year, ſo as to allow of the officers receiving information by the next fleet. General Smith then moved an addreſs to his majeſty, requeſting that the petitions of the officers might be laid before the houſe. This motion was agreed to.

March 10.

Nearly two months having elapſed, during which time no meaſure had been introduced, the general once more brought the ſubject forward for diſcuſſion. The grievances under which the officers laboured, appeared to him, he ſaid, to be great and undeſerved. Among the principal of theſe he ſtated to be, their not being allowed to riſe to a higher rank than that of colonel, and the impoſſibility of their returning to their own country to enjoy in tranquillity the reward of their hardſhips and fatigues. It was not his wiſh to point out the mode of redreſs, but only to ſuggeſt the propriety of taking ſome immediate ſtep to ſatisfy the juſt and equitable claims of a meritorious body of men. At a moment when the French were turning their eyes towards our eaſtern poſſeſſions, it would be highly politic to eradicate even the ſlighteſt ſymptom of diſcontent from the minds of thoſe on whom we relied for our defence. He likewiſe reminded the houſe, that the company's officers might, perhaps, be driven in diſguſt to enter into the ſervice of the native powers. He concluded by moving three reſolutions, two of them expreſſive of the opinion of the houſe, that the officers ſuffered ſerious grievances, and that they had deſerved well of their country; and the third, containing a promiſe, that thoſe grievances ſhould receive ample redreſs.

The merits and grievances of the officers were allowed on all ſides, but it was contended, that as government had undertaken to obtain relief for them, any interference at preſent would be highly improper. On this ground an adjournment was moved by colonel Maitland, and was carried without a diviſion.

In this ſeſſion the long protracted trial of Mr. Haſtings was, at length, brought to a cloſe. The houſe of peers reſolved itſelf into a committee, on the ſecond of March, and the diſcuſſion was unintermittingly continued till the whole of the proof on the articles of impeachment had been fully examined. On each of the articles a debate took place, but all the articles, twenty-four in number, were finally negatived. The report of the committee was received on the firſt of April, and on the twenty-third the houſe adjourned into Weſtminſter Hall, in order to give ſentence. The queſtion of guilty or not guilty was now put to each peer by the lord chancellor, commencing with lord Douglas, the junior baron*. On two of the charges the vote of acquittal was unanimous; on the remainder it was carried by a very large majority. The lord chancellor then ſolemnly declared Mr. Haſtings to be acquitted of all the charges alleged againſt him by the commons, and all the matters contained therein. Thus ended this celebrated trial, the progreſs of which had been regarded with much intereſt, not only in Great Britain, but even in foreign countries. Its duration exceeded ſeven years, a duration unprecedented, and which, for the ſake of juſtice, it is to be hoped, will be ſuffered to remain a ſolitary and unimitated inſtance of judicial delay.

June 16.

It was not until nearly the end of the ſeſſion that Mr. Dundas laid the annual financial accounts of the Eaſt India company before the houſe of commons. In explaining theſe accounts he commenced by the following ſtatement of the revenues of the different ſettlements, for the year 1793-4:

Bengal - -	£. 5,871,946
Madras - -	2,110,089
Bombay - -	312,364
Total -	£. 8,294,399

The actual charges were

Bengal - -	£. 3,331,979
Madras - -	1,999,376
Bombay - -	783,791
Bencoolen and Iſlands -	66,358
Total -	£. 6,181,504

The charges, he obſerved, had exceeded the eſtimate made for them by a ſum of £. 479,422. This exceſs aroſe from additional donations to the army, the expences of the capture of Pondicherry, and various unavoidable diſburſements.

On the other hand there was, he ſtated, an increaſe of revenue, beyond the eſtimate, which increaſe amounted to the ſum of £. 351,656.

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* See Appendix to Chronicle, p. 120 *.

He then proceeded to bring under one point of view, the ſtate of the revenues and charges in India.

	£.
Total of the revenues of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, 1793-4, as above-ſtated	8,294,399
Charges of D°, (including £.66,358. ſupplies to Bencoolen, &c.)	6,181,504
Revenues more than charges	£. 2,112,895
Intereſt on debts paid from this ſum	458,043
Surplus revenues	£. 1,654,852
Add import, ſales, and certificates	475,994
Amount applicable to the proviſion of inveſtments, payment of commercial charges, &c. (excluſive of £.20,000. gained by iſſuing notes)	£. 2,130,846

From the papers before the Houſe it appeared, that in the year, there had been applied to theſe purpoſes,

At Bengal	£. 1,402,038	
At Madras	404,648	
At Bombay	328,348	
Shipped from Bencoolen	12,618	
		2,147,652
Amount, as above ſtated, applicable to inveſtments		£. 2,130,846
In the eſtimate made in February 1793, the ſum ſtated was		1,513,577
More in 1793-4 than that eſtimate		£. 617,269

The next article which Mr. Dundas brought forward to the Houſe, was that of the Eſtimates for the year 1794-5.

	£.
Total revenues of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, eſtimated for 1794-5	7,790,807
Total charges (including £. 104,632. ſupplies to Bencoolen, &c.)	5,923,063
	£. 1,867,744
Deduct intereſt on debts	437,047
Eſtimated ſurplus revenue	£. 1,430,697
Add the eſtimated ſales of imports, and amount of certificates	380,699
Amount eſtimated as applicable to inveſtments, commercial charges, &c. &c.	£. 1,811,396

On an examination of the debts owing in India, the ſituation of the company appeared to be ſomewhat improved. A poſitive reduction of debt had been made to the amount of £.551,943, but, including this ſum, the reduction of debt bearing intereſt was £.725,029.; ſo that there was, on the whole, a diminution of intereſt to be paid annually, to the amount of £.80,788. The entire Indian debt at the period of the lateſt advices was £.7,305,462.

With reſpect to the aſſets of the company in India, there was alſo, Mr. Dundas ſaid, an increaſe, in the ſum of £.73,804. So that taking together the diminution of debt and increaſe of aſſets, the company's affairs in India were bettered to the amount of £.625,747.

Mr. Dundas then proceeded to the head of Home Accounts.

	£.
In the year 1794 the eſtimate of the ſale of goods* had been laid at - - - - - - - - -	5,364,358
But the actual amount, far greater than any former year, was - - - - - - - - -	5,521,858
So that the actual amount exceeded the eſtimate by -	£. 157,500
The amount received for goods ſold this year was -	5,392,966
Being leſs than eſtimated laſt year -	£. 55,892
Charges and profit on private trade were eſtimated at	70,000
The actual amount was - - - - - -	62,459
Leſs than eſtimated - -	£. 7,541
In the eſtimate of February 1793, the amount of ſales, profit on private trade, and intereſt on annuities, after paying annuitants, was - - - - - -	5,094,527
The actual amount laſt year was - - - -	5,620,544
More than in that eſtimate -	£. 526,017
Charges in that eſtimate, Dividends at 8 per cent. -	3,889,100
Paid laſt year, Dividends at 10½ per cent. - -	4,467,787
Charges more than in that eſtimate -	£. 578,687
The difference, therefore, was only - - -	£. 52,670

By this ſum the ſurplus of ſales, he ſaid, above the ordinary payments laſt year, was leſs than he had computed on in making the arrangement of 1793. But that ſurplus had been abſorbed, and the treaſury drained by £.416,996. being paid for tea in that year on the continent, and £.933,095. of India transfer debt being diſcharged, and £.149,650. of bonds paid off.

The amount eſtimated to be received in the preſent year, for goods ſold, is - - -	£. 5,549,500
Profits on private trade -	£. 60,000

The charges are eſtimated nearly equal to the receipts and caſh in hand, and no ſurplus expected adequate to the payment of the India transferred debt this year.

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* The goods ſold in the private trade amounted to £.1,053,462.; ſo that the whole amount was £.6,575,320.

It was to be obſerved, however, that the India debt paid off in the two laſt years, had amounted,

In 1793 to	£.1,008,637	
In 1794 to	933,095	£.
		1,941,732

This was more by £.941,732 than was fixed by the Act of 1793. The ſum to be diſcharged in the preſent year, if the receipts were ſufficient, would be £.490,647.

The debts and aſſets at home were next brought under review by Mr. Dundas.

The debts, including the debt transferred from India, amounted,

In March 1794 to	£. 7,006,500
In March 1795 to	6,946,323
Leſs in March laſt	60,177
The aſſets at home and afloat on the 1ſt of March laſt	10,413,354
Similar articles, valued laſt year, at	9,888,836
More in March laſt	£. 524,518
Adding, therefore, the decreaſe of debts to the increaſe of aſſets, the company's affairs appeared, he ſaid, to be better at home by	584,695
In laſt year's accounts the balance of quick ſtock at China and St. Helena was in favour of the company	1,080,881
By the laſt year's accounts it appeared to be only	979,158
So that the balance was leſs at preſent by the ſum of	£. 101,723

The whole of this ſtatement Mr. Dundas wound up by a General reſult of the compariſon of the laſt and preſent year's accounts.

Debts leſs, and aſſets more, in India	£. 625,747
at home	584,695
	1,210,442
Balance leſs in China and St. Helena	101,723
	1,108,719
Add for the balance of bills and cargoes ſhipped from India, after cloſing the accounts there, compared with the laſt year's ſtatements	303,530
The company better with reſpect to debts and aſſets	1,412,249
This ſum, taken from comparing the ſtock per computation with the account laid before the houſe laſt year —	
The balance in favour of the company is	5,493,774
The amount in the laſt year's account was	4,081,525
The company's affairs better in March 1795	£. 1,412,249

From theſe accounts Mr. Dundas argued that the eſtimates and calculations on which the arrangement of 1793 was founded, far from exaggerating the revenues of the company, had not entirely done them juſtice. Looking to India, he ſaid, he ſaw no circumſtance that did not lead to confidence in the encreaſing proſperity of the country. In Bengal population was increaſing, and the landholders, ſince a regular and fixed mode of collecting the revenues had been eſtabliſhed, were not only paying their aſſeſſment punctually, but diſcharging their old arrears. There was reaſon to hope that by the introduction of the ſame ſyſtem at Madras, the ſame effects would be produced, and that in the courſe of ten years Madras would not only be able to pay its own expences, but furniſh a ſurplus for an inveſtment, without drawing upon Bengal. A ſimilar reſult might be expected from Bombay, where a large territory on the Malabar coaſt had been ceded to us by Tippoo Sultan, the revenues of which territory had for three years been progreſſively increaſing. In the ſtate of the company's affairs at home, there was certainly nothing to give diſcouragement. Notwithſtanding the war, by which a great part of the European markets were cloſed againſt them, their ſales had been greater than at any previous period. What then would they not be on the return of peace. He did not wiſh, he ſaid, to put the India trade on the footing of an excluſive monopoly. He thought that, as ſovereigns of India, it would be conſiſtent with policy for us to open its trade to all the nations of the world. But while we adopted this liberal ſyſtem of policy, we ought not to allow other nations to trade to India on the capital of Britiſh ſubjects, or on the revenues of India.

The ſurplus, Mr. Dundas informed the committee, would neceſſarily be abridged by contingencies in ſubſequent years. The proviſion which would be required to do juſtice to the claims of the company's meritorious armies would in a conſiderable degree leſſen it. Mr. Dundas now entered upon the ſubject of the grievances ſuffered by the officers in India, and ſtated the plan of redreſs which he had formed. To remove the diſcontent ariſing from the abſurd reſtriction which denied any rank higher than that of colonel, he propoſed that a certain proportion of general and field officers ſhould be allowed to each of the military eſtabliſhments in India. Another cauſe of complaint was, that no officer could reviſit Europe without reſigning his rank and pay, even though he had ſerved thirty years, and made no addition to his fortune. He would, therefore, move that a comfortable and honourable retreat ſhould be afforded to officers, after a ſpecified number of years ſervice. He would, likewiſe, move that officers whoſe ſtate of health required it, ſhould be permitted to return to Europe without loſs of rank or pay, and that the ſame favour ſhould be extended, in rotation, to every other officer. Such, he ſaid, were the outlines of the plan which he meant to ſuggeſt to the company, and he had no doubt that a liberal arrangement would be made for the ſatisfaction of the army.

The reſolutions moved by Mr. Dundas were then put and carried, after a few unimportant remarks from two or three of the members.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Parliamentary proceedings relative to domeſtic affairs. Act paſſed for allowing the relief of paupers at their own houſes. Bill for the better obſervance of the ſabbath day rejected. Act paſſed to make embezzlement of money by clerks a felony. Meſſage from his majeſty calling on parliament to grant an eſtabliſhment for the prince and princeſs of Wales, and alſo to appropriate to the payment of his royal highneſs's debts a part of the income to be granted. General diſſatisfaction excited by the debts. Call of the houſe ordered. Mr. Huſſey propoſes to provide from the Crown lands a fund for the payment of the debts. The propoſition is negatived. Animated debate in the committee on the motion of Mr. Pitt to grant the prince an additional income of ſixty-five thouſand a year. Mr. Grey oppoſes the motion, declares againſt noticing the debts, and moves that the additional income ſhould be only forty thouſand pounds. Speech of Mr. Lambton in behalf of the prince. Mr. Fox ſuggeſts the ſale of the dutchy of Cornwall. Mr. Grey's amendment is rejected, and the original motion carried. Warm debates upon various points. Meſſage from his royal highneſs, declaring his acquieſcence in whatever arrangements the legiſlature might deem proper. The payment of the debts ſtrongly oppoſed by many members, and great regret expreſſed by others that his majeſty had not come forward with an offer of aſſiſtance. Seventy-three thouſand pounds fixed as the ſum to be annually appropriated to the diſcharge of the debts. Animated debate as to what fund the debt ſhould be paid from in the event of the prince's demiſe. Speech of Mr. Fox. Speech and plan of Mr. Sheridan. General Smith makes a motion to claim the ſums received from the dutchy of Cornwall by his majeſty during the minority of the prince. It is negatived. Jointure of the princeſs of Wales ſettled. Act paſſed to prevent future princes of Wales from incurring debt. Proceedings in the houſe of Lords. The bills relative to the prince's eſtabliſhment and debt are paſſed. Cloſe of the ſeſſion.

THE ſubjects unconnected with war and politics, which were this ſeſſion brought under the conſideration of the legiſlature, were neither numerous, nor, except in one inſtance, of any conſiderable importance.

The firſt bill of the kind was a bill introduced into the houſe of commons by Sir William Young, for amending ſo much of the act of the ninth of George the firſt, as prevented paupers from being relieved at their houſes, under certain circumſtances. It was oppoſed by lord Sheffield and Mr. Curwen, on the ground that it was decidedly hoſtile to the original principle of the poor laws, that it tended to diſcourage workhouſes, and increaſe poor's rates, and that it gave to the magiſtrates a power which ſhould be left, as it was at preſent, in the hands of a veſtry. The meaſure was, however, ſatisfactorily vindicated by its propoſer, and by ſeveral members, and was finally paſſed into a law.

Sir William Dolben was leſs fortunate in his attempt to procure a bill for explaining and rendering more effectual the act for the better obſervance of the Lord's day. The bill was attacked, in all its ſtages, by argument and the moſt poignant ridicule. It was ſaid to be unneceſſary, oppreſſive, puritanical, and only calculated to make men hypocrites, and haters of religion. Its opponents objected alſo, and with much juſtice, that it was flagrantly partial; for that it bore entirely on the poor and middling claſſes, whoſe innocent amuſements it made penal, while it ſuffered the higher ranks to ſin with impunity. It was a denunciation, Mr. Courtenay ſaid, againſt crying milk and mackarel. The licentious meetings of the wealthy and great were paſſed over, and a poor man was to be fined and impriſoned for croſſing the river in a wherry. Laſt year, puddings and pies were to be baked by canonical hours, and morality was made to depend on the time of the day. It was not by ſuch fooleries that parliament could enforce the obſervance of the ſabbath. The bill, however, notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous oppoſition againſt it, went through two ſtages, but on the motion for its commitment an amendment was moved to defer it for ſix months, which was carried by a majority of one vôte, and the bill was conſequently loſt.

The penal code, already voluminous in no common degree, received an addition, which was rendered neceſſary by the increaſed riches of the country. A bill was brought in, by alderman Anderſon, to protect merchants and bankers againſt the depredations of their clerks. It purpoſed to convert into felony, and puniſh with tranſportation, the offence of embezzlement of money by clerks; an offence which, according to the exiſting laws, was only conſidered as a breach of truſt. The bill met with little oppoſition, and was ultimately paſſed.

The domeſtic occurrence of moſt moment in this ſeſſion, and which produced debates nearly as warm as thoſe on the great queſtion of the war, was the application made to parliament by his majeſty on behalf of the heir apparent. In the latter end of the year 1794 a treaty of marriage had been negotiated between his royal highneſs, and the princeſs Caroline, daughter to the duke of Brunſwick. The princeſs landed at Greenwich on the 5th of April, and, on the eighth, the nuptials were celebrated, at St. James's, with due ſolemnity and ſplendour.

On the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month, a meſſage from his majeſty was brought down to the houſe of Commons, by Mr. Pitt. It recommended the ſettling of an eſtabliſhment for the prince and princeſs, ſuited to their rank and dignity, and expreſſed deep regret that the benefit of any ſettlement could not be ſecured to his royal highneſs, without providing the means of freeing him from incumbrances to a large amount, but, at the ſame time, declared that his majeſty had no idea of propoſing to parliament to remove thoſe incumbrances in any other way than by appropriating for the purpoſe the revenues ariſing from the dutchy of Cornwall, together with a proportion of the prince's other annual income. The meſſage likewiſe ſtated his majeſty's readineſs to concur in any proviſions which the wiſdom of the legiſlature might ſuggeſt, in order to eſtabliſh a regular and punctual order of payment in the prince's future expenditure,

diture, and to guard againſt the poſſibility of his royal highneſs being again embarraſſed.

Mr. Pitt having moved that the meſſage ſhould be referred to a committee of ſupply, colonel Stanley deſired his majeſty's meſſage of the 21ſt of May 1787 might be read. As ſoon as this had been done, he urged the propriety of a call of the houſe upon ſo important an occaſion. The houſe, he ſaid, had once already liberally paid the debts of the prince, and, in the preſent diſtreſſed ſtate of the country, it ought not to pay them a ſecond time without inquiry and proper deliberation.

Evidently ill at eaſe under the taſk which he was obliged to perform, the miniſter ſeemed anxious to conciliate the favour of the houſe. Confeſſing that the buſineſs was of great importance and magnitude, and that it gave cauſe for regret, he, nevertheleſs, thought a call unneceſſary, as, by the means of other momentous queſtions which were ſhortly to be diſcuſſed, a full attendance would be ſecured without it; and he, therefore, requeſted the honourable member to relinquiſh the idea. In extenuation of the preſent appeal to the generoſity of the country, he pleaded that the immediate advance of any ſpecific ſum for the debts was not required from parliament; but only the ſetting apart, for their payment, ſuch a portion of the prince's future income as might be deemed requiſite. He truſted, he ſaid, that the feelings of the honourable members would be ſatisfied, if it ſhould be found that the whole ſum propoſed for the eſtabliſhment of the heir apparent was not more than they would have been diſpoſed to grant even if the debts had never exiſted; and he aſſured them that it would be little more, and comparatively ſmaller, than the houſe had liberally and wiſely granted to his royal highneſs's grandfather, at a period when the expences of perſons of rank were far leſs than they now unavoidably were. It was, he ſaid, a public duty for the houſe, and one which it felt ſatisfaction in diſcharging, to be liberal in allowances of this kind, becauſe the people were materially intereſted in the comfort, and even in the ſplendour and dignity, of the royal family in all its branches. After urging the propriety and prudence of ſetting the prince at liberty from his difficulties, he moved that the meſſage ſhould be taken into conſideration on that day ſe'nnight.

Great, and almoſt univerſal, diſpleaſure was excited by the purport of this meſſage. Mr. Grey pointedly noticed the circumſtance of a ſolemn promiſe having, in 1787, been given that no future debt ſhould be incurred. He diſapproved alſo of the manner in which the ſubject was brought forward, as being calculated to deceive the public, by inducing a belief that the queſtion was only concerning an additional income to the prince, when the fact was, that, however diſguiſed or coloured, it was, in ſubſtance, neither more nor leſs than a queſtion of voting a proviſion for the payment of his debts. It was much better that the public ſhould at once fairly know what burthen they were to bear for his royal highneſs. From the opinion of Mr. Pitt that, even if no debt exiſted, the houſe would be diſpoſed to grant the ſum required, he expreſſed the ſtrongeſt diſſent. The houſe, he ſaid, would ill diſcharge its duty if, while the cries of the ſtarving poor aſſailed it on all ſides, it granted eſtabliſhments to princes, with a profuſion unparalleled in former times. At ſuch a moment the dignity of the prince of Wales would be beſt maintained by his ſhewing a feeling heart for the poor, and an unwillingneſs to add to their diſtreſſes.

Similar ſentiments were expreſſed by Mr. Curwen, Mr. Powys, Mr. Montague, Mr. Sumner, and Mr. Buxton. They urged likewiſe that a ſerious enquiry was indiſpenſable, to diſcover how ſuch large debts had been contracted, notwithſtanding the ſolemn pledge given in 1787; who were the perſons from whoſe neglect or miſconduct ſuch a glaring abuſe of confidence had proceeded and whether ſome part of the load thus occaſioned could not be removed from the ſmarting and oppreſſed ſhoulders of the public, to be laid on the civil liſt. Before freſh grants were made by the houſe, it ought, they ſaid, to know how its preceding grants had been applied; and, therefore, a call of the houſe was in this inſtance abſolutely neceſſary.

General Smith was the only member who took the oppoſite ſide. He defended the heir apparent from the charge of extravagance, blamed the language which had been uſed, and declared in favour of an ample allowance to ſupport the ſplendor of the prince's rank.

In reply to Mr. Sumner, Mr. Pitt ſtated the amount of the debts to be between ſix and ſeven hundred thouſand pounds: towards the liquidation of which no aſſiſtance could be afforded by the civil liſt. Nor could he, in conſcience, propoſe to the houſe any other mode of payment than that which he had already intimated. In the moſt earneſt manner he deprecated any ſuch retroſpect as had been ſuggeſted, and, without attempting to palliate the paſt, adviſed the houſe only to look forward. Before it gave way to heat and reſentment it would, he ſaid, do well to reflect that in the iſſue of the diſcuſſion was involved the credit of the hereditary monarchy, and conſequently the ſafety of the country. To this it was briefly replied by Mr. Martin that the moſt effectual way to preſerve the monarchy was to prevent it from becoming oppreſſive to the people. The call of the houſe was acceded to by Mr. Pitt, and was fixed for that day fortnight.

The indiſpoſition of the ſpeaker having ſtopped for a few days the proceedings of the commons, the ſubject was not reſumed till the fourteenth of May. Previouſly to the commencement of the regular diſcuſſion, Mr. Huſſey moved for referring to the committee the reports of the commiſſioners on the ſtate of the crown lands. Theſe lands, which had never produced ſix thouſand pounds a year, but which might be improved ſo as to produce an annual income of four hundred thouſand, would form, he ſaid, a proper fund out of which the debts of the prince might be paid; and by this arrangement the prince would avoid odium, and the people an additional burthen. This propoſition was ſeconded by Mr. Fox. It was, however, objected to by ſome members as not proper in the preſent ſtage of the buſineſs, and by others as irrelevant to the ſubject; and was ultimately negatived.

The houſe having reſolved itſelf into a committee to conſider the meſſage, Mr. Pitt opened his ſpeech by an animated exordium, in which he deſcanted upon the neceſſity of ſupporting, for the welfare of the people, the dignity of the royal family. He at the ſame time lamented that he ſhould be obliged to bring forward topics far leſs agreeable to his feelings and thoſe of his hearers. The objects, however, to which he would firſt direct the attention of the houſe were the ſettlement of an eſtabliſhment for the prince, and a jointure for his illuſtrious conſort. The preſent income of his royal highneſs was ſixty thouſand a year, excluſive of about thirteen thouſand pounds, ariſing from the duchy of Cornwall. Fifty years ago his grandfather, then prince of Wales, and eighty years ago his great grandfather, poſſeſſed one hundred thouſand pounds per annum, excluſive of the revenues of the duchy. It was manifeſt, therefore, that even ſuppoſing his royal highneſs to be unincumbered with debt, he ought to have a conſiderable addition to his income, an addition equal to at leaſt a fourth of the whole, to make up for the diminiſhed value of money. He propoſed, in conſequence, that the yearly income of the heir apparent ſhould be a hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds, not including the Corniſh revenue. The jointure of the princeſs would be fifty thouſand pounds a year, as it had been on former occaſions. The preparations of jewels and plate, for the marriage, would be ſtated at twenty-ſeven thouſand pounds, though their amount was in reality much greater, and the finiſhing of Carlton-houſe at twenty-five thouſand. Theſe would be ſubjects for future diſcuſſion.

Having gone through this part of his ſtatement, Mr. Pitt proceeded to the unpleaſant topic of the prince's embarraſſments. From the moſt accurate eſtimate he had been able to procure, it appeared, he ſaid, that the debts were nearly ſix hundred and thirty thouſand pounds. It would remain for the houſe to decide on the beſt mode of liquidating them, but, before any ſtep was taken for their diſcharge, they ought to undergo an accurate inveſtigation. For this purpoſe, thinking a ſecret committee inadequate, he recommended a parliamentary commiſſion, where evidence might be given on oath. Some might conceive that it would be better to grant the eſtabliſhment, and refuſe to notice the debts. But this he deprecated as impolitic, while, on the other hand, he was equally averſe from throwing all the burthen upon the people. Acknowledging ingenuouſly that the dilemma was ſuch that the houſe could not do any thing wholly comfortable, he ſtated his intention to ſuggeſt, on a future day, that the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall ſhould form a ſinking fund at compound intereſt for the diſcharge of the debts, and that to pay the intereſt of thoſe debts twenty-five thouſand pounds a year ſhould be deducted from the prince's income. The whole would thus be paid in twenty-ſeven years. In caſe of the demiſe of the crown to his royal highneſs before the expiration of that period, the hereditary revenues of the prince of Wales would remain charged with the annual payment of twenty-five thouſand pounds, but ſhould both the demiſe of the crown and the prince happen within that time, the charge muſt be borne by the conſolidated fund. But, whatever mode the houſe might deem proper to adopt, the utmoſt care ought to be taken to prevent the poſſibility of any freſh debt being contracted.

This was to be done by making it impracticable in future to obtain ſuch credit. With this view he intended to move that in the bill which muſt be paſſed, a clauſe ſhould be inſerted, that no arrear ſhould, under any pretence, go beyond the quarter; that debts not then claimed ſhould wholly lapſe; that debts thus claimed ſhould be punctually paid, but not any other; and that no ſuit for the recovery of a debt ſhould be inſtituted againſt his royal highneſs, but againſt his officers, who ſhould be reſponſible for the exerciſe of their authority in the management of his affairs. He likewiſe propoſed that Carlton-houſe ſhould be veſted in the crown for ever, and that the furniture ſhould be conſidered as an heir loom. He then moved the houſe to enable his majeſty to appropriate ſixty-five thouſand pounds annually as an eſtabliſhment for the heir apparent.

Mr. Grey took the lead in oppoſing the motion, and with no leſs ſeverity than he had ſhown when the buſineſs was firſt announced to the houſe. It was a duty, he ſaid, which they owed to the prince himſelf, to teach him, if experience had not taught him, that as his family was choſen to the throne for the good of the people, ſo his ſituation was not created merely for luxury and indulgence, but in ſubſervience to that great end; that though they were bound in turn to conſult his comfort and enjoyment, the obligation on their part ceaſed, if thoſe became his ſole objects; and that, in conſequence of the proviſion made for the ſupport of his rank, thouſands ought to bleſs his munificence and bounty, not to lament his extravagance and folly. That the prince of Wales ought to have an eſtabliſhment there was no doubt, but the ſtability of the monarchy did not, as it had been ſaid to do, depend upon eſtabliſhments. On the contrary, occaſions might occur in which more real dignity would be derived from economical retirement, than from the utmoſt ſplendor of expence. Adverting to the ſtatement which Mr. Pitt had made of the allowances to former princes, Mr. Grey denied the juſtice of the inference which he had drawn from it. Would it be proper, he aſked, to exceed the utmoſt profuſion of more fortunate periods, now that the country was ſinking under diſtreſs, and involved in a conteſt of which neither the extent nor the end could be calculated? Or ought the houſe to encourage thoſe habits of laviſh expenditure which in France had produced ſuch fatal conſequences, and which in this country threatened the ruin even of the conſtitution itſelf? It ſhould, likewiſe, be remembered that the revenue of his majeſty's father, for ſeveral years after his marriage, was only fifty thouſand pounds; that it was never increaſed till his family was grown up; and yet that no application was ever made to parliament for the payment of his debts. Mr. Grey in very ſtrong terms charged the miniſter with inconſiſtency on the ſubject of what income would be proper for the prince; and contended that the ſum now propoſed was out of all proportion too large. He was willing, however, to go as far as the liberality of former times had gone, and would, therefore, vote an annual income of one hundred thouſand pounds, not including the ſums drawn from the duchy; though, for his own part, he thought that a hundred thouſand pounds, including thoſe ſums, would be amply ſufficient. As to the debts he could not conſent to make any proviſion for them. To take no notice of them was the only mode for the prevention of future demands. The propoſed mode he thought highly imprudent. It held out an encouragement, or provided an excuſe, for incurring new debts; while, at the ſame time, it mortally wounded that dignity of which ſo much had been ſaid. What could be more degrading to a prince than to tie him down in the way ſuggeſted, and to tell him that he was not worthy of being truſted? It was true that if the houſe purſued the plan of refuſing to notice the debts, the prince would be ſubjected to inconvenience, but this was unavoidable, and it would have the good effect of inducing his royal highneſs to lament his errors, and to qualify himſelf by reflection for the duties of his future ſtation. Mr. Grey cloſed his ſpeech by moving, as an amendment, that, inſtead of ſixty-five thouſand pounds, an additional ſum of only forty thouſand ſhould be granted.

The cauſe of the prince was warmly eſpouſed by Mr. Lambton. The amendment muſt either, he ſaid, put the prince under the neceſſity of incurring freſh debts, or be followed up with a bill to baniſh him from the metropolis. But to cut him off, in this manner, from ſociety, would be flagrantly impolitic. He thought too much blame had been laviſhed upon the accumulation of debt, and that a part of the evil had reſulted from an ill-judged parſimony in the arrangement of 1787. The houſe then ſaid that it would be difficult for the heir apparent to contract his expences to leſs than a hundred thouſand pounds per annum; yet it ſettled on him an allowance of only ſixty thouſand; thus leaving him with the certainty of being involved in freſh embarraſſments. The alluſion which had been made to the conduct of his royal highneſs, as being ſimilar to that of the French princes, he conſidered as groundleſs and unjuſt. For the ſake of the monarchy, the dignity of which muſt be maintained, and in juſtice to the princeſs of Wales, who ought not to be left in penury and obſcurity, expoſed to the taunts of creditors, he would give his vote for the original motion.

Many ſevere animadverſions were made upon the ſubject by Mr. Curwen, Mr. Burdon, and Mr. W. Smith. They urged the univerſal diſſatisfaction excited by the prince's debts, and the unwillingneſs of the country to be charged with even the ſmalleſt part of them. Nor did the miniſter eſcape cenſure for having neglected to watch over the performance of the promiſe which had been ſolemnly given in 1787. Mr. Burdon was decidedly of opinion that the houſe ought not to make any proviſion for the debts till a period of peace. Mr. W. Smith and Mr. Curwen lamented that his majeſty had not expreſſed any intention of taking upon himſelf a ſhare of the burden, and they plainly intimated that it would have been only prudent, juſt, and decorous had he ſo done. They agreed, however, in the propriety of granting ſuch an eſtabliſhment as would liquidate the old debts, and prevent new ones from being contracted. Mr. Curwen declared that in a future ſtage of the proceedings he would move for the whole ſum of ſixty-five thouſand pounds, together with the Corniſh revenues, to be formed into a ſinking fund to diſcharge the debts within a reaſonable time.

That the ſplendor of the crown ought to be upheld, Mr. Fox cordially admitted. The crown, he ſaid, was an eſſential part of the conſtitution, but he could not underſtand calling it, as it had been called, the center of the conſtitution. Adverting to the precedents which had been cited, of allowances to former princes of Wales, he declared his regret that he could not look upon thoſe precedents as the moſt creditable part of the hiſtory of the houſe of Brunſwick. The allowances had been a mere matter of party. They had been enlarged or diminiſhed, according as the prince happened to agree or diſagree in politics with his majeſty's miniſters. Such conduct in the houſe on the preſent occaſion, he deprecated, as injurious both to the houſe and the people. The whole conduct of government, with reſpect to the prince's eſtabliſhment, he conceived to have been faulty. When the prince's income was firſt ſettled he had thought it too ſcanty; he had thought the ſame of the income fixed in 1787; and had been not a little ſurprized at the declaration of the heir apparent, that thenceforth no application ſhould be made to parliament. Still he thought that having made a promiſe the prince was bound in honour to keep it. On the preſent occaſion, being convinced of the propriety of acting liberally, he would vote for the larger ſum; but not without ſome proviſion to guard againſt any future appeal to the national bounty. He did not think it ſeemly to ſelect the prince of Wales as the firſt object for reform, and in ſome ſort for puniſhment, when the crown, ſince the king's acceſſion, had been treated ſo generouſly, by the payment of its debts, and the enlargement of its revenue. In the caſe before the houſe, he thought that ſomething might have been expected from the civil liſt. Other Britiſh ſovereigns had ſet the laudable example of ſimilar ſacrifices.

With regard to the debts he declared that, only the circumſtance of the princeſs of Wales having been invited over by the unanimous conſent of the parliament and the country, induced him to aſſent to a plan for their diſcharge. Nor could he aſſent, without the formation of an adequate ſinking fund for liquidating them at no remote period. To talk of protracting for twenty-ſeven years their liquidation, was ſuch an abſolute mockery, that the houſe had better at once refuſe to have any thing to do with them. He was of opinion that the additional income, and the Corniſh revenues, ought to be ſet apart for the purpoſe. It was true that if this were done the prince muſt for a while relinquiſh his ſtate, but for this he would be abundantly compenſated by the eſteem and affection of the public. If, however, the relinquiſhment of his ſplendor was deemed objectionable, there was ſtill a mode by which that might be avoided, the debts ſooner paid, and no burthens, in conſequence, laid upon the people. The duchy of Cornwall might be ſold for a ſum which, with ſome aſſiſtance from the prince's income, would, in the courſe of three or four years, free his royal highneſs from his difficulties. The plan for preventing debts ſhould, he ſaid, have his hearty concurrence, if it were made to apply to all future kings and princes, and not to this heir apparent alone. Reverting to the reaſonableneſs of expecting aid from the civil liſt, he forcibly enlarged on the propriety and policy of ſuch aid, and remarked that it was not wiſe to let monarchs be known to their ſubjects ſolely by expences and taxes. The prince had not, he ſaid, been fairly dealt with to the duchy of Cornwall, the revenues of which, during his minority, had been applied to the purpoſes of the civil liſt, by ſucceſſive miniſters. To ſay that they had been expended on his education was a miſerable plea; for would any man of fortune, whoſe ſon had a diſtinct income, ever think of charging him with the coſt of his education. Under all the circumſtances, therefore, Mr. Fox declared that he would vote an income of a hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds; but would oppoſe any notice of the debts, unleſs a large fund were appropriated for their ſpeedy diſcharge.

The ſale of the duchy was objected to by Mr. Wilberforce, on the ground that three hundred thouſand pounds would thus at once be gone, and ſucceeding princes deprived of their hereditary right. To this Mr. Fox replied that the reverſion belonged to the public, and that the prince would reſerve the value of his life-intereſt.

The debate was warmly continued by ſeveral ſpeakers, all of whom, with the exception of general Smith, ſpoke of the debts in the language of diſapprobation. Mr. Huſſey again propoſed the crown lands as an adequate and equitable fund, whence relief might be drawn from the heir apparent.

On a diviſion upon Mr. Grey's amendment, it was rejected by two hundred and ſixty voices againſt ninety-nine. A ſecond diviſion then took place on the queſtion of granting forty-five thouſand pounds for completing Carlton houſe, and twenty-ſeven thouſand for plate and jewels. This was carried by two hundred and forty-eight votes againſt ninety-nine. The third, and laſt diviſion, was on a motion to grant twenty-five thouſand pounds, to defray the extraordinary expences of his royal highneſs's marriage. It was carried by two hundred and forty-one affirmative votes, againſt a hundred negative.

When, on the following day, the reſolution of the committee was brought up, a long converſation took place. The length of time which muſt elapſe before the debts would be paid, if only ſo ſmall a ſum as had been originally ſtated was applied to that purpoſe, appeared to give general diſſatisfaction. Mr. Huſſey moved an amendment to appropriate the crown lands, as a fund, but it was negatived without a diviſion.

In a debate, on the twenty-eighth of May, an alluſion having been made to the debts, the chancellor of the exchequer took the opportunity to mention that, on the enſuing Monday, the committee would have to decide whether any part of the income ſhould be appropriated to relieve the heir apparent from his embarraſſments. The ſum which it would be adviſable to appropriate would not come under diſcuſſion till the bill that might be brought in was before the committee.

Some of the former objections were again ſtarted by various members. Mr. Powys obſerved that the prevention of future debt muſt be provided for, as well as the payment of the paſt; and he declared his diſappointment that no communication had been made to the houſe, from the illuſtrious perſonage who was moſt materially intereſted in the tranſaction. The ſame opinion appeared to be entertained by Mr. Grey.

June 1. In conſequence of theſe remarks, Mr. Anſtruther, on the day appointed for the debate, brought down, from the prince of Wales, a meſſage, ſtating that his royal highneſs was deſirous to acquieſce in whatever regulations the wiſdom of the houſe might think proper to form, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing order and regularity in his expenditure, and preventing future debts; and that he earneſtly requeſted the houſe would appropriate to the diſcharge of his incumbrances whatever part, however large, it might deem requiſite, of the income which it intended to grant him, as he was fully ſenſible that it would be guided ſolely by the conſideration of what appeared moſt conducive to his honour, and the public intereſt.

The chancellor of the exchequer then roſe, and, after expreſſing his ſatisfaction at the meſſage which had juſt been delivered, and complimenting the houſe on being equally loyal and provident of the national treaſure, he moved that the committee ſhould bring in a bill for granting an income to the prince of Wales, regulating his expenditure, and ſetting aſide a part of his revenues to relieve him from his embarraſſments.

The motion was oppoſed by Mr. Duncombe. The houſe could not, he ſaid, conſiſtently with its duty, or with the inviolable regard which it owed to truth and fidelity, conſent a ſecond time to pay the debts of the prince, after the ſolemn aſſurances which had been given to it in 1787. When diſtreſs was ſeriouſly felt by the middling and lower claſſes of ſociety, it was not the moment to liſten to the idle claims of ſplendour and magnificence. Neither was it prudent, in ſuch diſtempered times, to furniſh colour and plauſibility to the arguments of wild and dangerous innovators. The debts, he ſaid, certainly ought to be paid, but he looked to other reſources to effect it; to the juſtice of his royal highneſs, to his future economy, and to the aid which he might derive from the munificence of his royal father. The latter of theſe ſources was likewiſe adverted to by Mr. Curwen, who expreſſed his regret that his majeſty had not manifeſted any intention to aſſiſt in relieving the prince of Wales from his difficulties.

The payment of the debts was ſtrongly oppoſed by Mr. Baſtard, Mr. Sturt, Mr. Bouverie, Mr. Burdon, Mr. Martin, Mr. Bankes, and Mr. Grey, the latter of whom heavily cenſured miniſters for not ſeeing the promiſe performed which was given in 1787. He declared alſo that great means were in the poſſeſſion of the ſovereign, and it was to be hoped that, from regard to the credit of his family, and to maintain the reſpect due to royalty, he might be induced to come forward.

The conduct of miniſters was ſtrenuouſly defended by Mr. Dundas, who as ſtrenuouſly contended that nothing ought to be expected from the quarter to which ſuch repeated alluſions had been made. The idea of ſuch a reſource aroſe, he ſaid, out of a miſerable feeling which he was ſurpriſed any gentlemen could entertain. He pleaded that, excepting the ſum allotted for his majeſty's privy purſe, the civil liſt was wholly appropriated to particular ſervices; and that even ſuppoſing his majeſty enjoyed a ſurplus, ſuch a pittance could not contribute any uſeful ſuccour to the prince. Neither had the prince the firſt claims upon his majeſty. The minor branches of the royal family had certainly a prior claim to pecuniary aſſiſtance. The heir apparent was the child of the nation, and was conſequently entitled to its aid and protection. As to the revenues derived from Hanover, it was not to be imagined that the king would rob his Hanoverian ſubjects, in order to pay debts contracted in this country by the heir to the Britiſh crown.

The debate was continued with much animation. In the courſe of it ſeveral members called for a ſtrict ſcrutiny into the nature of the debts; and Mr. Fox, while he ſupported the motion, re-urged the ſale of the duchy of Cornwall, and, notwithſtanding the deciſive language which Mr. Dundas had uſed, eloquently deſcanted upon the unſeemlineſs of his majeſty, at a time of ſuch general calamity, being the only perſon in the kingdom who did not contribute a ſingle farthing towards diſcharging the incumbrances of the prince of Wales. Mr. Anſtruther replied with reſpect to the duchy of Cornwall that its value had been much exaggerated; and though he admitted that the houſe had the power to ſell it, he clearly intimated that the power could not be exerciſed without committing an injuſtice.

An amendment was, at length, propoſed by Mr. Sumner, to leave out that part of the motion by which a portion of the prince's revenue was to be applied to the payment of his debts. The amendment was ſeconded by Mr. Grey, who complained that thoſe who, like himſelf, were willing to vote a ſuitable income, but refuſed to pay the debts, had not been dealt with fairly. Many, he ſaid, had voted for the larger ſum, who would not have done ſo, had they thought that it was to be applied to any other purpoſe than that of ſupporting the ſplendor of the eſtabliſhment. From the charge of dealing unfairly Mr. Pitt defended himſelf, and was ſeconded by Mr. Fox, who denied that the preſent motion voted money for the debts, or pledged the houſe to their diſcharge. This opinion, however, was controverted by Mr. Sheridan. His ſpeech was remarkable for the bitterneſs with which it attacked the conduct of miniſters throughout the whole of the buſineſs, and the pointed manner in which it alluded to the want of generoſity diſplayed by a perſonage of the moſt exalted rank.

The houſe having divided, the amendment was rejected by two hundred and fifty-ſix voices againſt fifty-two. The original motion was then put and carried; the noes being only forty-ſix, and the ayes two hundred and forty-two.

An abſtract of the debts, an account of the application of twenty-five thouſand pounds for finiſhing Carlton houſe, and an account of the proceeds of the duchy of Cornwall

wall during the prince's minority*, were laid before the houſe, on the fifth of June, by the chancellor of the exchequer. He then proceeded to ſtate that, previouſly to ſettling what proportion of the income to be voted to the prince ſhould be applied to diſcharge his debts, it was neceſſary for the houſe to determine whether it would incur the contingent riſk of paying ſuch part of thoſe debts as, in the event of his royal highneſs's demiſe, might remain unpaid. In the committee it was his intention to move that ſixty-five thouſand pounds, and the revenues of the duchy, making together an annual ſum of ſeventy-eight thouſand pounds, ſhould be devoted to the liquidation of the debts. As in caſe of the deceaſe of the prince the jointure of the princeſs would fall upon the civil liſt, it was evident that the burthen of the debts could not be borne by the civil liſt; and therefore he ſhould move to give the committee, in caſe of the demiſe of the crown to the prince, a diſcretionary power to provide out of the hereditary revenue of the crown, for the payment of the remainder of the prince's debts, and, in caſe of his royal highneſs's demiſe, to provide for ſuch payment out of the conſolidated fund. This, he ſaid, was the only mode to give ſecurity to the creditors, or to render his royal highneſs reſponſible for his debts, in the event of his acceſſion to the throne.

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* State of the prince of Wales's debts, as laid before the houſe of commons.

	£.	s.	d.
Debts on various ſecurities, and bearing intereſt - -	500,571	19	1
Amount of tradeſmen's bills unpaid - - - -	86,745	0	0
Tradeſmen's bills, and arrears of eſtabliſhment from the 10th of October, 1794, to April 5, 1795 - - -	52,573	5	3
	£.639,890	4	4

An account of the ſeveral ſums paid from the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall during the minority of his royal highneſs the prince of Wales.

21ſt July, 1763 - -	£.12,000	0	0
21ſt May, 1765 - - -	20,000	0	0
21ſt July, 1766 - - -	16,478	11	2
8th July, 1768 - - -	12,500	0	0
17th April, 1769 - - -	11,000	0	0
6th April, 1770 - - -	17,000	0	0
3d April, 1771 - - -	8,700	0	0
16th April, 1772 - -	13,000	0	0
23d May, 1773 - - -	12,000	0	0
4th Auguſt, 1774 - - -	8,000	0	0
24th April, 1775 - - -	12,000	0	0
17th April, 1776 - - -	12,950	0	0
29th May, 1777 - - -	9,720	0	0
16th April, 1778 - - -	15,964	0	0
16th April, 1779 - - -	6,640	0	0
26th June, 1780 - - -	8,603	0	0
21ſt May, 1781 - - -	15,700	0	0
25th March, 1782 - - -	8,658	0	0
7th May, 1783 - - -	12,051	0	0
	£.233,764	11	2

The queſtion of charging the hereditary revenue with the debts was carried without oppoſition; but the ſecond queſtion, relative to laying the burthen on the conſolidated fund, occaſioned a vehement and protracted debate. The idea of making the conſolidated fund anſwerable was warmly reprobated; and various reſources were pointed out to ſave the public from expence, and the prince from odium. By one party it was contended that the heir apparent was entitled to all the proceeds of the duchy during his minority, and that if they were paid to him they would be nearly, if not quite ſufficient, to relieve him from embarraſſment. To this it was anſwered, by the attorney general, though in rather a doubting manner, that the tenure by which the duchy was held was ſuch that the crown was not compellable to account for the revenues received during the time of the prince's minority. Some members re-urged the ſale of the duchy; others the ſale of the crown lands; and many, as in the former diſcuſſions, were decidedly hoſtile to any notice being taken of the debts by the houſe of commons.

The motion was likewiſe oppoſed, with much vigour, by Mr. Fox. He thought that the whole of the buſineſs had been conducted unfortunately. Before he could conſent to preſs upon the people he muſt know whether the grant was likely to be effectual. It did not appear to him that there was any compulſion upon the creditors to accept the terms now offered. Some arrangement ought firſt to have taken place between the prince and his creditors that it might be known what terms would be accepted, if a certain ſecurity were given. With reſpect to the ſum to be appropriated, he did not think it too large. But how, he aſked, was the revenue of the duchy of Cornwall to be got at, as he underſtood that the preſent income of the heir apparent was conveyed in truſt for the benefit of thoſe to whom he was indebted? To the propoſal for burthening the conſolidated fund he declared that he would never give his aſſent; and he forcibly argued that the civil liſt ſhould be charged with the liquidation of any debt that might remain in caſe of the prince's demiſe. He pointed out that the civil liſt had been much increaſed by accidents, and particularly by the death of the princeſs Amelia. That the houſe, by approving the marriage of his royal highneſs, was in ſome degree pledged to place him and his conſort in a ſtation befitting their rank and dignity, he would readily admit; but if the houſe, thus remotely a party to the marriage, was bound to aid the prince, how much more was his majeſty bound, by whoſe advice the marriage had been contracted? The obligation upon him was aſſuredly ten thouſand times ſtronger than upon the houſe, and yet he was the only man in all his dominions by whom nothing was to be contributed towards the ſuccour of the prince.

The plan of ſubſtituting the civil liſt as a ſecurity, inſtead of the conſolidated fund, was objected to by Mr. Pitt. Though, in caſe of the prince's death, the civil liſt would, he ſaid, be relieved from ſixty thouſand pounds, it would be liable to a jointure of fifty thouſand for her royal highneſs. Beſides, if the prince left iſſue, ſome proviſion muſt be made for the infant heir apparent; and if he did not, the duke of

York would ſucceed to his title with only fifty-three thouſand a year, notwithſtanding the houſe had declared its opinion that an annual eſtabliſhment of a hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds was neceſſary for a prince of Wales.

In this debate a very prominent part was taken by Mr. Sheridan. His ſpeech was of great length, highly animated, and full of cenſure and ſarcaſm. None of the plans propoſed met with his entire approbation. To the ſale of the duchy of Cornwall he would not, he ſaid, object, if from the ſum which it would produce only as much as was equivalent to the prince's life intereſt was applied to the payment of the debts. Upon the civil liſt he could wiſh not to preſs, becauſe he had always been an enemy to granting it for life. With regard to the ſums received during the minority from the duchy he thought that the commiſſioners to be appointed under the bill ought to have the power of enquiring into the prince's right to claim them, as if he had a right to claim them he was ſtill in a ſolvent ſtate. On the conduct of miniſters in not adviſing the king to ſet an example of relieving the prince, he enlarged with much ſeverity. If the worſt of jacobins had deviſed a plan for diſgracing the prince of Wales, and diſhonouring the crown, it would have been ſuch an one as miniſters had now brought forward. Little delicacy had been obſerved with reſpect to his royal highneſs, and as little ought to be obſerved in repreſenting the truth to his majeſty. Were the expences incurred by the heir apparent ſo very unpardonable? On the ſubject of expence, and of keeping promiſes with the public, would he really ſuffer by a compariſon with the king? At his majeſty's acceſſion, parliament had been aſſured from the throne that the civil liſt ſhould never be ſuffered to run into an arrear; yet, ſince that aſſurance debts had been paid to an amount which at compound intereſt would make nearly ſeven millions. The chancellor of the exchequer himſelf early in his adminiſtration, had made a ſimilar promiſe, and had, afterwards, in flagrant violation of that promiſe, called upon the houſe to pay a new debt. For theſe breaches of faith, however, Mr. Sheridan conſidered miniſters alone as blameable. The difficulties of the prince he was of opinion had ariſen from the ſcantineſs of the income originally ſettled upon him. Though he had not held any official ſituation about the prince, yet he had been honoured with his confidence, and had frequently been aſked for advice, becauſe the prince knew his fixed reſolution never to accept of the ſmalleſt favour. In reality he never had received any favour; not ſo much as a horſe or a picture. He had early witneſſed the embarraſſments to which the heir apparent was expoſed from the ſmallneſs of his income. When the prince's eſtabliſhment was firſt ſettled, the duke of Portland, and the miniſters of that period, thought that it ought not to be leſs than a hundred thouſand a year; but his majeſty thought otherwiſe, and only half that ſum was granted. All the money which he had received ſince that time would be found not to exceed ſeventy-five thouſand pounds per annum, which was one-fourth leſs than, at the outſet, had been deemed neceſſary by miniſters. Of the money paid in 1787, ſixty thouſand pounds was for Carlton houſe, and this had been faithfully applied to the purpoſe. In 1787 he had, he ſaid, adviſed the prince not to give any pledge, as it was not probable it could be kept, and he had drawn up a plan of retrenchment, which was approved by the king and his royal highneſs. At the ſame time he had ~~been~~ told by the prince that the promiſe was not to be inſiſted upon; but afterwards, to his great aſtoniſhment, he heard it read in the king's meſſage. The prince had requeſted him to retract it, but this he declined to do, as he felt that, however it might have been obtained from his royal highneſs, he, having once agreed to it, was bound in honour to abide by it. By the arrangements then made miniſters had a check upon the prince's expenditure; which check, however, they never exerted. They were ſtill more to be condemned for not putting a ſtop to the uſeleſs waſte of money upon Carlton houſe. In ſo far, blame attached to them, and not to the prince. His royal highneſs being thus involved in debt, an attempt was made to raiſe money for him in foreign countries. This he put a ſtop to, as unconſtitutional, and the bonds were burned, by which he ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs. Another plan of retrenchment and retirement was then propoſed to the prince, and agreed to by him, upon the advice of lord Thurlow and Mr. Sheridan; but was relinquiſhed in conſequence of the interference and remonſtrance of lord Loughborough, who threw a ſtigma upon both the advice and the adviſers, by ſaying that the advice ſavoured too much of that given to M. Egalité, and he could gueſs from what quarter it came. Had theſe plans been adopted the heir apparent would at this moment have been, in popularity as in rank, the ſecond man in the kingdom. By the preſent plan he had not the merit of ſuggeſting either the retrenchments or the checks upon his future conduct. He was ſet in a gilded pillory; ſent to do penance in an embroidered ſheet. Mr. Sheridan now proceeded to ſtate his ideas with reſpect to the diſcharge of the debts. Something towards their payment ſhould, he ſaid, be given by the king. The debts ought to be divided into two parts, and thoſe due to honeſt tradeſmen, and ſalaries in arrear, (and ſome were fourteen quarters in arrear,) ſhould be immediately liquidated. As Carlton houſe was veſted for ever in the public, the public ought to pay the expence of rebuilding it. The debts would thus be reduced to five hundred thouſand pounds, to provide for the intereſt of which he would call for ten thouſand a year from the king's privy purſe, five thouſand from the queen's eſtabliſhment, and for the remaining ten thouſand he would look to thoſe places and ſinecures which neither added dignity, nor gave ſupport to the crown. He wound up his ſpeech by propoſing to the original motion an amendment that the conſolidated fund ſhould not be ſubjected to any charge till the reſources pointed out by him had been found to be inſufficient.

Mr. Sheridan was anſwered by Mr. Dundas, who declared the civil liſt to be not more than adequate to anſwer the purpoſe, ridiculed the idea of voting it annually, and expecting money from the private purſe of their majeſties, and cenſured the honourable member for the manner in which he had ſpoken of the moſt exalted perſonage in the ſtate.

After ſome further debate the amendment was withdrawn for the preſent by Mr. Sheridan. The houſe then divided on the main queſtion which was carried by a hundred and forty-eight ayes, againſt ninety-three noes. Mr. Sheridan then again brought forward his amendment, with a ſmall alteration. Mr. Pitt moved an adjournment, which was carried by an immenſe majority, only twenty-nine members having voted in favour of Mr. Sheridan's propoſition.

Sharp debates ſubſequently took place upon points of minor importance, and efforts were made, but without effect, to diminiſh the annuity from ſixty-five to forty thouſand pounds, and to make it payable from the civil liſt. The hardeſt ſtruggle, however, was on a motion made by general Smith, and eloquently ſupported by Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan, for claiming the amount received from the Corniſh revenue, during the prince's minority, and applying it to the liquidation of his debts. The attorney general acknowledged, on this occaſion, that his former ſtatement reſpecting the tenure by which the duchy was held was not perfectly accurate. A very feeble defence was made againſt the arguments urged in favour of the motion. The motion was, however, negatived by a large majority; the ayes being forty, and the noes ninety-ſeven.

The jointure of the princeſs of Wales was ſettled, by unanimous conſent, at fifty thouſand pounds per annum.

To complete the whole, a bill was brought in by ſir William Pulteney, to prevent the prince of Wales, and all future princes, from incurring debts. It paſſed without oppoſition.

In the houſe of lords no debate of any length occurred, but the little that was ſaid was diſtinguiſhed by an abundant portion of warmth. The duke of Clarence, in particular, ſpoke with a marked and, perhaps, ſcarcely juſtifiable aſperity, and charged miniſters with having managed the buſineſs ſo as to take away all popularity from the prince in order to center it in themſelves. He complained of the libels which were encouraged againſt his royal brother, and ſtated as a notorious fact, that when the marriage of his royal highneſs was agreed upon, there was a ſtipulation that, in the event of that union, he ſhould be exonerated from debt. It appeared to him no ſmall hardſhip that ſo much eloquence ſhould be exerted to procure the voting away of millions to foreign princes, while the making of an application to parliament to relieve the heir apparent was looked upon as the moſt hateful of all taſks, and was prefaced by the moſt degrading expreſſions of reluctance and apology. The duke of Clarence was ably ſeconded by the duke of Bedford, and the earl of Lauderdale, the latter of whom entered into a ſpirited vindication of the prince of Wales.

The bills relating to the eſtabliſhment and debts of the heir apparent were finally paſſed, on the twenty-ſixth of June, and, on the following day, the ſeſſion was terminated by a ſpeech from the throne.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Maritime and inſular campaign. Capture of La Pique, and death of captain Faulknor. French projects in the Mediterranean. Toulon fleet defeated by admiral Hotham, and two ſail of the line captured. Falſehood of the French official accounts. Vice admiral Cornwallis with a ſmall ſquadron, chaced by the Breſt fleet, which acts with great cowardice, and finally retires. The Breſt ſquadron defeated by Lord Bridport, who captures three ſail of the line. Toulon fleet again vanquiſhed by admiral Hotham, who takes one man of war. General ſucceſs of Britiſh frigates. War in the Weſt Indies. French reinforcements arrive at Guadaloupe. Plan of Victor Hugues to recover the French, and ſubjugate the Britiſh colonies. He reduces St. Euſtatius. Invaſion of St. Lucia by the republicans, and inſurrection of the inhabitants. General Stewart, the commander in St. Lucia, is defeated, after gaining ſome ſucceſſes. The Britiſh troops are under the neceſſity of withdrawing from the iſland. The republicans foiled in their attempts upon Dominica. They excite the Charaibs and French planters of St. Vincent's to rebel, and ſend them ſuccour. The rebels repreſſed for a time. They again act on the offenſive, and are again defeated. Still retain their ground in the iſland at the end of the year. Grenada. Retroſpect of affairs in that iſland ſince its conqueſt in the ſeven year's war. Unjuſt conduct of the Britiſh-born to the French-born planters. Conſequent diſaffection of the latter. They are aſſiſted by Victor Hugues. They and the Mulattoes break out into rebellion. Ineffectual meaſures adopted againſt them. Maſſacre of the Britiſh priſoners. Various actions fought in the courſe of the year. Jamaica. Alarm of the Jamaica planters on the rebellion of the Maroons. Sketch of the origin and hiſtory of the Maroons. Cauſe of the preſent Maroon war. Artful plan of the Maroons for the ruin of the iſland. It is fruſtrated. Death of colonel Sandford. Maroons eſtabliſh their quarters at an inacceſſible place called the Cockpits. Death of colonel Fitch. The colonial aſſembly reſolves to ſend to Cuba for dogs to track the Maroons. Major-general Walpole, by his activity and ſpirit, reduces the enemy to great diſtreſs. They appear deſirous of peace. Different opinions on the ſubject of granting it. Arrival of the dogs. Terror of the Maroons. Peace concluded with them. St. Domingo. Inactivity of the Britiſh. Activity of the enemy. Dreadful ravages of the yellow fever. Succeſſes of the republicans in various quarters. Rigaud repulſed from Fort Bizotton. He gets poſſeſſion of Tiburon. Plots againſt the Britiſh. Military proceedings in the Eaſt. Expedition againſt the Cape of Good Hope. Major-general Craig effects a landing and defeats the Dutch. Arrival, with a body of troops, of general Clarke, who takes the command. Surrender of the colony. Trincomale, and all the Dutch ſettlements in Ceylon, with the exception of Columbo, reduced by colonel Stewart. Reduction of the Dutch ſettlements on the Aſiatic continent. Concluſion.

THAT maritime ſuperiority which Great Britain had ſo glorioufly aſſerted and eſtabliſhed, during the preceding year, was fully maintained during the preſent, though, from the caution of the enemy, and other circumſtances, no opportunity occurred of ſtriking ſuch a deciſive blow as that which, on the firſt of June, was given, by the brave and veteran Howe, to the republican marine.

Early in the year an action was fought, in the Weſt Indies, which, while it was honourable to the gallantry of the French commander, afforded a convincing proof of the invincible valour and perſeverance of Britiſh officers and ſeamen. Cruizing off Guadaloupe, in the Blanche of 32 guns, captain Faulknor, who, as it has been ſeen in our laſt volume *, ſo highly diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the ſtorming of Fort Royal, fell in with, and engaged the La Pique of thirty-eight guns, ſeveral ſwivels, and four hundred men. Jan. 4. After a ſevere conteſt of five hours, the enemy was compelled to ſtrike, having loſt his main and mizen maſts, and nearly two hundred men killed and wounded. The victory was embittered by the fall of the gallant Faulknor, who was ſlain towards the middle of the engagement, while in the act of laſhing a ſecond time the bowſprit of his antagoniſt's veſſel to the capſtern of his own. The combat, however, was continued, with unabated ſpirit, by lieutenant Watkins, the ſecond in command.

As ſoon as the news of captain Faulknor's death arrived in England, a vote was paſſed by the houſe of commons, for the erection, in Weſtminſter-abbey, of a monument to his memory. This monument, the abbey being already too crowded, was afterwards placed in the cathedral of St. Paul's.

In the Mediterranean, the French ſuffered a check which was no leſs mortifying than diſgraceful. On the firſt of March, their Toulon ſquadron, conſiſting of fifteen ſail of the line, ſix frigates, and three corvettes, put to ſea, with the avowed intention of finding the Engliſh fleet, giving it battle whenever it could be found, driving it from the Mediterranean, and re-eſtabliſhing the freedom of navigation. In order to profit by the ſucceſs which was ſo confidently anticipated, between four and five thouſand troops were embarked on board the ſquadron. The ſervice on which they were to be employed was moſt probably the recovery of Corſica.

At the commencement of their cruize, the republicans had a gleam of good fortune, which raiſed to the higheſt pitch their already ſanguine hopes. March 7. Off Cape Corſe they fell in with the Berwick of ſeventy-four guns, which, after ſome reſiſtance, was obliged to ſurrender. Captain Littlejohn, her commander, fell previouſly to the ſubmiſſion of his veſſel.

The joy of the enemy was, however, but of ſhort continuance. Having received intelligence of their being at ſea, admiral Hotham, who was then in the road of Leghorn, ſet ſail in purſuit of them with his ſquadron, conſiſting of fourteen ſhips of the line. It was not until the twelfth that he got ſight of the fleet, which had been charged to ſweep him from the Mediterranean; it was then perceived to windward.

As it was on the following morning found that the enemy was ſtill ſteering in the ſame direction, and diſplayed no inclination to run the hazard of a battle, the Britiſh admiral

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* See A. R. 1794, Hiſtorical part, p. 383.

miral made the ſignal for a general chace. In the courſe of the chace, the weather being ſqually, and the gale blowing very freſh, it was diſcovered that one of the republican men of war had loſt her topmaſts. Captain Freemantle, of the Inconſtant frigate, who was foremoſt in purſuit, ſeized this favourable opportunity to rake, haraſs and impede her, till he was ſeconded by captain Nelſon in the Agamemnon. The enemy's ſhip was ſo crippled, that ſhe muſt inevitably have ſtruck, had not her friends borne down to her aſſiſtance, and taken her in tow.

As the heavy ſhips did not gain on the enemy, the ſignal was thrown out towards evening, to form on the larboard line of bearing. At day-light the next morning, the enemy's diſabled ſhip, and the one which had her in tow, were ſeen ſo far to leeward, that there appeared a fair chance of cutting them off, or, at leaſt, of forcing the enemy to riſk an action in order to ſave them. Every ſail was conſequently ſpread to accompliſh this purpoſe.

March 14.

Diſinclined as the republicans were to try their ſtrength with the Britiſh, they could not at firſt reſolve to abandon the diſabled ſhip and her conſort without a ſtruggle, and accordingly came down to their ſupport. Their courage, however, ſoon failed them. Finding the Britiſh van ready to receive them, they gave up all thought of action, and contented themſelves with ineffectually firing upon admiral Hotham's line, as they paſſed it with a light air of wind. Totally abandoning the ſea to their antagoniſts, they returned to their own coaſts, and anchored in the bay of Hyeres.

The captured veſſels were the Ca Ira, formerly the Couronne, of 80 guns, and the Cenſeur of 74. From their crowded ſtate, and the obſtinacy of their defence, their loſs was conſiderable. It was between three and four hundred men; a loſs equal to that ſuſtained by the whole of the Britiſh ſquadron.

So terminated an expedition which was to re-eſtabliſh in the Mediterranean the freedom of navigation. The republicans, with a contempt of truth, by no means unuſual in French official accounts, attributed their diſaſter to every cauſe but the real one. It aroſe, according to them, from the want of wind, from the miſconduct of the captain of the Cenſeur, and ſome other officers of the fleet, and from the ſuperior force of their enemies. From the falſehood of the laſt aſſertion, a proper eſtimate may be formed of their veracity on the other points. It appears from an authentic liſt of the hoſtile ſquadrons, that they had on their ſide an advantage of nearly a hundred guns, and more than three thouſand ſailors, independantly of the troops which they had on board. It is pretended indeed by them, that the Sans Culotte of 120 guns, and the Mercury of 74, parted company on the night of the thirteenth, but this is contradicted by the diſpatch of admiral Hotham, which ſtates thoſe ſhips to have been preſent on the following morning.

The behaviour of the Breſt fleet was not calculated to recover to the republican navy the credit which had been loſt by that of the fleet from Toulon. It was, in truth, ſtill more deſerving of cenſure and deriſion.

Vice-admiral Cornwallis, with the Royal Sovereign, Mars, Triumph, Brunſwick and Bellerophon men of war, and the Phaeton and Pallas frigates, was cruizing off the Penmarks, between Breſt and L'Orient, when a ſignal was made by the Phaeton that a hoſtile ſquadron was in ſight, and that it conſiſted of thirteen ſail of the line, fourteen frigates, two brigs, and a cutter. This was the Breſt ſquadron.

The enemy were at this moment directly to leeward; but having changed their poſition during the night, in conſequence of the wind veering round to the northward, they were, before daylight, ſeen upon both quarters of the Britiſh ſquadron. June 19. It was nine o'clock before the headmoſt of their ſhips, ſeconded by a frigate, began to fire upon the Mars. As the reſt of their veſſels came up in ſucceſſion, they opened a teazing though little injurious cannonade, which was continued at intervals, through the remainder of the day. The Mars having in the evening fallen ſomething to leeward, they made a ſhow of attacking her more ſeriouſly than they had hitherto done; but the ſight of the vice-admiral approaching to the ſuccour of the menaced veſſel, induced them to relinquiſh their purpoſe. This was their laſt effort, if, indeed, as admiral Cornwallis contemptuouſly obſerved in his diſpatch, any thing which they did could deſerve that appellation. Though for two hours longer a few ſhot were exchanged, the enemy continued to draw off, and before ſun-ſet their whole fleet had tacked, and was ſtanding away from the Britiſh. During the engagement, if we may be allowed to call it ſo, the Engliſh ſailors repeatedly expreſſed the diſdainful opinion which they entertained of their cautious antagoniſts. It is, in reality, difficult, or rather impoſſible, to aſſign any rational cauſe for the conduct of the French commander, in not making a deciſive attempt to cruſh, with his immenſe ſuperiority of force, the weak diviſion oppoſed to him, which, had he acted with common ſenſe and common vigour, muſt have been totally deſtroyed, or at leaſt ſo roughly treated as to render it wholly incapable of maintaining its ſtation.

To the loſs of honour which on this occaſion was ſuſtained by the republicans was very ſoon added the loſs of a part of their ſquadron. Lord Bridport, with the channel fleet of fourteen ſail of the line, was at this moment cruizing off the coaſt of France. At dawn of day, on the twenty-ſecond, his look-out frigates informed June 22. him by ſignal that the enemy was in view. It is not to be ſuppoſed that thoſe who had retreated from five ſhips would now venture an engagement with nearly thrice that number. His lordſhip quickly perceived that the adverſe ſquadron had no wiſh but to eſcape, and he in conſequence directed a general chace, which was continued through that day and night, with very little wind.

By the next morning, at an early hour, the Irreſiſtible, June 23. Orion, Queen Charlotte, Ruſſel, Coloſſus, and Sans Pareil, the headmoſt ſhips, had gained ſo much upon the French, that at ſix o'clock the action commenced. It laſted till nine, by which time three of the republican veſſels, Le Tigre of 80 guns, and Le Formidable and L'Alexandre of 74, had ſtruck their colours. The other part of the French ſquadron was ſaved from utter deſtruction only by its proximity to the ſhore, which enabled it to take ſhelter in the port of L'Orient. When the firing ceaſed, the Britiſh were ſo cloſe under ſome of the batteries on the coaſt, that it was with no ſmall difficulty that they ſecured the ſhips which they had taken. The killed and wounded of the victors fell ſhort of one hundred and fifty men; the only officers ſlain were lieutenants Stocker and Jephcott, on board the Sans Pareil.

The Mediterranean was for a while allowed to remain in peace. Four months elapſed before the Toulon fleet had the courage to put to ſea, and then, taught prudence by the late defeat, the committee of public ſafety gave it orders to avoid hazarding its ſafety. In ſpite, however, of its willing obedience to theſe orders, it did not return from its cruize with perfect impunity.

From the harbour of St. Fiorenzo, where he was refitting and watering, admiral Hotham had diſpatched captain Nelſon, with the Agamemnon and ſome frigates, to the gulph of Genoa. Captain Nelſon had been gone only three days when the admiral was ſurprized to learn that he was ſeen in the offing, purſued by the enemy, who had been ſuppoſed to be quiet at Toulon. Embarraſſed as was the Britiſh ſquadron, in the midſt of repairs and other operations, ſuch was the ſpirit and extraordinary exertions of the officers and men, that it got under weigh the ſame night, as ſoon as the land breeze would permit it to move.

The republicans, meanwhile, unwilling to encounter admiral Hotham, had made the beſt of their way towards their own ports. After having ſought them in vain for ſix days, the admiral, at length deſcried them, at dawn of the thirteenth, near the iſlands of Hyeres. July 13. An attempt was immediately made to cut them off from the land, which was not diſtant more than five leagues. This could not be accompliſhed. As they had obviouſly no wiſh but to eſcape, a ſignal was thrown out for a general chace, and for the ſhips to engage as they came up. Baffling winds and vexatious calms prevented, nevertheleſs, the Britiſh van from cloſing with their rear before noon, when the action began. In the courſe of an hour L'Alcide of 74 guns was compelled to ſtrike. Favoured by a ſhift of wind to the eaſtward the French ſquadron was now enabled to get into the bay of Frejus, while the major part of the Britiſh ſhips were becalmed in the offing.

The conquerors did not long retain the trophy which they had gained. In about half an hour after L'Alcide had ſurrendered, her foretop by ſome accident caught fire, and ſuch was the rapidity of the flames, that the whole of the ſhip was ſpeedily in a blaze. Boats were inſtantly diſpatched to reſcue the crew, but not more than three hundred were removed when ſhe blew up with a tremendous exploſion, by which a greater number of men than had been ſaved unfortunately periſhed.

During the whole of the year the Britiſh cruizers in various parts diſplayed the utmoſt activity. Several fine frigates were taken from the enemy, who were uniformly defeated in theſe encounters. Among thoſe who particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this kind of warfare may be mentioned, captains lord Henry Poulett, and ſir Sidney Smith, the honourable captain Cochrane, and captains Otway, Beresford and Burlton.

Brilliant and continued as were the naval ſucceſſes of Great Britain, they could not enable her to retain all thoſe colonies which ſhe had ſubdued in the Weſt Indies, during the campaign of the preceding year, nor even to preſerve her own poſſeſſions in that part of the globe from republican invaſion and ravage. Nor does this afford any reaſonable ground of ſurprize. It is evident that, however numerous and formidable may be the ſquadrons appointed to guard a long extended line of inſular territory, it is a matter of great difficulty to prevent a vigilant and enterprizing enemy from attacking in ſome quarter or other with at leaſt a momentary advantage.

Encouraged by the recovery of Guadaloupe, the French government ſent out, in the latter end of the year 1794, a reinforcement to Victor Hugues. This reinforcement conſiſted of one ſhip of 46 guns, one of 36, three of 20, and ten armed tranſports, laden with troops and warlike ſtores. One of theſe veſſels, the Duras, of 20 guns, was captured by the Bellona; but the remainder eſcaped, and got ſafe into the harbour of Point à Pitre.

Victor Hugues was not of a diſpoſition to remain inactive when he had the power of ſpreading terror and devaſtation around him. Proud of his late atchievements, and confident in his ſtrength, he now reſolved not only to drive the Engliſh from a part at leaſt of their recent conqueſts, but alſo to wreſt from them ſome of their own colonies. To accompliſh his ſcheme he did not rely upon his military force alone: the arts of ſeduction were called in to his aſſiſtance, and emiſſaries were diſpatched to excite to rebellion the negroes of the neighbouring iſlands, and likewiſe thoſe planters who had been at a former period the ſubjects of France.

The Dutch, as well as the Engliſh, were included in his plan of hoſtility. Early in the year he attacked the iſland of St. Euſtatius, which was eaſily reduced. In this iſland, which he immediately put in a ſtate of defence, he found large magazines of naval and other ſtores, which furniſhed a material aid to the execution of his ulterior projects.

The London Gazette for the early months of the year is remarkably barren of intelligence from the Weſt Indies; nor do the French papers ſupply the deficiency. It appears, however, that St. Lucia was the firſt object of Victor Hugues, and that the invaſion of that iſland was effected by the middle of February. The ſtrength of the republican invading force is not known, but that force ſeems to have been powerfully ſeconded by an inſurrection of the democratical inhabitants, the people of colour, and the negroe ſlaves. In a few days the dominion of the Britiſh was circumſcribed within the narrow limits of the Carenage and the Morne Fortunée.

About the middle of April, brigadier-general Stewart, who commanded at St. Lucia, determined to make a bold effort to recover the iſland. Having accordingly put his troops in motion he defeated the enemy in two encounters, and compelled them to retire from the town of Vieux Fort to Souffriere, their principal poſt. Sanguine hopes were now entertained that the colony would ſpeedily be reduced to obedience. But the republicans, though they had loſt ſome ground, were neither weakened nor diſpirited.

Purſuing his ſucceſs general Stewart marched againſt Souffriere, in his route towards which place he was attacked by a body of the enemy in ambuſcade, and which was not defeated without a ſevere conflict. At Souffriere he found the enemy prepared to receive him, and far ſuperior in numbers to any thing which he had conceived it poſſible for them to muſter. The projected April 22. attack was, nevertheleſs, made, and was continued for a conſiderable time with great obſtinacy; but the Britiſh troops, in ſpite of the moſt ſtrenuous exertions, were finally repulſed with ſerious loſs. In this conflict, and thoſe by which it was preceded, nearly two hundred Engliſh were ſlain and wounded.

On his repulſe brigadier-general Stewart retreated to his former poſts, where he confined himſelf to defenſive operations. Things remained in this ſtate for two months, at the end of which time the republicans, having gained ſufficient ſtrength, adopted meaſures for his capture or expulſion. Pigeon Iſland fell into their hands. Their next effort was againſt the Vigie, a peninſula forming one ſide of the harbour of the Carenage, of which they made themſelves maſters on the ſeventeenth of June. By the capture of this poſt the communication of the Britiſh with the Carenage was broken, and it became indiſpenſably neceſſary to abandon the Morne Fortunée with all poſſible diſpatch. In the night of the eighteenth, the troops were, therefore ſilently withdrawn, on board the ſhips, and the republicans were thus left in poſſeſſion of the whole of St. Lucia.

In Dominica the plans of Victor Hugues were leſs ſucceſsful than in the iſland of St. Lucia. An inſurrection of the negroes, and of many of the old French planters, was indeed excited, and this inſurrection was aided by a ſmall detachment from Guadaloupe. It failed, however, of its expected effect. Though ſo little attention had been paid to the ſafety of the colony that, at the moment of the exploſion, there was not more than a company of regulars in the iſland; yet ſuch was the fearleſs ſpirit of the Engliſh inhabitants that they flew to arms, and, in a ſhort time, obliged the enemy, who had landed, to ſurrender as priſoners of war. Many of the rebels were ſeverely June 17, 18. puniſhed, and great numbers of French planters were driven from the iſland on ſuſpicion of being diſaffected. Victor Hugues diſpatched two reinforcements to his partizans in Dominica; but the commanders finding, as they approached the ſhore, that all was loſt, and that the Britiſh were prepared to give them a warm reception, prudently relinquiſhed their deſign, and made the beſt of their way to Mariegalante.

St. Vincent's did not eſcape the ravage of war with equal good fortune. That iſland contained in its own boſom foes dangerous from their ſavage habits, their local ſituation, and their deep reſentment of former injuries. Theſe were the Caraibs, who, conſidering themſelves as the rightful poſſeſſors of the ſoil, and having already, though at a remote period, felt the weight of the Britiſh arms, were naturally ready to ſeize any opportunity of expelling thoſe whom they looked upon not only as intruders but as tyrants. Many of the planters of French extraction were alſo, from different motives, ſcarcely leſs hoſtile than the Caraibs to the exiſting government.

In the beginning of March the Caraibs and French planters, under the command of a Caraib chief named Chatoye, broke out into open rebellion. Their firſt proceedings were ſignalized by the perpetration of the greateſt enormities. They burned and devaſtated the windward country for ſeveral days, murdered the unarmed ſlaves who came in their way, and, to complete the catalogue of their atrocities, put to death, in the moſt barbarous manner, ſeveral unfortunate Engliſh priſoners, who had fallen into their hands at Chateau Bellair. Fortunately they were not only not joined, but were even uniformly oppoſed by the negroes, who bear a rooted hatred of the Caraibs, whom they conſider as rivals in the commerce of ſuch articles as are produced by their gardens.

Victor Hugues loſt not a moment in feeding the fire of revolt. He diſpatched to the Caraibs a ſmall ſupply of men, arms, ammunition, and proviſions, with a promiſe of a greater, and exhorted them to complete the extermination of the Engliſh. The governor of the iſland iſſued, on his ſide, a proclamation, offering an amneſty to ſuch of the rebels as would ſurrender before a certain day; and denouncing the puniſhment of treaſon againſt thoſe who perſiſted in their rebellious conduct.

Governor Seton was too wiſe to truſt ſolely to the effect of his proclamation. Seconded by captain Skinner of the Zebra, and by the ſpirited exertions of the garriſon and inhabitants of Kingſton, he drove the revolters from a poſt which they occupied over the town of Kingſton; and, having ſhortly after been reinforced by the forty-ſixth regiment, he again attacked them, and expelled them from ſeveral of their poſitions with conſiderable ſlaughter.

The arrival of ſuccour from Guadaloupe ſoon enabled the enemy to carry on offenſive operations. They ſummoned the poſt of Calliaqua to ſubmit at diſcretion, but not finding the commander, captain Moleſworth, diſpoſed to obey their ſummons, they retired, and reſolved to make an attempt upon Kingſton. Governor Seton had penetrated their deſign of attacking the latter place, and had, in conſequence, poſted a ſmall party, with a field piece, on Dorſetſhire hill, which overlooks the town. This party was attacked, at one in the morning, by a ſuperior force of French and Caraibs, and, notwithſtanding its vigorous reſiſtance, was driven from the ground, with the loſs of the cannon, and obliged to retire to Sion hill. As from the captured eminence the town might be deſtroyed, governor Seton inſtantly diſpatched two hundred men to recover it. Though the enemy had in the mean time been reinforced, and though they kept up a fire of grape ſhot from the piece of artillery, the Britiſh aſcended the hill, and, in leſs than half an hour, put them entirely to the rout. The ſlain and wounded of the republicans in this ſhort engagement was eſtimated at little ſhort of a hundred men.

May 8.

For more than a month ſubſequently to this affair, there is no account on record of the military proceedings. It ſeems, nevertheleſs, that the republicans had, during that period, gained ground, for, at the beginning of June we find them to have been in poſſeſſion of the poſt of the Vigie. From this poſt, lieutenant-colonel Leighton, who now headed the troops, thought it neceſſary to diſlodge them. No details are given of the attack; but, as the poſt was carried by aſſault, and as the loſs of the victors was acknowledged to be ſixty killed and wounded, while that of the vanquiſhed was eſtimated at more than four times that number, it is obvious that the ſtruggle was of an obſtinate kind. After this ſucceſs the lieutenant-colonel advanced into the Caraib country, and poſted his forces on Mount Young. The French who had joined the Caraibs were now ſaid to be nearly exterminated throughout the iſland.

June 12.

By what means the beaten and hunted enemy regained the aſcendancy has never been ſtated; but, at the beginning of October, they were once more maſters of the Vigie, and held the town of Kingſton in a ſort of partial blockade. So much did they ſtraighten the town, that major-general Irving, who had aſſumed the command, thought it neceſſary to take vigorous meaſures in order to expel them from their poſition. Fairbane's hill, which looks down on the Vigie, was accordingly attacked before day-break, by two columns and ſome field artillery. One of the columns gained the heights; the other, from the natural ſtrength of the poſt, and the heavy rains which fell in the courſe of the day, was unable to accompliſh its purpoſe. In the evening, therefore, the troops were led back to their former quarters, having ſuſtained in killed and wounded a loſs of one hundred and fifty-four men. Three officers were ſlain, and as many wounded. Unſucceſsful as this attack was, it impreſſed the enemy with ſo much dread, that, in the courſe of the night, they abandoned the poſt, and that with ſuch precipitation as to leave behind them their ammunition and cannon.

Oct. 2.

This, we believe, was the laſt action which was fought in St. Vincent's during the campaign of 1795. It was not until the middle of the next year that, after a hard ſtruggle, the fate of the colony was finally decided.

The colony of Grenada was ſtill more unfortunate than St. Vincent's. In this iſland the ſeeds of diſſatiſfaction had been long and widely ſown. On its ceſſion to Great Britain, by the treaty of 1763, the inhabitants were allowed either to remove within eighteen months, or to remain upon taking the oaths of allegiance. The far greater number choſe to become ſubjects of the new ſovereign, and this conduct was in a ſhort time rewarded by the grant of various privileges, at once flattering and beneficial. Theſe privileges were viewed with a malignant eye by the Britiſh purchaſers of property, who made frequent but ineffectual attempts to wreſt them from the natives.

In 1779 Grenada was captured by the French, who held it till the commencement of 1784, when it was reſtored to the Britiſh crown. The governor, appointed on the reſtoration of the iſland, was inſtructed to place the inhabitants in the ſame ſtate in which they ſtood before they were compelled to ſubmit to the arms of France. Theſe inſtructions, however, were diſobeyed. For a long while they were kept ſecret, and when, at length, they came to light, it was no leſs fooliſhly than falſely and wickedly pretended that they ought not to be acted upon, for that the adopted ſubjects muſt be conſidered as aliens, and conſequently incapable of truſt. To prove that the natives muſt be treated as aliens, it was ſaid that they were born under French dominion, and that no man could diveſt himſelf of his natural allegiance. It was in vain pleaded by the natives that, even allowing the truth of the principle, the principle itſelf did not apply to them, as they had been releaſed from their natural engagements by the act of their former ſovereign. Reaſon has no other effect than to irritate determined tyrants. The perſecution was ſteadily carried on, and the natives were at laſt completely ſtripped of their political rights. It has been aſſerted, and the aſſertion ſtands uncontradicted, that their civil rights alſo were infringed; and that their churches and glebe lands, which they had held undiſturbed for more than twenty years, were forcibly taken from them. The neceſſary reſult of this oppreſſion was a mortal hatred to the oppreſſors, and of courſe a ſtop to all ſocial intercourſe between them and the oppreſſed. With ſuch injuries and ſuch feelings it ſcarcely required the ſtimulus of revolutionary doctrines to excite the adopted ſubjects to rebellion.

While every thing was thus done to irritate the natives, every thing was neglected which might furniſh ſecurity againſt their deſpair and revenge. The fortifications were allowed to go to ruin, the garriſon was diminiſhed to little more than two hundred men, the militia, only ſix hundred ſtrong, were ſeldom exerciſed, and their arms were kept locked up in the court-houſe of St. George's, the Britiſh-born ſubjects were generally abſent from the iſland, and the governor, though often warned of his danger, obſtinately and unaccountably perſiſted in remaining inactive.

The ſtorm at length burſt. Two deputies, who had been ſent to Guadaloupe by the diſaffected French and men of colour, returned with ſome muſkets and ammunition, caps of liberty and national cockades; a ſtandard, inſcribed with the words, "liberty, equality, or death;" commiſſions, as French officers, for the chiefs of the revolt; and a promiſe, that this ſmall ſuccour ſhould be followed by ſpeedy and effectual ſupport. Julian Fedon, a mulatto, was appointed general of the inſurgents, and another mulatto, called Beſſon, his ſecond. The return of the deputies was the ſignal of inſurrection.

On the night of the ſecond of March, the rebels commenced, nearly at the ſame hour, their operations, by attacking Grenville and Charlotte town, ſituate on oppoſite ſides of the iſland. At Grenville they behaved with the utmoſt ferocity, plundering the place, murdering the Engliſh, and mangling the dead bodies in a ſhocking manner; at Charlotte town they contented themſelves with pillaging the town, and carrying away the inhabitants, whom they had ſurprized in their beds. Having done this, they proceeded to the appointed rendezvous at Belvidere, midway between Charlotte town and Grenville. In the morning lieutenant-governor Home, and ſome other gentlemen, were unfortunately taken by the revolters, as they were coming round in a veſſel to Charlotte town. The authority devolved in conſequence to the preſident, Mr. Kenneth Mackenzie.

Daringly as the rebels had begun their career, they were but few in number, and ill-provided for a conteſt. Had they been inſtantly attacked by the force which could eaſily have been got together, before they had collected their whole ſtrength, and eſtabliſhed themſelves in their faſtneſſes, it is probable that they would have been cruſhed at the very outſet of their rebellion. It was not, however, till three days had elapſed that a feeble and ineffectual plan was formed to aſſail the inſurgents' camp, and this plan was abandoned after a tardy and fruitleſs attempt to put it into execution.

A diſpatch was in the meanwhile ſent to Martinico to requeſt immediate ſuccours, and another to the governor of Trinidad; and a proclamation was iſſued, offering an amneſty to ſuch of the rebels as would ſurrender, and a reward for the capture or killing of thoſe who adhered to their treaſonable deſigns.

Brigadier-general Lindſay landed from Martinico on the twelfth with a few artillery-men, and aſſumed the command. He was followed by a ſmall detachment of one hundred and twenty men. The general did not delay a moment in marching towards the camp of Belvidere. The firſt outpoſt of the rebels was forced; but night coming on, the attack of the camp was delayed till the next morning. In the morning a ſtop was put to all military movements by the ſetting in of heavy rains, which continued for a week. This untoward circumſtance, together with want of reſt, and conſtant expoſure to the rain, had ſuch a fatal effect on the ardent mind of the general, that it brought on a fever, in the delirium of which he put an end to his exiſtence, to the deep regret of his ſoldiers, and of all who knew him.

Nothing was done during the remainder of the month. The rebels were every day growing more numerous by the junction of the negroes, mulattoes, and diſaffected French, ſo that in a ſhort time they were ſeveral thouſand ſtrong. Their greateſt want was that of ammunition, with which they were ſcantily ſupplied.

At length, on the ſecond of April, a reinforcement of 1250 men arrived at Grenada. A part of this force was diſtributed in various poſts with little judgment. The other part, aſſiſted by a hundred and fifty men from the navy, was deſtined to aſſault the rebel poſitions at Belvidere and Morne Vauclain. This aſſault is ſaid to have been determined upon by the preſident, in contradiction to the ſentiments of the officers, who repreſented that, the roads having been entirely broken up by inceſſant rains, it would be adviſable to defer an attack till the ground became more dry, and the weather more ſettled. The reſult juſtified their advice. The attack was made with great bravery; but the troops, entangled in the mud, or ſliding from the precipices, were ſlaughtered by an enemy whom they could not approach, or even injure; and were finally compelled to retreat, with the loſs of more than a hundred men killed and wounded. Captain Stopford and enſign

April 8.

enſign Baillie were among the ſlain on this unfortunate occaſion.

On the morning of the attack the rebels put to death the Britiſh priſoners in their camp, to the number of fifty. This atrocious barbarity has been attributed by ſome to the rage with which Fedon was inſpired by the loſs of his brother; while others have repreſented it as an act of retaliation for the death of M. Alexandre, who, though not a Britiſh ſubject, had been executed as a traitor, by order of the preſident.

Convinced, perhaps, of his own inability to conduct the military operations, the preſident now wrote to Martinico, deſiring that a general officer might be ſent, veſted with the full command. Brigadier-general Nicholls was accordingly diſpatched by ſir John Vaughan, and reached Grenada in the middle of April. The general, as ſoon as he had made himſelf acquainted with the ſtate of affairs, withdrew thoſe poſts which were uſeleſs, and determined to recover Pilot hill, in the neighbourhood of Grenville. On diſcovering his intention, the rebels abandoned Pilot hill, and retired to Belvidere. The next ſtep of the general was to embody ſuch of the negroes as could be depended upon, and this was followed up by the eſtabliſhment of poſts at Grenville, St. Patrick's, St. David's, and Charlotte town, in order to preclude the inſurgents from receiving ſuccours by ſea.

Want of enterprize in the rebels, and the weakneſs of the Britiſh forces, who, in three months, loſt more than half their number by the ravages of the fever, prevented for a conſiderable period any thing of importance from being done on either ſide. Continual ſkirmiſhes indeed took place, in which the inſurgents were uniformly worſted.

Notwithſtanding the care which had been taken to ſhut up the ports, two corvettes from St. Lucia found means, on the tenth of October, to land two hundred men, who reached the rebel camp without oppoſition. Emboldened by this aid, the inſurgents reſolved to make a daring puſh to enlarge their quarters. On the night of the fifteenth they attacked the poſt of Charlotte town, which was held by four hundred men, under lieutenant-colonel Schaw. Their ſucceſs was complete. The Britiſh troops relinquiſhed the town, after a ſhort conteſt, leaving behind them all the women, and more than a hundred ſick in the hoſpital. The women were returned unhurt; many of the ſick periſhed for want of medical aſſiſtance.

Nothing further worthy of notice occurred till the latter end of December, when the rebels made two attempts to get poſſeſſion of Pilot hill, in both of which they were defeated with very ſerious loſs. Theſe abortive attempts cloſed the military events of the year in the iſland of Grenada.

The minor Britiſh colonies in the weſt were not the only ſufferers. Jamaica itſelf was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by internal enemies, few in number, but, nevertheleſs, terrible from peculiar circumſtances. The exciters of this conſternation were the Maroons. When, during the protectorate of Cromwell, the iſland was conquered by Penn and Venables, about fifteen hundred ſlaves retreated to the mountains and impenetrable wilds of the interior, where they ſet at defiance the power of their conquerors. The name of Maroons, which they ſhortly after received, is ſaid by ſome to ſignify hog hunters, and by others to be derived from the Spaniſh word *ſimaran*, a monkey. However this may be, it is certain that the Maroons were a never-failing ſource of diſquiet to the Britiſh planters. Vigilant, active, and ferocious, they haraſſed the country for more than three-fourths of a century, ravaging and burning the plantations, killing the cattle, and murdering the white people, with trifling loſs to themſelves, as, on the approach of danger, they always retired to woods, rocks, and defiles, where it was impoſſible to follow them. In the laſt forty years of this period forty-four acts of aſſembly were paſſed, and nearly a quarter of a million ſterling was ſpent, for their extirpation, without producing the deſired effect. By the year 1730 they were grown ſo formidable, under an able chief called Cudjoe, that it was found neceſſary to ſtrengthen the colony againſt them by two regiments of regular troops, and to bring the whole of the militia into the field. A conſtant and vigorous war was now carried on for eight years, in the courſe of which they ſuſtained ſeveral ſevere defeats. Several forts were likewiſe built near their moſt favourite haunts, and furniſhed with ſtrong garriſons for the purpoſe of hunting them down, and deſtroying their proviſion grounds. By a continuance of this ſyſtem, the Maroons were at length reduced to ſuch extremity, that, in the year 1738, they gladly accepted a peace which was offered to them by Governor Trelawney. They were allowed to retain their freedom; but a tract of country was marked out on which they were to ſettle, two ſuperintendants were appointed to reſide amongſt them, and they were bound to aſſiſt the whites with all their force, in caſe of invaſion or rebellion. It was likewiſe ſtipulated, that "if the Maroon chief, or any "of his people, did any injury to "any white perſon, he ſhould ſubmit himſelf, or deliver up ſuch "offenders to juſtice." On the other hand, that encouragement might not be wanting to the Maroons to continue peaceable, they were permitted to plant their lands with coffee, cotton, tobacco, and other commodities, and to diſpoſe freely of the produce; and were alſo to receive a certain bounty for the apprehenſion of runaway negroes.

The peace thus concluded, was preſerved unbroken, till the month of July 1795, when two Maroons of Trelawney town having been tried and whipped at Montego bay, for ſtealing ſome pigs, returned home with threats of vengeance, and procured a meeting of the whole body of Maroons, in which it was reſolved to take arms againſt the whites. A written defiance was ſent by them to Montego bay, and the ſuperintendant was ordered to retire from among them, under pain of death.

In conſequence of theſe hoſtile proceedings, the militia was called out by general Palmer, and a detachment of dragoons was obtained from Spaniſh town. While the militia was waiting for inſtructions, a meſſage was brought from the Maroons, deſiring a conference in Trelawney town, with four gentlemen whom they named. In this conference the Maroons complained, not of the puniſhment which had been inflicted, but of the diſgrace ariſing from its having been adminiſtered by a black driver, in the preſence of fugitive and felon negro ſlaves;

and they demanded reparation for the indignity, an addition to their lands, the diſmiſſion of their preſent ſuperintendant, and the appointment in his room of a perſon who had once before acted in the ſame capacity, and with whoſe conduct they had been fully ſatisfied. An aſſurance was given them, that their demands ſhould be taken into conſideration, and with this aſſurance they declared themſelves contented.

To gain time was, however, the ſole motive of the Maroons in requiring this conference, and appearing pacified by its reſult. They knew that, on the morning of the twenty-ſixth, the July fleet, of one hundred and fifty ſhips, was to ſail for England; they knew alſo, that except the eighty-third regiment, there were few regular troops in the iſland, and that the eighty-third regiment was under orders for St. Domingo; and they were deſirous that ſuſpicion ſhould be quieted, till the fleet and the regulars had departed from Jamaica, when they meant to riſe, prevail on the ſlaves throughout the colony to join them, and exterminate the whites.

This plan had nearly proved ſucceſsful. The report of the gentlemen who had held the conference, bore ſuch ſtrong teſtimony to the good diſpoſition of the Maroons, that the governor, the earl of Balcarras, was induced to let the eighty-third regiment proceed to St. Domingo. The troops, however, had not been gone more than three days before, from various quarters, his lordſhip received convincing proof of the treachery of the Maroons. A faſt failing boat was, therefore, diſpatched after the tranſports, and as, from the contrary wind and ſtrong lee current, they had proceeded but ſlowly, they were fortunately overtaken, and the regiment was landed in Montego bay. The return of the regulars diſpelled the panic of the planters, who had begun to anticipate the revolt of the ſlaves, and the diſaſtrous conſequences which muſt inevitably follow. The ſlaves, on their ſide, conſidered the circumſtance as a proof that heaven had declared in favour of the whites, and this idea contributed not a little to reſtrain them within the bounds of obedience.

The colony was now put under martial law, the troops on the ſpot were further reinforced, and the governor himſelf left Spaniſh town for Montego bay, in order to be near the ſcene of action. Previouſly to the commencing of military operations a ſummons to lay down their arms, was ſent to the Maroons, by the governor, but without producing the ſmalleſt effect.

The Maroons began the war by ſetting fire to their own town, and attacking the out-poſts of the army. They then aſſembled in a body, near a ſmall village called their New Town, in the vicinity of the proviſion grounds. The governor now gave orders to lieutenant colonel Sandford to march with a conſiderable detachment of horſe, and ſome militia to take poſſeſſion of the proviſion grounds, while he himſelf fell upon the Maroons in front. It was hoped, that the rebels would by theſe movements be enveloped, and obliged to yield. On his march, the lieutenant-colonel was informed, that the Maroons had retired to the ruins of their old town, and, with an inconſiderate bravery, inſtead of waiting at his poſt for orders, he determined to puſh after the enemy. The

Aug. 12.

retreat of the Maroons was merely a feint to lure him into an ambuſcade. His troops had advanced half way, through a narrow and rugged road, when a heavy fire was poured on them from behind the buſhes. The lieutenant-colonel was among the firſt who fell, and with him fell colonel Gallimore of the militia, quarter-maſter M'Bride, and forty privates, who were ſlain outright; while a ſtill greater number were wounded The ſoldiers, nevertheleſs, ruſhed on, and drove the Maroons from their hiding places. After paſſing a painful and hazardous night, the remains of the corps marched back in the morning to their former poſt, and brought with them moſt of their wounded companions. This check rouſed anew in the boſoms of the planters all thoſe fears which had been laid to reſt by the fortunate return of the eighty-third regiment.

After this ſucceſs, the Maroons eſtabliſhed their head-quarters at a ſpot in the interior, called the Cock-pits. This ſpot is a ſort of valley or dell, ſo encircled by lofty mountains, and precipitous and broken rocks, as to be nearly inacceſſible to any but its ſavage inhabitants. It can only be reached by a path of one hundred and fifty feet, down a rock of almoſt perpendicular deſcent. In the caverns the Maroons depoſited their ammunition, and lodged their women and children. Hence their youngeſt and boldeſt men were ſent forth to bring in proviſions, to burn the houſes and plantations, and to murder the planters. Theſe predatory excurſions were always marked by blood. Not even ſuckling infants, nor females in child-bed, were ſpared by the ferocious enemy.

The death of colonel Sandford did not furniſh the ſalutary leſſon which might have been expected. His ſucceſſor in command, colonel Fitch, a brave and worthy officer, fell a victim to the ſame want of caution. He was cut off by an ambuſh, as he was proceeding with a detachment to relieve ſome diſtant out-poſts. Horrible to relate, when the body was two days after ſought for, it was found decapitated, and the ſevered head buried in the bowels!

The general aſſembly met towards the latter end of September, and the Maroon rebellion was the firſt ſubject upon which it deliberated. The meaſures taken during the war, which ended in 1738, were naturally looked back to, and it was diſcovered, that dogs had at that period been employed, to trace the Maroons in their concealments, and to render abortive that ſyſtem of ambuſcade. The aſſembly, therefore, reſolved to ſend to Cuba for a hundred dogs, of a particular ſpecies, which are uſed in the purſuit of wild bullocks, to drive the animals from the heights and receſſes of the mountains. The dogs were to be attended by a ſufficient number of Spaniſh huntſmen, to direct their operations. Some oppoſition was made to the calling in of canine auxiliaries, but it was overpowered by the forcible and paramount plea of ſelf-preſervation.

Before, however, the dogs could be obtained from Cuba, conſiderable progreſs had been made in the reduction of the Maroons. The command had been given to the honourable major-general Walpole, an officer who combined courage and enterprize, with vigilance and circumſpection. His exertions were ſtrenuouſly ſeconded by thoſe of the governor himſelf, who had haſtened to the ſcene of action, as ſoon as the buſineſs of the aſſembly would admit of his leaving the capital.

The country to which the Maroons had retired, was fortunately deſtitute of ſprings and rivers. Their only reſource, therefore, when they had exhauſted the little pools of rain-water in the cavities of the rocks, was in the wild pine, a ſingular tree, or rather paraſitical plant, the leaves of which, formed like a ſpout, catch the falling ſhowers, and retain, at the baſe of each leaf, about a pint of pure water, which can be reached neither by the wind nor the ſun, and affords a welcome refreſhment to the traveller, in ſituations where he muſt otherwiſe experience all the ſeverity of thirſt. Even this ſtore, however, began to fail. At the ſame time the Maroons were ſo ſtrictly confined within their deſert limits by the prudence of general Walpole, who occupied every paſs, and were alſo ſo inceſſantly haraſſed by well concerted expeditions, that they grew thoroughly tired of the war in which they had raſhly engaged. The Britiſh troops had, on their ſide, ſcarcely leſs reaſon than the Maroons to wiſh for the termination of a conteſt, which, while it was in a more than ordinary degree perilous and fatiguing, gave them no opportunity of gaining either profit or fame. But, however deſirous they might be to ſee the end of ſuch a tireſome and inglorious ſervice, they cheerfully endured all its hardſhips, among which not the leaſt painful was the want of water. The line upon which they acted was more than twenty miles in length, and it extended through tracks and glades, of which the military term *defile*, has been ſaid to give no adequate idea. A march of five miles could not be accompliſhed in a leſs ſpace of time than ſeven hours.

The ſpirit of the Maroons was, at length, almoſt broken. Through the medium of ſome negroes, who had been forced into their ſervice, and whom they now diſmiſſed, they made known their deſire of coming to an accommodation. They were not reluctant, it was intimated, to ſurrender their arms, their lands, and the fugitive ſlaves, and to mix with the free blacks, on whatever ſpot the government might be pleaſed to point out. Capital puniſhment and tranſportation from the country, were the ſole terms to which they did not appear ready to accede.

Conſiderable difference of opinion aroſe as to the propriety of liſtening to theſe overtures. By ſome they were conſidered as illuſory, and meant only to gain time, for the purpoſe of throwing the troops off their guard, and effecting an eſcape to better quarters. It was beſides urged that it would be a ſacrifice of the public honour, to treat with a lawleſs banditti, ſtained by all ſorts of crimes; and it was further aſſerted, that the meaſure would produce a bad effect upon the minds of the negroes, and of thoſe Maroons who had not rebelled, as it would not be regarded by them in the light of an act of lenity, but as a confeſſion of weakneſs. Others, however, and among them was the general, were of opinion that it would be good policy to extend forgiveneſs to the revolters. They contended that, if the oppoſite ſyſtem were purſued, the war muſt be a war of extermination; that to exterminate the Maroons was next to impoſſible, a few Maroons would inevitably eſcape;

and form a rallying point for runaway negroes; that a ſingle Maroon armed with a torch alone, might, in the cane ſeaſon, ſpread ruin through an extenſive diſtrict; that five hundred thouſand pounds had already been expended in the conteſt, excluſive of the great pecuniary loſs ſuſtained by individual proprietors from the ravage of the enemy, and the attendance of ſervants upon military duty; that the future expence would be too burdenſome to be borne; and that, in addition to all this, cultivation was at a ſtand, the courts of juſtice were cloſed, and the whole of the colony was ſubjected to the rigorous government of martial law. Such a ſtate of things could not, it was forcibly argued, but prove deſtructive to the comfort and proſperity of the planters of Jamaica.

While the two parties were debating on the wiſdom of peace, the dogs arrived from Cuba. A hundred of thoſe animals were landed in Montego bay, on the fourteenth of December, together with forty chaſſeurs, or Spaniſh hunters. The dogs were not larger than the Engliſh ſhepherd's dog, to which they bore a great reſemblance; but the moſt alarming reports were directly ſpread abroad of their ſize, ſtrength, activity and fierceneſs. Theſe reports, as had probably been intended, reached the rebel Maroons, and inſpired them with terror. This terror was doubtleſs heightened by a bold and ſucceſsful attack made upon them by the ſeventeenth dragoons. In the moſt ſubmiſſive manner they now ſued for peace. They offered to beg his majeſty's pardon on their knees, to remove to any place choſen by the governor, and to give up the runaway ſlaves. Perfectly convinced that the war might be ſpun out to an interminable length, and that the junction of a ſmall foreign ſuccour with the revolters might endanger the very exiſtence of the colony, general Walpole gave his conſent to the terms propoſed by the Maroons. To allay their fears the Maroons demanded, and obtained, upon the oath of the general, a ſecret article, ſtipulating that their paſt miſconduct ſhould not be puniſhed by a removal from the iſland.

This treaty, which was ſigned on the twenty-firſt of December by general Walpole, and ratified on the twenty-eighth by the governor, put an end to the Maroon rebellion. The difficulties which aroſe in the execution of it, and the ſtrong meaſures taken in conſequence by the colonial aſſembly, meaſures which gave riſe to a parliamentary diſcuſſion, did not occur till the following year, and will of courſe find their place in the narrative of our next volume.

In our laſt volume we brought up the detail of military operations in St. Domingo to the time when the Britiſh made themſelves maſters of Port au Prince, the capital of the iſland. It now remains to narrate the proceedings for the latter half of 1794, and the whole of 1795: an inactive but calamitous and melancholy period.

The capture of Port au Prince ſeems to have exhauſted the ſtrength, or rather to have ſatisfied the wiſhes of the conquerors. The Britiſh and the armed coloniſts in this place amounted to three thouſand five hundred men, yet with this force no attempt was made to follow up the advantages which had been gained. About forty miles from

Port au Prince lie the ports of Jaquemel and Les Cayes, which are conveniently ſituated for a communication with the French iſlands to windward, and with the American ſtates. Theſe ports were in the poſſeſſion of the republicans, and through them they frequently received reinforcements and ſupplies. Had theſe two places been attacked, immediately upon the reduction of the capital, they would moſt probably have fallen, and the enemy would, in a great meaſure, have been deprived of the means of continuing the war. Not even a ſhip was, however, ſtationed on this ſide of the coaſt, to interrupt the French ſuccours, and clear the ſea of the numerous privateers which were ſent out from Jaquemel and Les Cayes, to prey upon the Engliſh commerce.

Nine days after their evacuation of Port au Prince, the commiſſioners, Polverel and Santhonax, abandoned St. Domingo, and, loaded with riches, returned to France. The colony was now, in reality, left in the hands of the mulattoes and blacks, though general Lavax ſtill held, at Port de Paix, the title of commander in chief.

Encouraged by the inertneſs of the Britiſh, the mulattoe leaders collected together a diſorderly rabble, and eſtabliſhed round Port au Prince various camps, by which the town was kept in a ſort of blockade. To ward off the attacks of this enemy, the Engliſh commanders thought it neceſſary to ſtrengthen the lines, and to raiſe additional entrenchments. The ſoldiers were compelled to labour at theſe works in the day, and to perform military duty during the night, by which means they were alternately expoſed to a burning ſun and to noxious dews and heavy rains. This alone was ſufficient to produce ſickneſs in the troops, had there been no other cauſe. But unfortunately they had already among them a fruitful ſource of diſeaſe. On the eighth of June the Experiment frigate had arrived with the honourable lieutenant-colonel Lenox, and eight flank companies of the 22d, 23d, 35th, and 41ſt regiments. This veſſel has been truly deſcribed as a houſe of peſtilence. The number taken on board by her was four hundred and ſixty men; but of this number two hundred died in her ſhort paſſage to St. Domingo. The ſurvivors landed only to ſpread contagion and death among their companions in arms. So rapid after their arrival was the progreſs of that fatal malady known by the name of the yellow fever, that forty officers and ſix hundred privates of the garriſon, fell victims to it in the little ſpace of two months. The diffuſion of the diſorder was obviouſly facilitated by that ſyſtem of inaction which crowded ſo conſiderable a force within the narrow limits of a ſingle town.

In this ſtate of affairs, general Whyte, whoſe health was much injured, reſigned the command. He was ſucceeded by brigadier-general Horneck, who came from Jamaica about the middle of September, and who was followed by fifty men, the only reinforcement which was received for ſeven months.

Diſeaſe had ſo thinned the ranks of the Britiſh, that the general was obliged to confine himſelf to defenſive meaſures. The enemy, on the contrary, grew every day more daring. Under the command of Rigaud, they ſeized upon Leogane, and put to death all the French planters of monarchical principles. In the neighbourhood of St. Marc, where colonel Briſbane had for ſome time ſucceſsfully oppoſed them, they at laſt regained a complete aſcendancy. The whole of the northern province was likewiſe in their power, with the exception of Mole St. Nicholas and the town of Fort Dauphin. The triumphs, and the weakneſs of their opponents, gave a powerful encouragement to conſpiracy and revolt in thoſe quarters which were yet unſubdued by them.

At the beginning of December, Rigaud made an attempt upon Fort Bizotton, near Port au Prince. His troops, conſiſting of two thouſand men, divided into three columns, Dec. 5. advanced early in the morning with ſuch ſecrecy, that before they were diſcovered they were cloſe under the works. The garriſon was not more than a hundred and twenty men, headed by captain Grant. It was luckily drawn up, and ready to receive the enemy. The conteſt only laſted three quarters of an hour, at the end of which time the aſſailants retreated, carrying off with them their wounded and a part of their dead. Their loſs was conſiderable; that of the garriſon was not ſerious. Captain Grant, and lieutenants Hamilton and Clunes, were ſeverely wounded early in the attack; but they tied up their wounds, and gallantly continued to encourage their troops till the cloſe of the action.

For this check the republicans had ſoon an ample revenge. From Les Cayes Rigaud ſailed on the twenty-third of December, with a brig of ſixteen guns, two ſchooners of fourteen guns, and nearly three thouſand men, to make, by ſea and land, a ſecond effort againſt Tiburon, which was garriſoned by about four hundred and fifty men, the chief part coloniſts, commanded by Monſieur de Sevré. The place was defended with the utmoſt ſpirit for four days; but at length, three hundred of the ſmall garriſon being ſlain or diſabled, the remainder intrepidly ſallied forth, fought their way through the enemy for five miles, and retired to Irois. M. du Pleſſis, and two other officers of the ſouth legion, were among the killed. Lieutenant Baſkerville, who, from ſome unfortunate circumſtances, was unable to retreat with the troops, and who imagined that he ſhould receive a ſhameful death from the conquerors, terminated his own exiſtence, at the moment when the fort was entered by Rigaud.

The year 1795 opened with conſpiracy. In the beginning of January, a plot was formed at St. Marc, to cut off colonel Briſbane; but it was happily diſcovered before it was matured for execution. In little more than a month, another was conceived and carried on, at Port au Prince, to ſeize the garriſon, and put to death all the Engliſh. This alſo was diſcovered. Twenty of the conſpirators were tried, and condemned by a council of war, to be ſhot, and this ſentence was ſuffered by fifteen of them on the eighteenth of February.

The military hiſtory of the colony is almoſt a blank for the reſt of the year. Blood was indeed daily ſhed in ſkirmiſhes; but on theſe ſkirmiſhes, which were unproductive of benefit to either party, it would be uſeleſs to dwell. Two ſmall reinforcements were received by the Britiſh; the one in April, the other in Auguſt. They were, however, too trifling to achieve any operation of importance, and the greateſt part of them was ſoon hurried to the grave by the devouring peſtilence. Of nine hundred and fifty men, who were landed at once, only three hundred and fifty were alive at ſix weeks end. The ravages of the ſword ſank into inſignificance when compared with thoſe of the dreadful diſeaſe which was the terror and the ſcourge of the Britiſh troops in the iſland of St. Domingo.

For the diſaſters and loſſes ſuſtained in the Weſt Indies, a compenſation, though a very inadequate one, was found by the Britiſh in the conqueſts which they made at the extremity of the African continent, and in the eaſtern hemiſphere. Theſe conqueſts, however, could not be regarded by them without the pleaſure of ſucceſs being heavily counterbalanced by a feeling of ſorrow that they were gained from a power which, with one ſhort interval, had for more than a century been an ally, and whoſe home territory, now in effect a province of France, had, during that time, been conſidered as a ſort of outwork, the ſafety of which was of the utmoſt importance to the welfare of England.

On the ſubjugation of Holland by the French, the Britiſh miniſtry diſpatched orders to ſecure the Dutch oriental poſſeſſions. The Cape of Good Hope was the firſt object. A ſmall force, conſiſting of three hundred and fifty men of the ſeventy-eighth regiment, and four hundred and fifty marines, headed by major-general Craig, and eſcorted by vice-admiral Elphinſtone, arrived in Simon's bay in the beginning of July. A correſpondence was opened with the governor of the Cape, to whom it was propoſed that he ſhould place the ſettlement under the protection of Great Britain. With this propoſal he refuſed, in the moſt peremptory language, to comply; and made preparations for a vigorous reſiſtance. The troops were in conſequence diſembarked at Simon's town, from which the governor had previouſly compelled all the inhabitants to retire. July 14.

The Dutch troops were at this moment entrenched in the ſtrong paſs of Muyzenberg, having on their right a ſteep mountain, and on their left the ſea, which is ſhallow for ſome diſtance from the ſhore, and beats with a high ſurf upon the land. Their front was covered by a numerous artillery. As the Britiſh land forces had not a ſingle gun, the reduction of this poſt was impracticable without the aſſiſtance of the fleet, which contrary winds rendered it for nearly a month impoſſible to obtain. At length, on the ſeventh of Auguſt, the projected attack was made. The fire of the ſhips was kept up with ſo much effect, that, before the troops could come into action, the enemy abandoned all their poſitions, leaving behind them three cannon and two howitzers, and retired to a ridge of rocky heights, whence they were ſpeedily driven by major Moneypenny, with a part of the army. Having been reinforced from the Cape town, the Dutch attempted on the next morning to recover the poſts, but were quickly compelled to retreat.

A ſmall detachment of 345 men, with ſome artillery and ammunition, arrived from St. Helena the day after this attempt, but, ſuch was the difficulty of procuring a ſupply of proviſions, that nearly three weeks elapſed before the general was able to act againſt the enemy. A night attack, which at the end of that time he ordered to be made, was fruſtrated by the intricacy of the roads, and the cowardice and ignorance of the guides. The Dutch were equally unſucceſsful in an effort to retaliate upon the Britiſh camp. They returned, nevertheleſs, to the charge. On the morning of the third of September they marched with eighteen field-pieces, and all the force they could muſter, to give battle to the invaders. They were within ſight of the camp when the appearance of fourteen ſail of large veſſels, ſtanding for the ſhore, induced them to relinquiſh their deſign, and retire to their former poſts.

The ſquadron caſt anchor the next day. It brought for the reduction of the Cape a conſiderable body of troops, under general Alured Clarke. As ſoon as he had completed the diſembarkation of the ſtores and ſupplies, the general moved forward toward Cape town. The Dutch were ſtrongly poſted, with cannon, at Wyneberg; and ſeemed reſolved to oppoſe a ſerious obſtacle to the progreſs of the Britiſh. Finding themſelves, however, menaced at once on both flanks and their center, by the ſkilful diſpoſitions of the general, and being alſo alarmed by the appearance in Table Bay of a part of the ſquadron, they did not think it prudent to wait for their antagoniſts. They fled, and the general halted for the night on the ground which he had gained.

Convinced that nothing was to be hoped from a further ſtruggle, governor Sluyſken now deſired to capitulate. A ceſſation of arms was accordingly agreed upon for twenty-four hours, at the expiration of which period the whole of the colony was ſurrendered to his Britannic majeſty. Sept. 16. The garriſon, conſiſting of a thouſand regulars, laid down their arms as priſoners of war; the coloniſts were allowed not only to retain all their accuſtomed privileges, and to be exempted from an increaſe of taxes, but likewiſe to hope that the burthen of their preſent impoſts would be in ſome degree lightened by the conſiderate kindneſs of their new ſovereign.

While theſe operations were carrying on at the Cape, the Dutch ſettlements in the eaſt were one by one falling into the power of the Britiſh. From Madras a force was diſpatched, under colonel James Stuart, to the iſland of Ceylon, which it reached on the firſt of Auguſt. The governor of Columbo, Mr. Van Anglebeck, had readily conſented to place the colony under Britiſh protection, and had given an order to the commander at Trincomalé, to deliver up the fort of Ooſtenburgh to a detachment of his majeſty's troops. The ſentiments of the commander not according with thoſe of his ſuperior, he refuſed to obey. Two days having been uſeleſsly ſpent in communications between the fort and the fleet, colonel Stuart found it neceſſary to leave off negotiating, and have recourſe to arms. The troops were diſembarked about four miles from Trincomalé, and were employed for a fortnight in conveying to the camp the proviſions, ordnance and ſtores. During the diſembarkation

embarkation the Diomede unfortunately ſtruck upon a ſunken rock, and was totally loſt.

No attempt was made by the Dutch commander to retard the carrying on of the trenches againſt the town of Trincomalé; but when the batteries were opened he replied by a ſpirited though ill-directed fire. In three days time the guns of the town were reduced to ſilence, and a practicable breach was effected. Every thing being ready for an aſſault, a ſummons was ſent into the place, which, after ſome parley, produced the ſurrender of the beſieged, as priſoners of war.

Auguſt 26.

Five days ſubſequently to the capitulation of Trincomalé, the commander of fort Ooſtenburgh, who at firſt had declared his reſolution to defend himſelf, changed his mind at ſight of the hoſtile preparations, and gave up the fort on the ſame terms which had been granted to the garriſon of Trincomalé.

The fort of Batticaloe, the town of Jaffnapatam, the factory and military poſt of Molletivoe, and the fort and iſland of Manar, were, in the courſe of September and the commencement of October, given up, without oppoſition, to a detachment which colonel Stuart had ſent to take poſſeſſion of them, and by their ſubmiſſion the Britiſh became ſole maſters of all the maritime part of the iſland of Ceylon, with the exception of the town of Columbo, which remained yet a little longer under the dominion of its ancient rulers.

The Dutch ſettlements on the Aſiatic continent were reduced with ſtill leſs trouble than thoſe of Ceylon. Chinſurah in Bengal, with its dependencies; Cochin, Quilon and Porca, on the coaſt of Travancore; and Malacca, in the peninſula of that name, were yielded without a drop of blood having been ſhed on either ſide, or, except at Malacca, a ſingle gun having been fired. At the cloſe of the year the Britiſh remained without an enemy and without a rival in all the vaſt extent of both Indian peninſulas.

CHRONICLE.

CHRONICLE.

1795.

JANUARY.

1ſt. AN inquiſition was taken, on the 23d of laſt month, at Leighton, Huntingdon, on the body of Katharine, wife of Henry Chapman, of that pariſh, labourer, who had been at times deranged in her mind, and left her houſe on Thurſday, about noon, taking with her a daughter about four years of age. She ſet off under a pretence of going to ſee ſome relations at Stukeley, but, as the evening cloſed, took ſhelter in a ſtable belonging to a cottager at Barham, who very humanely adminiſtered, both to her and the child, the beſt refreſhment his humble roof afforded. Before daylight the next morning the woman went off with her child, and, as it appeared, ſtrayed to Buckworth wood, where, after the moſt diligent ſearch by ſeveral perſons, employed by the pariſh officers of Leighton from Friday till Monday morning about two o'clock, this miſerable pair were at laſt diſcovered by the faint cries of the poor infant, which the mother had almoſt ſtripped herſelf to ſecure from the inclemency of the weather. Every poſſible care was immediately taken of them both, but the woman was ſo nearly dead when found, that ſhe expired about half an hour after they got home. The infant has been miraculouſly recovered. How it could ſurvive from Thurſday night till Monday morning, without food, and expoſed to the open air in ſuch ſevere weather, ſeems beyond the power of human knowledge to conceive. The coroner's verdict was, that the mother died through the inclemency of the weather, and for want of food. The child is under the care of a farmer at Leighton, who ſent in ſearch of them.

4th. *Dublin Caſtle.*—Earl Fitzwilliam, who embarked at Holyhead at eight o'clock yeſterday evening, arrived ſafe in the harbour of Balbriggen about one o'clock this day. His lordſhip, on his arrival in Dublin, was received by the lord mayor, aldermen, ſheriffs, and commons of the city of Dublin. The infantry in the garriſon lined the ſtreets through which his lordſhip, attended by a ſquadron of dragoon guards, proceeded to the caſtle; and upon his arrival there, at ſeven o'clock, he was introduced in form to his excellency the earl of Weſtmoreland, who received him, ſitting under the canopy of ſtate, in the preſence chamber; from whence a proceſſion was made in the uſual ſtate to the council chamber. The council ſitting, his lordſhip's commiſſion was read, and the oaths being adminiſtered to him, his excellency was

was inveſted with the collar of the moſt illuſtrious order of St. Patrick, and received the ſword of ſtate from lord Weſtmoreland. The great guns in his majeſty's Phœnix Park were then fired, and anſwered by vollies from the regiments on duty. His excellency afterwards repaired to the preſence chamber, and received the compliments of the nobility and other perſons of diſtinction upon his ſafe arrival, and taking upon him the government of this kingdom.

6th. Letters by the Sugar Cane, lately arrived from Madras, were this day received at the India Houſe. This ſhip left Madras July 27, and brings the following advices: Captain Doveton, with the two hoſtage princes, ſet off from Madras, on the 27th of February, arrived in Tippoo's camp at Devanelle, on the 29th of March, and were received with a ſalute of 21 guns. The next day he had an audience of Tippoo, who made uſe of the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of friendſhip for the Engliſh government. While captain Doveton remained in his camp, he received every mark of attention and reſpect; and when he left Devanelle, a perſon of very high conſequence accompanied him back to Madras.

Captain Doveton has given the following account of the reception of the young princes by their father: on their arrival at the camp, with their numerous ſuite, accompanied by captain Doveton, they proceeded on their viſit to the ſultan, who received them in a very ſuperb pavilion, incloſed within a wall of a very extraordinary extent. He was ſeated at one extremity, and, on each ſide, at ſuitable diſtances, were placed, according to their ſeveral ranks, about forty or fifty of his principal attendants.

On their entrance into the pavilion, the young princes ſprung forward to the throne where their royal father ſat, and proſtrated themſelves before it. And here the etiquette of Aſiatic courts put nature completely to flight; for the father, inſtead of advancing to embrace his darling children, contented himſelf with coldly placing a hand on the neck of each; and, on the inſtant, the princes aroſe, and reſpectfully retired. It is a remarkable fact, that not a ſyllable was exchanged at this extraordinary interview.

Captain Doveton was next preſented, and placed on the right hand of the ſovereign, who converſed with him on European topics for more than an hour and a half. He was afterward regaled with betel, cloves, and a variety of Aſiatic dainties, on a ſervice of gold plate.

The ſultan, during the interview, did not riſe from his ſeat, which was a ſquare cuſhion, covered with crimſon velvet, ſlightly embroidered with gold. On his ſide was placed a ſword, and ſome papers, and on them a gold ſnuff box, apparently of European manufacture.

Tippoo has a very majeſtic deportment, and is of the middle ſtature, with a countenance very expreſſive; his eye particularly animated and ſcrutinizing; his noſe large, with oblique dilated noſtrils; his mouth ſmall, with thick lips, and an eminence toward the centre of the upper lip, which projects, but is by no means unhandſome.

9th. A very great mob aſſembled in London-road, leading from the Obeliſk in St. George's-fields to the Elephant and Caſtle, at Newington-butts, and, having intimation that a number of men were impriſoned by a certain deſcription of crimps, attacked the houſe where theſe perſons were confined, demoliſhed their windows, and releaſed 18 men who were chained together by hand-cuffs and other iron ligaments. The borough magiſtrates, on hearing of this outrage, immediately ſent down their officers; and the acting recruiting ſerjeant being taken into cuſtody, he was, after a ſhort examination, committed to the New Gaol. The circumſtances which led to the diſcovery of the impriſonment was that of kidnapping a pot-boy, who, before he was chained down, contrived to break a pane of glaſs in the drawing-room window (for the houſe was a private one, and elegantly furniſhed) from whence he cried out "murder!" This alarmed the neighbourhood, and, as it had been ſuſpected by them that perſons were illegally confined there, the doors and windows were ſoon demoliſhed, and the priſoners liberated. The ſerjeant and his crew had two women of the town genteelly dreſſed up, for the purpoſe of inveigling young men into the houſe, which they ſtyled their lodgings, where the deluded were inſtantly handcuffed; and about three or four o'clock in the morning ſent off in coaches, hired for the purpoſe, to the country. Next day, ſeveral more youths, who were confined in other parts of the fields, were releaſed by the magiſtrates, amidſt the plaudits of a numerous multitude of ſpectators.

10th. *Plymouth.*—This day captains Clarke and Wells, of two Riga ſhips, who were captured Sept. 11, in the Bay, and carried to Breſt by admiral Nielly's diviſion, of ſix ſail of the line and frigates, arrived here from Breſt, laſt from Mavagiſſey. They bring the following accounts: Dec. 25, the Republicaine, of 110 guns, in a gale of wind drove from her anchor in Breſt Water, and went on ſhore, and on the 10th inſtant was gone to pieces. The hon. Mr. Welleſley, brother of lord Mornington, who was at Quimper with lady Anne Fitzroy, and ſeveral other ladies, came to Breſt, and paſſing for an American, with the above-named captains, and captain Brokenſhire of Mavagiſſey, concerted a plan for an eſcape, and purchaſed a boat of a Swediſh captain, of 22 feet long, for the moderate ſum of 80 guineas. On the 10th, in number 14, they committed themſelves to the waves, and at eight at night ſailed from Breſt with a tolerably fair wind; when about half-channel over, three of the crew, from the intenſe and ſevere weather, died; and one, whoſe limbs were frozen, attempting to hand the ſpritſail, fell overboard and was drowned, the ſea then running very high; fortunately, about five o'clock, on Sunday the 11th, they made the Deadman. Captain Brokenſhire knew the appearance of the land, and requeſted to ſteer the boat for Mavagiſſey. By this time lord Mornington's brother and the whole were ſo benumbed with cold, they could ſcarcely row; but the ſight of their native land gave them heart, and they, with a cheerful *Ahoy! lads, for old England!* pulled hard, and got into Mavagiſſey Bay, providentially at eleven o'clock at night, but ſo much exhauſted that the people of Mavagiſſey were obliged to help them out of the boat to a neighbouring inn, where every accommodation was afforded them that could be procured. The living, ten in number, were all put in warm beds, and the unfortunate victims to the ſeverity of the weather were placed in a room till Monday morning, when they were on the evening of that day decently interred in Mavagiſſey church-yard, attended by lieutenant Rood, the privates of the Royal Cornwall militia, quartered there, the clergymen of the town, and nearly all the inhabitants.

12th. This evening a peace-officer, with a warrant from a magiſtrate, went to apprehend a footpad in one of the little public-houſes which line the quays of the river Thames, in that part of the Borough called Bankſide. On entering the tap, he directly diſcovered the delinquent he was in ſearch of, dreſſed in a ſeaman's jacket and trowſers, and tippling with ſeveral other perſons in the ſame dreſs. The officer advanced to ſeize him; but the fellow pulled out a piſtol, and diſcharged it at the conſtable, who, feeling himſelf wounded, went out of the tap, and walked about ten yards to a neighbouring houſe, which he entered, and ſat himſelf down on a chair, and, without being able to utter a word, immediately expired. The deſperado who committed this atrocious deed was, we are ſorry to find, ſuffered to eſcape with his companions. The contents of the piſtol had lodged in the conſtable's breaſt.

13th. Yeſterday, a proclamation was iſſued, for a general faſt in England, on Wedneſday February 25; and, in Scotland, on Thurſday February 26.

Portſmouth.—In purſuance of the ſentence of a court-martial held on board his majeſty's ſhip Stately, the hon. admiral Cornwallis, preſident, the following men were this day executed on board the Culloden, for being the principals concerned in the mutiny on board that ſhip, viz. Francis Watts, Cornelius Sullivan, Jeremiah Curtain, John Johnſon, and Joſeph Collins. Three were hung on the ſtarboard, and two on the larboard foreyard-arm. All the chaplains of the fleet had orders to attend them. They behaved very penitently, and admitted the juſtneſs of their ſentence; exhorting all the ſhip's company to take warning by their unhappy end, and never more to be concerned in mutiny or diſobedience to their ſuperior officers. David Hyman, Samuel Trigge, and James Morriſh, who were condemned with the others, yeſterday received his majeſty's pardon, and were put on board three different ſhips.

14th. The following deciſion took place by ballot, at the India Houſe in Leadenhall-ſtreet:

"That no Director be allowed "to trade to or from India in his "private capacity, either directly "or indirectly, either as principal "or agent."

The ballot commenced at ten in the morning, and cloſed at ſix in the evening. At half paſt eight o'clock, the Chairman entered the General Court Room, and declared the numbers to be as follows:

For the propoſition -	541
Againſt it - - - - -	348
Majority - -	193

18th. *Liverpool.*—About five this morning a fire was diſcovered in the Council-room of our Exchange; and, although every aſſiſtance was obtained as ſoon as poſſible, the flames ſpread ſo rapidly, that they ſoon penetrated to the roof, and in a ſhort time the Court-room, Aſſembly-room, and all the interior of that elegant ſtructure, were in flames ſo furious that nothing could check them. The Charter, Town Records, Papers, and Books of the Treaſurers and Loan officers, and the Regalia, were all ſaved; and the building erecting on the north ſide of and adjoining to the Exchange was preſerved entire. The origin of this accident is not yet certainly known, but from a ſmell of ſmoke having for ſome days paſt been perceived in the Council-room, it is ſuſpected that there was ſome communication between the Loan-office chimney and the timber in the floor of the Council-room; and which having taken fire, had been ſmothering without being ſuſpected. Amongſt other matters deſtroyed are two elegant paintings, executed by Mr. Martin, and preſented by him to the Corporation of Liverpool; one repreſenting the murder of Macduff's family, the other Cleopatra arming Anthony. The rapidity of the fire was occaſioned by the mode practiſed when the Exchange of that town was built, of coating each timber with turpentine or roſin, in order to preſerve it, which, when caught by the fire, proceeded with ſuch rapidity round the interior of the edifice as to baffle every exertion to get it under until the whole was nearly gutted. There was no perſon loſt during the fire, which was completely extinguiſhed before noon, nor did it break out again as erroneouſly ſtated.—The whole ſum inſured upon the building and furniture does not exceed 1,500l. Upon an inſpection of the ruins, the fire clearly appears to have been occaſioned by a joiſt being placed too near the pipe or flue of one of the chimneys under the Aſſembly-room.

19th. About twelve o'clock, two veſſels broke from their moorings a little below London-bridge; the tide then running up, drove them againſt the bridge with ſuch force, that one of them (a Weſt Indiaman with three maſts, making the centre arch, carried away all her maſts cloſe by the board, knocked down two of the lamps on the top of the bridge, bent the lamp-iron in an aſtoniſhing manner, and, with a craſh that made the whole fabric ſhake, paſſed through the arch with incredible velocity, and drifted up the river with the tide to Blackfriars-bridge, which ſhe alſo went through, but without any farther accident; and continued her courſe till ſhe came above Somerſet Houſe, where ſhe drove on ſhore, and with ſome difficulty was moored. The crew, perceiving their danger, took to the boat a few minutes before ſhe reached London-bridge, which in all probability ſaved ſome of their lives, The other veſſel, ſtriking againſt the ſtarlings of one of the ſmaller arches, was prevented from going through, but from the ſhock muſt have been conſiderably damaged. She remained there till the turn of the tide, when ſhe was got off, and, with the aſſiſtance of ſome boats, was towed into a place of ſafety. The above accident is ſuppoſed to have happened from the large pieces of ice, brought up the river by the tide, cutting the cables by which the ſhips were moored.

Yarmouth.—The Princeſs of Orange, and the Hereditary Princeſs (wife of the Prince) with her child are this moment arrived, and landed here.

The inhabitants had but little notice of the event before they were put on ſhore; but they received them, however, with that generous ſympathy which characterizes Engliſhmen, and every mark of reſpect was ſhewn to theſe unfortunate perſonages, that the time would admit of. The military were under arms in the market-place; and the populace, taking the horſes from the carriages, drew their Royal Highneſſes twice round it, and afterwards to the houſe of the Mayor, where ſuch of the party as he could accommodate were entertained with the greateſt reſpect and hoſpitality.

22d. *Yarmouth.*—Early yeſterday morning the Hereditary Prince himſelf, who with his father, the Stadtholder, had landed at Harwich the evening before, came hither alſo, and proceeded on with the whole party to Colcheſter in a few hours afterwards. This morning the Duke of York arrived here, with a view of attending their Royal Highneſſes to London; but, finding them gone, ſtaid only to take ſome refreſhment, and immediately purſued the ſame route.

Colcheſter.—On Tueſday evening, about a quarter paſt eight, the Stadtholder arrived here from Harwich. He came from Scheveling in an open boat, with only three men and one boy to navigate her. He has been at the White Hart Inn ſince his arrival here, but to morrow he takes up his reſidence at the houſe lately prepared for the Reception of the Princeſs of Wales, belonging to Iſaac Boggis, eſq. of this town. The Hereditary Prince arrived here on Tueſday afternoon, accompanied by Lord St. Helens. The latter ſet off for London ſoon after his arrival, the former proceeded to Yarmouth, to accompany his mother, the Princeſs of Orange, and the Hereditary Princeſs his ſpouſe, with her child, on their journey hither to join the Stadtholder. They all arrived here in ſafety laſt night at twelve.

At two o'clock this morning, letters were brought to the worſhipful the Mayor from the Duke of Portland's office, deſiring that every accommodation might be afforded to their Serene Highneſſes. The Mayor, with general ſir Robert Sloper, have in conſequence waited upon the Prince, and he has appointed to-morrow at eleven o'clock, for the corporation to wait upon him.

The perſonages who have come from Holland by different veſſels, and are now aſſembled here, are, their Serene Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of Orange; the Hereditary Prince and his ſpouſe (ſiſter of her Royal Highneſs the Ducheſs of York) with her infant ſon; Prince William George Frederick, the Stadtholder's ſecond ſon; the Princeſs Louiſa Frederica Wilhelmina, his daughter; the Prince of Darmſtadt; the Counteſs of Waſſinau; general Ryland; two Benticks; M'Larrey, private Secretary; lieut.-col. Bentink, capt. Elliott, Mr. Herd, gentlemen of the chambers; beſides a numerous train of attendants.

23d. This morning two watchmen, belonging to the pariſh of Bloomſbury, were found frozen to death on their poſts. They had been ſeen, a few hours before, regaling themſelves with liquor, to enable them to encounter the ſeverity of the weather, which, it is ſuppoſed, cauſed them to fall into a ſleep, from which they never awoke.

The ſame day a man, who it is ſuppoſed had fallen overboard, floated through London bridge with the ice. Only his head and arms could be ſeen, and he was frozen to death.

26th. Between twelve and one o'clock, the Stadtholder of Holland, accompanied by the Princeſs Frederica Louiſa Wilhelmina, his daughter, and Prince William George Frederick his ſecond ſon, arrived in London, and immediately proceeded to the houſe of the Dutch ambaſſador. Hampton Court Palace is fitting up, by order of the King, for the reſidence of the Stadtholder and his family, till the completion of which they are to reſide at the Palace of Kew.

A petition was preſented to the Houſe of Commons from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Liverymen of the city of London, praying that the Houſe, diſclaiming all right of interfering in the internal concerns of France, will be pleaſed to take ſuch meaſures as they in their wiſdom ſhall think proper, for the purpoſe of promoting a ſpeedy peace between Great Britain and the power with whom we are at war.—Ordered to lie on the table.

29th. This day his Majeſty gave a public audience to the Turkiſh ambaſſador. For an account of the ceremonial, ſee the appendix to the Chronicle.

DIED.—3d. At Etruria, in Staffordſhire, aged 64, Mr. Joſiah Wedgwood. Mr. W. was the younger ſon of a potter, but derived little or no property from his father, whoſe poſſeſſions conſiſted chiefly of a ſmall entailed eſtate, which deſcended to the eldeſt ſon. He was the maker of his own fortune, and his country has been benefited in a proportion not to be calculated. His many diſcoveries of new ſpecies of earthen wares and porcelains, his ſtudied forms and chaſte ſtyle of decoration, and the correctneſs and judgment with which all his works were executed under his own eye, and by artiſts, for the moſt part of his own forming, have turned the current in this branch of commerce; for, before his time, England imported the finer earthen-wares; but, for more than twenty years paſt, ſhe has exported them to a very great annual amount, the whole of which is drawn from the earth, and from the induſtry of the inhabitants; while the national taſte has been improved, and its reputation raiſed in foreign countries. His inventions have prodigiouſly increaſed the number of perſons employed in the potteries, and in the traffick and tranſport of their materials from diſtant parts of the kingdom: and this claſs of manufactures is alſo indebted to him for much mechanical contrivance and arrangement in their operations; his private manufactory having had, for thirty years and upwards, all the efficacy of a public work of experiment. Neither was he unknown in the walks of philoſophy. His communications to the Royal Society ſhew a mind enlightened by ſcience, and contributed to procure him the eſteem of ſcientific men at home and throughout Europe. His invention of a thermometer for meaſuring the higher degrees of heat employed in the various arts, is of the higheſt importance to their promotion, and will add celebrity to his name. At an early period of his life, ſeeing the impoſſibility of extending conſiderably the manufactory he was engaged in on the ſpot which gave him birth, without the advantages of inland navigation, he was the propoſer of the grand Trunk Canal, and the chief agent in obtaining the act of parliament for making it,

againſt

againſt the prejudices of the landed intereſt, which at that time ſtood very high, and but juſt before had been with great difficulty overcome in another quarter by all the powerful influence of a noble duke, whoſe canal was at that time but lately finiſhed. The Grand Trunk Canal is ninety miles in length, uniting the Rivers Trent and Merſey; and branches have ſince been made from it to the Severn, to Oxford, and to many other parts; and it will alſo have a communication with the Grand Junction Canal from Braunſton to Brentford. Having acquired a large fortune, his purſe was always open to the calls of charity; and to the ſupport of every inſtitution for the public good. To his relations, friends, and neighbours, he was endeared by his many private virtues; and his loſs will be deeply and long deplored by all who had the pleaſure of knowing them intimately, and by the numerous objects to whom his benevolence was extended; and he will be regretted by his country as the able and zealous ſupporter of her commerce, and the ſteady patron of every valuable intereſt of ſociety.

25th. Of an aſthmatical and dropſical complaint, to which he had been long ſubject, the Rev. Rich. Southgate. He was of St. John's college, Cambridge, where he proceeded B. A. 1749; but took no farther degree; elected F. A. S. 1794; preſented, on the death of Dr. Halifax, biſhop of St. Aſaph, to the rectory of Warſop, county of Nottingham, worth 400l. per annum, July 1790, by his friend John Gally Knight, eſq. to whoſe father, the learned Dr. Gally, he had been many years curate; appointed aſſiſtant librarian at the Britiſh Muſeum, under Joſeph Planta, eſq. 1785; and curate at St. Giles's in the Fields, where his aſſiduity in the reformation of the manners of its pariſhioners, of the loweſt, moſt wretched, and moſt abandoned characters, will long be gratefully remembered. He was indeed indefatigable in his attention to the poor. He attended them in all places, in the cellars or the garrets of St. Giles's at all hours of the day and night, reproving, rebuking, and exhorting, without fear, and with the happieſt effect. A more ſtriking eulogium was perhaps never pronounced than by ſome girls begging in the ſtreet. Being aſked to what pariſh they belonged, "to St. Giles's." "Have you no friends?" "No, ſir, Mr. Southgate is dead." He was alſo a man of talent and ſcience. In numiſmatic knowledge he ſtood almoſt unrivalled; and the profeſſors of that branch of virtû have to regret that he did not live to finiſh his noble deſign of illuſtrating the Saxon coinage; or that his progreſs in it (for ſome progreſs he had made) was retarded by his diffidence. His knowledge of books was good; and he was employed by the truſtees of the Britiſh Muſeum in making purchaſes of many curious articles. A report was in circulation that his death had been occaſioned by having been ill-treated by ſome poor Iriſhmen, diſguſted at not having partaken of charity diſtributed by him at St. Giles's church, and even a Grub-ſtreet elegy, alluding to it, was cried about; but, on enquiry, we find this to have been erroneous.

FEBRUARY.

3d. The preciſe value of the St. Jago Spaniſh regiſter ſhip, retaken in April 1793, from the French, which the Lords of Appeal adjudged to the captors on Thurſday evening laſt, is 935,000l. The perſons intereſted in this deciſion are rear-admiral John Gell, eſq. who commanded the ſquadron, and the captains, officers, and crews of the St. George of 98 guns, Egmont, Edgar, and Ganges of 74, and Phaeton frigate of 38 guns, which laſt convoyed her ſafe to Portſmouth.

9th. *Sierra Leone Houſe.*—On the 28th of September, a French ſquadron, conſiſting of the Experiment of 50 guns, and four ſmaller veſſels, approached the town of Sierra Leone, under Engliſh colours, and drew up before it in ſuch a manner as to command every ſtreet and alley in it, when they hoiſted their own colours, and commenced a heavy cannonade. The inhabitants unable to reſiſt ſo formidable a force, immediately ſtruck their flag; but two of the frigates continued their fire for nearly two hours after, raking every ſtreet with grape-ſhot. The French then landed, and began to plunder ſuch houſes as remained ſtanding, and were preparing to involve the whole town in one blaze, when ſeveral of the free American blacks returned into it, to ſolicit the preſervation of their dwellings. The French commander granted their requeſt, obſerving that his vengeance ſhould be confined to the Britiſh ſettlers, and then ordered the church, the company's warehouſes, and the houſes of every Engliſh perſon to be ſet on fire.

After this, one of the frigates proceeded up the river to the iſland of Banca, which they attacked for two days without ſucceſs, the garriſon of the fort making a reſolute defence; on the third day, a ſecond frigate arrived, when the inhabitants having withdrawn the whole of the property from the town, the garriſon of the fort retired, leaving their flags ſtanding, which for an hour impoſed upon the enemy, and allowed time for the retreat of our men.

The French continued at Sierra Leone till the 23d of October, during which time they wooded and watered, but never proceeded into the country, nor injured the plantations. They deſtroyed or took with them eleven veſſels belonging to the company, ten of them from London, and proceeded down the coaſt, with intent to ſerve in like manner all the Britiſh, Dutch, and Portugueſe ſettlements. The iſle of Bourbon was their place of deſtination. On their departure the ſettlers who had lived in the woods under tents, &c. returned to the town. During this attack on our part only two men were killed and five wounded.

10th. *Hull.*—This day a cormorant was killed in the neighbourhood of Beverley; out of which, on its being opened, was taken, entire, a ſalmon-trout, 17 inches in length, and one pound and a half in weight, which the bird had ſwallowed.

12th. The earl of Abingdon was brought before the Court of King's Bench, to receive ſentence for a libel of which he had been found guilty, againſt Mr. Thomas Sermon, who had been his lordſhip's attorney: which libel was contained in a ſpeech delivered by his lordſhip in the houſe of peers, on the laſt day of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, and afterward publiſhed, by his direction, in certain newſpapers. The ſentence of the court adjudged his lordſhip to pay a fine of 100l. to the king; to be impriſoned for three calendar months in his majeſty's gaol of the King's Bench; and his lordſhip to find ſecurity for his good behaviour for one year, himſelf in 200l. and two ſureties in 100l. each, and to be impriſoned till ſuch fine be paid, and ſuch ſureties found.

13th. *Penrith.*—As the ſon of Mr. Bouſtead, of Great Salkeld, was ſhepherding upon Great Salkeld common, he had the misfortune to fall, and break his leg. He was then three miles from home, no perſon within call, and evening approaching. At a moment, when diſtraction was moſt likely to overcome the powers of reaſon and reflection, he folded one of his gloves in his handkerchief, which he tied round the neck of the dog, and ordered him home. The dogs, which are trained to an attendance on the flock, are known to be under admirable ſubjection to the commands of their maſters. The animal ſet off, and arriving at the houſe, ſcratched at the door for admittance. The young man's parents were alarmed at his appearance, and more eſpecially when they took off and unfolded the handkerchief. Concluding, beyond a doubt, that ſome accident had befallen their ſon, they inſtantly went in ſearch of him. The dog needed no invitation. Apparently ſenſible that the chief part of his duty was yet to be performed, he led the way, and conducted the anxious parents directly to the ſpot where their ſon lay! Happily this was effected before night came on; the young man was brought home; and, the neceſſary aid being procured, he is in a fair way of recovery.

15th. A letter from Philadelphia, dated Dec. 27, ſays, 'About eight o'clock laſt evening the German Lutheran church, (corner of Fourth-ſtreet and Cherry-alley) was diſcovered to be on fire, and after burning near four hours, this immenſe and elegant building was entirely conſumed. No houſes being immediately contiguous to it, the citizens, by the greateſt exertions of induſtry and activity were enabled to ſtop the further ravages of the deſtructive element. This church was one of the moſt ſplendid in the Union, and was ſuppoſed to be worth 15,000l.'

23d. This evening a fire broke out near the church at Crediton, by which upwards of eighteen houſes were burnt down.

24th. His Majeſty has conferred penſions of 500 l. per ann. on admiral lord Graves, and the rear-admirals ſir George Bowyer and ſir Thomas Paiſley, in conſequence of the wounds received by theſe gallant officers on the firſt of June.

Accounts from all parts of the kingdom contain the moſt diſaſtrous recitals of the vaſt damages done by the late great and ſudden thaw. Bridges have been carried away, the roads rendered impaſſable, carriages loſt, and hundreds of acres drowned, particularly in the fenny countries. For a more particular account, ſee the Appendix to the Chronicle.

Jan. 7. *Madrid*—The mail, arrived yeſterday from America, brought the account of a conſpiracy having been diſcovered at Mexico toward the end of Auguſt laſt.

The plot, by which it was deſigned to murder the viceroy and his family, to take poſſeſſion of the royal and archiepiſcopal palaces, the mint, inquiſition, and other public buildings, and the principal private houſes, and to ſet fire to and deliver over the city to the plunder of the populace and diſcontented Indians of ſome neighbouring towns, was conducted by two Frenchmen, who had ſucceeded in ſeducing ſeveral Spaniſh inhabitants to their intereſt, and were to be aſſiſted in the execution of their plan by a number of their countrymen, who, contrary to the general practice of this government, had been ſuffered to remain in Mexico after the commencement of the war. Nearly about the ſame time a ſimilar exploſion was to have taken place at Santa Fe, the capital of the new kingdom of Granada, in all its circumſtances ſimilar to the preceding, but it was likewiſe prevented by diſcovery, the very day before it was to happen.

28th. The Board of Agriculture, in conſideration of the probable ſcarcity of wheat, have agreed to propoſe a premium of one thouſand pounds to the perſon who ſhall grow the largeſt breadth of potatoes, on lands never applied to the culture of that plant before; and have liberally excluded the members of their own board from becoming candidates for this valuable prize.

The excellent Staniſlaus has taken leave of his capital, moſt probably for ever. For a letter from his Poliſh majeſty to the Britiſh envoy at Warſaw, ſee the Appendix to the Chronicle.

Died,—20th. Dr. Alexander Gerard, Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity and King's College, Aberdeen, and one of his Majeſty's chaplains for Scotland. He was the author of—1. An Eſſay on Taſte, 8vo. 1759. 2. National Bleſſings, an Argument for Reformation; a Sermon preached at Aberdeen, 1760. 3. The Influence of the Paſtoral Office on the Character Examined, with a view eſpecially to Mr. Hume's Repreſentation of the Spirit of that Office; a Sermon preached at Aberdeen, April 8, 1760, 8vo. 4. The Influence of Piety on the Public Good; a Sermon preached at the High Church, Edinburgh, May 31 1761, 8vo. 5. Diſſertations on Subjects relating to the Genius and Evidence of Chriſtianity, 8vo. 1766. 6. An Eſſay on Genius, 8vo. 1774. 7. Liberty the Cloak of Maliciouſneſs, both in the American Rebellion and in the Manners of the Times; a Sermon preached at Old Aberdeen, Feb. 26, 1778, 8vo. 8. Sermons, vol. i. 8vo. 1780. 9. Sermons, vol. ii. 8vo. 1782.

20th. In the 63d year of his age, at his ſeat of Ollantigh, in Kent, John Sawbridge, eſq. alderman and repreſentative of the city of London. He early in life ſucceeded, by the death of his father, to a very princely fortune. In November 1763, ſoon after his father's deceaſe, he intermarried with the only daughter of ſir Orlando Bridgman, bart. with whom he had a large dowry; by this lady, whom he had the misfortune to loſe within about two months after their nuptials, he had no iſſue. He afterwards married the ſecond daughter of the opulent alderman ſir William Stevenſon. This gentleman had already ſerved the high office of lord mayor of the city of London; and, being a widower, miſs Stevenſon did the honours of the table as lady mayoreſs. By this lady, who is ſtill living, Mr. Sawbridge had three ſons and a daughter. The eldeſt ſon died ſome years ſince at Caen in Normandy; the ſecond, who ſucceeds to the family eſtate, continues, highly to his honour, to ſerve as major in the Eaſt Kent Regiment of Militia, of which his father was many years colonel; the youngeſt is at preſent at Weſtminſter ſchool. In attempting to draw a faithful portrait of the late alderman Sawbridge, in private and public life, it would be only difficult for his panegyriſt to decide whether he was more truly eminent in the diſcharge of the ſocial and domeſtic duties, or in the more animated ſcenes of public patriotiſm. As a huſband, father, brother, friend, maſter of ſervants, he diſplayed the pureſt pattern of moral excellence. In his neighbourhood in the country, where he reſided during the ſummer months, his memory will be long held in the higheſt eſteem and veneration; for he not only rendered himſelf reſpectable by the ſplendid hoſpitality of his manſion, but by his great utility to that part of the county in which he lived, by conſtantly acting in the commiſſion of the peace, and rendering to all who came before him that equal and impartial juſtice, for which he was ſo highly celebrated after he ſucceeded to the municipal character of an alderman of the city of London. It has not been very uſual for a country gentleman to accept the gown of an alderman of London; in the caſe of Mr. Sawbridge, it was an event that took place in conſequence of the politics of the times. His political career had commenced by gaining his election for the town and port of Hythe, againſt a ſtrong ariſtocratical intereſt. It was during the period that he ſat in parliament as a cinque port baron, that the right of election in the perſon of Mr. Wilkes was violated in the county of Middleſex; a county, in which Mr. Sawbridge poſſeſſed conſiderable property. It was an uſurpation of the people's rights, which our high-ſpirited baron, whoſe breaſt glowed with the pureſt flame of civil liberty, could ill brook and endure. He ſo manfully reſiſted this act of miniſterial tyranny, both in and out of parliament, as to render himſelf highly popular with the citizens of London; and, in conſequence, was choſen, together with the late alderman Townſhend, by the voluntary and unſolicited ſuffrages of the livery, ſheriff of London. He ſoon afterwards became an alderman of Langbourn ward; and in due courſe of time, he was called to the dignity of lord mayor of London, an office which Mr. Sawbridge filled with no leſs honour to himſelf than to the firſt city of the civilized world. Mr. Sawbridge was afterwards choſen one of the city members, and ſat during three parliaments as a repreſentative of the metropolis of the Britiſh empire. That he well and faithfully diſcharged the high important duty of an Engliſh ſenator is well known, and will ever be had in grateful memory by his fellow-citizens. During the whole courſe of the American war, he conſtantly and zealouſly oppoſed it; and he was duly ſenſible, that to the increaſing influence of the crown we might juſtly impute our too frequent wars. He exerted himſelf, however inefficaciouſly, in the cauſe of parliamentary reform, as the moſt likely means to correct it. His political views were truly patriotic; and his ſpeeches in parliament, if they poſſeſſed not all the brilliancy of a complete orator, diſplayed, which is perhaps better, in conciſe and nervous language, the ſentiments of a juſt, unbiaſſed, and upright member of the commons houſe of parliament. In effect, ſo truly independent was his ſpirit, that he diſdained to accept, and pledged himſelf that he never would accept, any title, place, or penſion, which government had to beſtow. He loved his country, becauſe it was a land of freedom; and, on all thoſe great occaſions in which Mr. Sawbridge thought the liberties of his country were intereſted, he took an active and ſpirited part. Being reduced to a ſtate of almoſt complete mental imbecility, he was for the laſt two years of his ſublunary exiſtence, loſt to his country, his family, his friends, and himſelf; his death, therefore, was a conſummation devoutly to be wiſhed. He died on Saturday, Feb. 21, 1795, at his town-reſidence in Glouceſter place, Portman ſquare, whence his remains were removed for interment to the pariſh church of Wye, in the county of Kent, wherein is the family burying-place.

MARCH.

3d. This day a common-hall was held at Guildhall, for the purpoſe of electing a repreſentative in parliament, in the room of the late Mr. alderman Sawbridge. Mr. Luſhington being propoſed, a great ſhew of hands appeared in his favour. Mr. Harvey Combe had likewiſe a reſpectable ſhew; but a poll being demanded, the ſame immediately commenced. At the cloſe of the poll on the 5th, the numbers were—

For Mr. Luſhington	2334
Mr. Combe	1560

The latter gentleman then declined the poll.

Richard Brothers, whoſe prophecies have lately made much noiſe, was taken into cuſtody yeſterday morning at his lodgings in Paddington-ſtreet, under virtue of a warrant from the duke of Portland, grounded on the 15th of Elizabeth, wherein he ſtands charged with unlawfully, maliciouſly, and wickedly writing, printing, and publiſhing various fantaſtical prophecies, with intent to create diſſentions and other diſturbances within this realm, and other of the king's dominions, contrary to the ſtatute, &c.

Meſſrs. Higgins and Roſs, two of the ſecretary of ſtate's meſſengers, with Rivet, and another of the Bow-ſtreet Officers, were the perſons who put the warrant in execution. On informing Brothers of their buſineſs, he inſiſted on ſeeing their authority, which being ſhewn, he deſired them to make his compliments to the duke of Portland, and inform his grace that he certainly ſhould not wait on him; nor was it without ſome force that they could get poſſeſſion of his papers. When he got to the ſtreet door, being at laſt convinced he muſt ſubmit, he declared he would not go into the coach unleſs obliged, as then his prophecy would be fulfilled; and when ſeated in the coach, he exclaimed with great energy, ' Now my prophecy is fulfilled!' after which he was ſilent and ſubmiſſive.

He was conveyed to the ſecretary of ſtate's office, but did not undergo any examination, the preſence of the lord chancellor being thought neceſſary. He continued in the cuſtody of Mr. Roſs at his houſe in Crown-ſtreet.

This extraordinary perſon calls himſelf the nephew of God, the man who is to be revealed to the Jews as their prince and deliverer, and he prophecies the deſtruction of all ſovereigns, and of the naval power of Great Britain, by the year 1798, &c.

7th. Mr. Brothers was yeſterday brought up before the privy council, and underwent a long examination. He comported himſelf with great dignity and coolneſs, perſiſting in the divinity of his legation; and maintaining, that he held an immediate communication with God, as aſſerted in his writings. When the interrogatories were ended, he was ſent back under the care of Mr. Roſs.

13th. A general court of proprietors was held at the Eaſt India houſe; when it was ſtated to the meeting by the chairman, that at the ſuggeſtion of Mr. Dundas, the court of directors had reſolved to raiſe 3,000 ſeamen, in lieu of the three regiments of infantry voted to government by the proprietors on the 23d of October laſt. This was formed into a motion; which, with an addition, in conſequence of an idea ſtarted by Mr. Twining, paſſed unanimouſly, after a ſhort debate.

14th. A young woman, ſervant to a lady in Liverpool, was engaged to marry a ſailor on his arrival from the Weſt Indies; whence, however, he never returned. Being there ſeized with the yellow fever, he died, leaving to her his cloaths, wages, watch, and about twelve guineas. The generous maid, learning that he had a mother, old and indigent, ſent to her this legacy, praying that this unexpected ſupply might in ſome meaſure ſupport her under the loſs of her ſon, truſting to her own labour for her own ſupport.

15th. The body of a plain dreſſed man was found dead in a field near Beaconsfield, Bucks, ſuppoſed to have lain there a week, and whoſe dog remained with the corpſe: the dog would ſcarcely permit any perſon to approach it; yet ſo famiſhed by hunger as to have eaten away all the upper part of the poor man's face, ſome of his neck, and one of his ſhoulders.

21ſt. The firſt payment of the immenſe St. Jago prize is commenced; captain ſir A. Douglas has received his ſhare. The following is the declared proportion of ſpecie only:

Each Captain's ſhare	£.13,920
Lieutenant	910
Warrant-officer	612
Petty-officer	140
Foremaſt-man	26

Beſide two ſeventh ſhares of the whole, in reſerve, till the deciſion whether the Boyne and Powerful have a right to ſhare with the ſquadron. The above is alſo independent of the valuable cargo and bullion, which are yet to be ſhared. The admiral's ſhares are not yet declared.

14th. *Dublin Caſtle.*—This day his excellency the lord lieutenant went in ſtate to the Houſe of Peers, with the uſual ſolemnity; and, the Commons being ſent for gave the royal aſſent to ſeventeen public bills.

25th. This day his excellency the earl Fitzwilliam, between one and two o'clock, ſet out from the caſtle, in the uſual ſtate, upon his return to England, accompanied by the principal nobility and gentry, and followed by an extraordinary concourſe of people, who crowded the ſtreets and quays to wiſh his excellency a ſafe voyage, which they did with repeated acclamations and the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of their regard. His excellency embarked from the ſouth wall, together with the counteſs Fitzwilliam and their ſuite, on board the Dorſet yacht, which ſailed from the bay at half paſt two o'clock.

27th. A commiſſion was held this day at the King's-arms, in Palace-yard, Weſtminſter, to aſcertain the ſtate of mind of Mr. Brothers, the pretended prophet; when the jury, after hearing the opinions of two phyſicians appointed by the privy-council to attend him, found him a lunatic, and gave their verdict accordingly.

31ſt. Earl Camden, who embarked on board his majeſty's yacht the Dorſet, at Holyhead, about five o'clock yeſterday evening, arrived in this harbour at three o'clock this evening. His lordſhip, on his arrival in Dublin, was received by the lord mayor. aldermen, ſheriffs, and commons, of the city of Dublin. The infantry in the garriſon lined the ſtreets through which his lordſhip, attended by a ſquadron of dragoon guards, proceeded to the caſtle, and upon his arrival there, at ſix o'clock, he was introduced in form to the lords juſtices, who received him under the canopy of ſtate in the preſence-chamber, whence a proceſſion was made in the uſual ſtate to the council-chamber. The council ſitting, his lordſhip's commiſſion was read; and the oaths being adminiſtered to him, his excellency was inveſted with the collar of the moſt illuſtrious order of St. Patrick, and received the ſword from the lords juſtices. The great guns in the Phœnix Park were then fired, and anſwered by vollies from the regiments on duty. His excellency afterwards repaired to the preſence-chamber, and received the compliments of the nobility and other perſons of diſtinction upon his ſafe arrival, and taking upon him the government of this kingdom.

APRIL.

4th. *Dublin*. Tueſday evening laſt, between ſeven and eight, as the lord chancellor was paſſing in his carriage through Dame-ſtreet, on his return from the Caſtle to Ely-place, a band of ruffians, who had been lying in wait at the end of George's-ſtreet, aſſaulted his lordſhip with a ſhower of ſtones, one of which unfortunately ſtruck him on the head, and wounded him over the left eye. His lordſhip ordered his carriage to ſtop; but the ruffians had inſtantly diſappeared. He then proceeded to his houſe, followed by a number of the moſt reſpectable citizens. The feelings excited in every loyal breaſt, by the account of ſo baſe an attempt, will be alleviated by the pleaſing intelligence of his lordſhip having received but a very ſlight wound. From the poſition in which he ſat, the ſtone ſtruck him obliquely; it only hurt him as it glanced. His lordſhip, as his carriage approached George-ſtreet, obſerved a well-dreſſed ruffian lurking about the corner of the ſtreet, whoſe manner betrayed his purpoſe ſo much as to fix his lordſhip's attention, till he actually ſaw him throw a ſtone into the carriage. This perſon, we hear, his lordſhip can identify, and the crime of which he has been guilty is an act of high treaſon.—The archbiſhop of Armagh was alſo inſulted on returning home from the Caſtle; and ſeveral ſtones were thrown at his carriage, by which the glaſſes and pannels of it were broken, but his grace received no perſonal injury. A mob ruſhed down from the Liberty, at eight o'clock at night, diſplaying green cockades, with mottos of "liberty! equality! and no lord lieutenant!" and, having divided into ſets of about one hundred each, one party was ſent to *extinguiſh* the Speaker. They accordingly attacked his houſe with ſtones; but his truſty ſervants turning out armed, and firing a blunderbuſs at the aſſailants, the latter fled, having performed their buſineſs ſo ineffectually as only to break his windows. Another party was ſent to the New Cuſtom-houſe, to *extinguiſh* Mr. John Claudius Beresford. They were, however, warmly received: for, after they had broken a number of the Cuſtom-houſe windows, and threatened to break into his banking-houſe, he fired at them, and wounded three of them, upon which the reſt precipitately retired. One of thoſe wounded is a weaver, and now languiſhes in the Innſquay infirmary, without any proſpect of recovery. The windows of alderman Warren were alſo broken; but the mob paſſed with ſuch rapidity through William-ſtreet, that they eſcaped the conſequences of a reſiſtance which was prepared for them by the alderman. On the firſt aſſembling of the mob, alderman James and the High Sheriffs called out different parties of the military, with which they continued till midnight to patrole the city. To the exertions of theſe magiſtrates the citizens are indebted for the protection of their perſons and property; wherever their preſence was neceſſary their appearance was almoſt immediate; they apprehended ſeveral of the rioters, four of whom were yeſterday committed to Newgate by alderman Fleming.

5th. This morning, between one and two o'clock, a very deſperate attempt was made to reſcue Iſdwell Iſdwell, a Jew, who ſtood charged, with ſome others, with being concerned in a late forgery of ſtamps, and who, in a ſcuffle, loſt his life, in the following manner: Iſdwell, who was confined in New Priſon, Clerkenwell, perſuaded two of the turnkeys that an aunt of his, who was very rich, then lay at the point of death, and that he had been informed, that, could ſhe ſee him before ſhe died, ſhe would give him a thouſand pounds; and therefore, if they would let him out and accompany him to the place, he would give them fifty guineas each for their trouble: and that the matter might be effected without the knowledge of the keeper of the priſon, or any other perſon, they having the keys of it at night, and the time required being very ſhort. To this propoſal the turnkeys agreed; and accordingly, about one o'clock in the morning, the gates were opened, and Iſdwell, with his irons on, was conducted in a hackney coach by one of them, armed with a blunderbuſs to the place directed, which was in Artillery-lane, Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, where they gained immediate admittance on ringing a bell; and, on enquiring for the ſick lady, were uſhered up one pair of ſtairs. Iſdwell went into the room firſt; on which ſeveral fellows ruſhed forth and attempted to keep the turnkey out, but not ſucceeding in that reſpect, they put the candles out, wreſted the blunderbuſs out of his hands, and diſcharged it at him. At this inſtant, it was ſuppoſed, Iſdwell was endeavouring to make his eſcape out of the door, as he received the principal part of the contents of the blunderbuſs in his back, and fell dead; the turnkey alſo fell, one of the ſlugs having grazed the upper part of his head; and the villains, by ſome means finding their miſtake, though in the dark, beat him in ſo ſhocking a manner with the butt end of the blunderbuſs, while he lay on the ground, as to break it to pieces, fracture his ſkull in two places, and bruiſe him dreadfully about the body. The noiſe which the affair occaſioned, brought a number of watchmen and patroles to the houſe, who ſecured ten perſons therein, moſtly Jews. There is every reaſon to ſuppoſe that they would have completely murdered the turnkey, had not timely aſſiſtance been afforded.

6th. Yeſterday the princeſs Caroline Amelia Elizabeth of Brunſwick arrived in town.

8th. This evening the ſolemnizing of the marriage of his royal highneſs the prince of Wales with her highneſs the princeſs Caroline of Brunſwick was performed in the chapel royal by the archbiſhop of Canterbury. For a particular account of her royal highneſs's voyage, the marriage ceremony, &c. ſee Appendix to the Chronicle.

9th. At a numerous and reſpectable meeting of the Roman catholics of the city of Dublin, Mr. Byrne, Mr. Keogh, and Baron Huſſey reported, that they had preſented the petition of the catholics to his Majeſty, which petition he was pleaſed to receive very graciouſly; and that they were informed by his Majeſty's miniſters, that his Majeſty's ſpeech on the ſubject of the catholic claims was communicated to the lord lieutenant, through whom it might be known; but that the deputation, in conſequence of their inſtructions, did not conſider themſelves at liberty to make any farther application. The thanks of the meeting were then voted to the deputies; after which Dr. Ryan roſe and obſerved, that the reſolution firſt paſſed went to the eſtabliſhment of union in this country; and he had now two other reſolutions to ſubmit, which went to deprecate every idea of union with any other country. After a handſome compliment to the gentlemen of the college, and a vindication of the catholics from intolerant or oppreſſive principles, he concluded by moving two reſolutions to the following effect:

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this aſſembly, that an union with Great Britain would be ruinous to the liberties, independence, and proſperity of Ireland, and that rather than accede to ſuch a ſcheme we would reſiſt even our own emancipation, if it were to be propoſed as the price of ſuch a meaſure.

Reſolved, That though we have made this declaration in vindication of our principles, we do not apprehend that any miniſter would riſk a propoſition to which no ſet of men are warranted to give effect, by ſurrendering the rights of the people. Theſe reſolutions were carried unanimouſly with the loudeſt acclamations.

10th. David Downie, condemned for high treaſon at Edinburgh, but recommended to mercy by the jury, has received his majeſty's pardon, on condition of being impriſoned for a year, and afterwards baniſhing himſelf from Great Britain for life.

Shrewſbury.—At our town ſeſſions 17th. on Monday laſt, Mahomet Benally, for ſeditious words, damning the Britiſh king, and being in England contrary to the alien act, was ſentenced to fourteen days impriſonment in the houſe of correction to hard labour and ſolitary confinement; and at the expiration of that time to be delivered over to ſuch perſon as his Majeſty ſhall think proper to direct.

The magiſtrates at this ſeſſions agreed with the Colnbrook Dale company, to caſt an iron bridge of one arch, over the river Severn at Buildwas; the ſpan of which is to be one hundred and thirty feet, the width of the paſſage-way eighteen feet; and to erect the ſame in nine months, for the ſum of 3,700l. being conſiderably leſs than if the ſame had been erected of ſtone.

20th. The town of Lewes was thrown into conſternation by the arrival of two officers from Blachington barracks, who came to requeſt the aſſiſtance of the horſe artillery quartered in that town, to quell a moſt ſerious inſurrection that had taken place with the Oxford militia, who, to the amount of 400, aſſembled at 7 o'clock in the morning, and, with muſquets loaded and bayonets fixed, proceeded to Seaford, and there ſeized from the butchers all the mutton and beef they could find, which they conveyed to the church-yard, and there ſold at the rate of 4d. per pound. They next proceeded to the bakers, and thence to the corn-mill at Newhaven, where they ſeized near 2,000 ſacks of flour, and retailed at their own prices; calling on many farmers and graziers as they proceeded. They took a team of horſes which were at plough, to bring the flour from Newhaven mill to Blachington. Major Shadwell, with a detachment of the horſe artillery, ſet off immediately to reconnoitre them; but, finding them reſolute in their numbers, an expreſs was immediately forwarded to the Lancaſhire fencibles, now ſtationed at Brighton. From two pieces of cannon which were placed on the hill on the Seaford ſide, two ſhot were fired over a large body who were marching from the barracks to relieve thoſe at Newhaven. They immediately fled, but were ſoon ſurrounded and taken priſoners by the light horſe. All is ſince quiet; and it is mentioned with much pleaſure, that not a ſingle countryman joined the militia, and only one non-commiſſioned officer. Some diſturbances have taken place alſo at Nottingham, Coventry, Nuneaton, Bedworth, and Hinckley; which ſoon ſubſided.

This day two bailiff's followers made a ſeizure for rent at a houſe in Kingſwood near Briſtol. 20th. An alarm being given, they were ſurrounded by a number of colliers, who conveyed them to a neighbouring coal-pit, and let them down, where they were ſuffered to remain till about two o'clock next morning; when they were had up, and, each having a glaſs of gin and ſome gingerbread given him, were immerſed again into the earth, where they were confined in all twenty-four hours. On being releaſed they were made to pay a fine of 6s. 8d. each for their lodging, and take an oath never to trouble or moleſt any of them again.

Yeſterday, William Tilley, George Hardwicke, James Hayden, John Henley, John Delancy, 21ſt.

lancy, William Handland, Simon Jacobs, John Solomon, and John Philips, were tried at the Old Bailey, for the wilful murder of Iſdwell Iſdwell, by maliciouſly levelling and firing a blunderbuſs at John Day, for the purpoſe of effecting the eſcape of the ſaid Iſdwell, he being committed on a charge for a capital offence. The trial laſted from eleven o'clock yeſterday morning till paſt one this morning. The jury were out about a quarter of an hour, and then returned a verdict of—Not Guilty. They were all detained to take their trial for a conſpiracy, to reſcue the deceaſed out of the hands of juſtice.

23d. *Dublin.* This day came on the trial of the Rev. W. Jackſon, on a charge of high treaſon. He was found guilty. For a full account of his trial and death, ſee Appendix to the Chronicle.

25th. At the High Court of Judicature aſſembled this day at Weſtminſter-hall, being the 149th day, for the trial of Warren Haſtings, eſq. that gentleman was acquitted of ALL the charges brought againſt him. This trial has laſted 7 years, 2 months, and 11 days. A full account of the acquittal will be found in the Appendix to the Chronicle.

27th. The ſecond reading of the catholic bill came on in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons. The debate was opened by the ſolicitor-general, who moved that the bill ſhould be rejected. This motion was ſeconded by lord Kingſborough; and on the ſame ſide were Meſſrs. Coote, Pelham, Wolfe, col. Blaquierre, ſir Edward Newenham, Meſſrs. Cuffe, Ogle, Maſon, ſir J. Parnell, Meſſrs. Barrington, Johnſon, Fox, Dr. Duigenan, and Mr. Latouche. The bill was ſupported by ſir Hercules Langriſhe, Mr. Fitzgerald (not the prime ſerjeant) Mr. Ruxton, ſir Laurence Parſons, Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Tighe, jun. Mr. Smith, Mr. Knox, Mr. Egan, Mr. O'Connor, Mr. Oſborne, ſir Thomas Oſborne, col. Doyle, Mr. Hoare, Mr. C. Hutchinſon, Mr. Curran, Mr. G. Ponſonby, and Mr. Grattan. The debate began at five in the evening, and continued till eleven next morning; when the motion for rejecting the bill was put, and carried by a majority of 71; there being againſt the rejection 84; for it 155.

30th. Between 11 and 12 o'clock, by ſome accident, his Majeſty's ſhip Boyne, of 98 guns, Capt. Grey, caught fire at Spithead. The marines had been exerciſing and firing to windward, and it is thought ſome of their wadding having been blown into one of the ports in the admiral's cabin, ſet fire to ſome papers which were lying there; which communicating to other parts of the veſſel, the flames ſpread ſo rapidly, that in leſs than half an hour this noble ſhip, only five years old, was on fire both fore and aft. The flames burſt through the poop before the fire was diſcovered. When the fire broke out, there was a freſh breeze at S. W. and it being ebb tide, the ſhips were riding with their ſterns to windward. Within half an hour after the fire broke out, the tops of all the rigging were in a blaze. About twelve the tide turned and the poſitions of the ſhips were changed; but it was now too late to make any attempt, or even for the boats to come to her aſſiſtance. The flames raged with great fury; and unfortunately all her guns were loaded, and as they became heated, they went off, the ſhot falling among the ſhipping, and ſome of them even reached the ſhore, but without doing any damage. It was upwards of two hours from the firſt diſcharge till all the guns had gone off.— About two, her cables were burnt, and ſhe went adrift, the fire blazing through every port-hole. The ſight, though at noon day, was awfully grand.— The ſhips to leeward of her having got under weigh, to get clear of her, ran down to St. Helen's, and ſhe drifted ſlowly to the Eaſtward, her mizen-maſt and top-maſt having fallen down before ſhe began to drift. Captain Grey was on ſhore at the time. The flag of Vice-Admiral Peyton was flying on board the Boyne. The remnant of the Boyne, as the tide flowed, drifted further on the Spit, till ſhe came oppoſite to South Sea Caſtle. Preciſely at five a very conſiderable ſhock was felt all over the town of Portſmouth; at that moment the after-magazine blew up, with a great exploſion, and ſhot and pieces of timber were thrown to a very conſiderable diſtance all around her. At the ſame time that we announce the melancholy circumſtance, it is with no ſmall ſatisfaction we are enabled to contradict the reports, in many of the newſpapers, of the loſs of ſeveral hundred men, women and children, in conſequence of this accident. By advices received at the Admiralty from Portſmouth, the total loſs is not more than 20 men killed and wounded; of theſe two men were killed and one wounded on board the Queen Charlotte, from the ſhot of the cannon of the Boyne, which were left loaded ever ſince ſhe arrived from the Weſt Indies. The crew of the ſhip eſcaped by jumping overboard; and all the boats of the ſhips at Spithead were out to their aſſiſtance.

MAY.

4th. Richard Brothers, the pretended prophet, was this day removed from the houſe of the king's meſſenger, and placed under the care of Dr. Simmons, phyſician to St. Luke's hoſpital, at Fiſher-houſe, Iſlington.

8th. Yeſterday was held the anniverſary meeting of the Sons of the Clergy. The ſermon was preached by the Rev. Charles Layard, D. D. F. R. A. S. S. chaplain in ordinary to his majeſty.

	£.	s.	d.
Collection at St. Paul's on Tueſday 5th inſt.	104	14	6
Ditto Thurſday the 7th	194	13	6
At Merchant Taylor's Hall - - - - -	566	15	6
	866	3	6

15th. This evening a melancholy accident happened on the Humber, oppoſite to Stallingborough, in Yorkſhire. As Mr. Richard Mitchell and four others, all of this town, were proceeding down the river in a boat with ſails up, a heavy ſquall came on ſuddenly and overſet the boat. On this unfortunate occaſion Mr. Mitchell and one of the men were drowned: the other three ſaved themſelves by ſwimming to the ſhore. The body of Mr. Mitchell was taken up on Sunday.

16th. On Tueſday, April 28, a court-martial was held on board the Glory of 98 guns, in Portſmouth harbour, on captain Anthony James Pye Molloy, of the Cæſar of 74 guns, upon the charge of his not having brought up his ſhip, and exerted himſelf to the utmoſt of his power, in the engagements which took place on the 29th of May and 1ſt of June 1794; and for not croſſing the enemy's line.

The examination of the witneſſes to prove the charges, and of the witneſſes in his favour, extended this trial to ſixteen days, and on Friday, May 15, the court being met for the laſt time, the judge advocate, after ſome preliminary formalities, read a paper, which ſtated the purpoſe for which the court-martial was called, the circumſtance which cauſed it, the names of the members, and the charges which they had to try. The firſt charge was, that captain Molloy, of his majeſty's ſhip Cæſar, did not, on the 29th of May 1794, croſs the enemy's line, in obedience to the ſignal of the admiral; the ſecond, that on the 1ſt of June he had not uſed his utmoſt endeavours to cloſe with and defeat the enemy.

THE SENTENCE.

The court having heard the evidence on the part of the proſecution, and that on behalf of captain Molloy, and having duly weighed and conſidered the ſame were of opinion

'That the ſaid charges have been made good againſt the ſaid captain Anthony James Pye Molloy. But having found that, on the ſaid 29th of May and 1ſt of June, as well as on many former occaſions, captain Molloy's courage had always been unimpeachable—the court were of opinion, that captain Molloy, then commanding the Cæſar, ſhould be diſmiſſed from his majeſty's ſaid ſhip the Cæſar; and ordered that he be accordingly forthwith diſmiſſed.

19th. This night, about eleven o'clock, major Dundas, accompanied by two other gentlemen, were ſtopped in a poſt-chaiſe near Slough by four footpads, who fired two ſhots into the carriage before they demanded the gentlemen's money, which having obtained, to a conſiderable amount, together with two watches, one of them ſtruck major Dundas on the arm with a piſtol, and then cut away three portmanteaus which were faſtened on the fore part of the chaiſe, with which they got clear off.

George Errington, eſq. of Grays, in Eſſex, died this day. He loſt his life in the following extraordinary manner:—Having lately married, he made a ſettlement of 100l. per annum on a female favourite, with whom he had for ſome time before cohabited; the lady nevertheleſs, thinking herſelf aggrieved, went from London, on Wedneſday ſe'nnight to his country reſidence, and having obtained admittance into the parlour where Mr. and Mrs. Errington were ſitting, ſhe drew a piſtol from her pocket, and fired it at him. The ball ſhot off his thumb, and entered his ſide, but, being extracted in a few minutes after, he appeared in a fair way of recovery for two or three days. Unhappily, however, very alarming ſymptoms of diſſolution appeared on Sunday laſt, with which he laboured in the moſt excruciating agony till Wedneſday, when he died. The aſſaſſin is committed to Chelmsford gaol.

Mr. Errington was huſband of the noted Mrs. Errington, from whom he was divorced before his connection with the inſtrument of his death.

20th. This night that noble manſion-houſe, Cliffden, the property of the earl of Inchiquin, on the banks of the Thames, caught fire. The flames were ſo rapid, that very few articles of value were ſaved, and only the wings which were joined to the centre by a colonade eſcaped. This houſe was begun, but left unfiniſhed, by George Villiers duke of Buckingham, in the reign of Charles II. and was the counterpart of that which he built in St. James's Park, now the reſidence of our moſt gracious ſovereign; and came, by marriage with Elizabeth eldeſt daughter of ſir Edward Villiers, and ſiſter to Edward earl of Jerſey, to the earl of Orkney, who greatly improved it; and whoſe eldeſt daughter married William Obrien, earl of Inchiquin, who now poſſeſſes it. Its lofty ſituation on the ſide of a hill gave it every advantage of a beautiful and extenſive proſpect. It was the favourite ſummer reſidence of his preſent majeſty's father.—The cauſe of this fire is variouſly accounted for. It is generally believed that one of the chambermaids turning down the bed in the evening, left a candle burning in the middle apartments, which ſet fire to the curtains: but this is mere ſurmiſe. The flames broke out at nine o'clock at night, and were ſo ſudden and ſo rapid that all aſſiſtance to ſave the furniture and the houſe was vain. Lord and lady Inchiquin were on a viſit there at the time, and at tea, or rather after tea, in the ſummer-houſe. So ſudden and ſo violent was the fire that nothing was ſaved, not even the plate: and what is conſidered as an irreparable loſs, the whole of the beautiful tapeſtry, repreſenting the various battles won by the famous duke of Marlborough, fell a victim on this occaſion, ſo as not to leave a trace behind of that extenſive ſpecimen of art. Not even ſo much of wearing apparel was ſaved as to furniſh a change of any article to the family for the next day. The conflagration was ſeen many miles round.

22d. The following melancholy tranſaction occurred near Drummina in Ireland:—Meſs. Simpſon and Burk, two officers, accompanied by nine police-men, went to ſeize a private ſtill, at Kithkarian, belonging to Mr. Muldoon there.—Upon their coming near the houſe, a large dog ran out and attacked them, which was ſhot by one of the party, on which Mr. M. came out, took umbrage at killing the dog, and had ſome ſcuffle with the party, on which one of them fired at Mr. Muldoon, and killed him on the ſpot; after which they went into the houſe and ſeized the ſtill. While this was going on, a ſervant of Mr. Muldoon alarmed the neighbourhood, and the adjacent village, a number of perſons in a ſhort time collected in a body, armed with guns, forks, and other weapons, and ſurrounded the ſtill-houſe, upon which the party quitted the houſe, and were retreating, when they were fired at by the mob; the fire was returned by the police, until their ammunition was expended, when they retired to a houſe for protection, which was immediately ſet on fire in different places from without, and as each of the revenue party attempted to get out, to eſcape the flames, they were every man killed. The mob afterwards mangled their bodies in a ſhocking manner. A party of the army in that neighbourhood, have ſince marched to the village where the banditti moſtly collect who killed the police men, and burned to the ground every houſe in it.

23d. Yeſterday Maria Thereſa Phipoe was capitally indicted, at the Old Bailey, for putting in fear, and violently and felonioufly taking from John Courtoy a promiſſory note, value 2,000l.

This very extraordinary caſe appeared to be as follows: Mr. Courtoy being at Mrs. Phipoe's houſe in Hans Town, Brompton, the latter, with the aſſiſtance of her ſervant, Mary Brown (who was the principal evidence againſt her) faſtened Mr. Courtoy to the back of a chair, and extorted from him a note of 2,000l. by threatening and attempting to cut his throat. After he had ſigned and given the note, ſhe again attempted to kill him in the ſame manner, having firſt offered him his choice to die by arſenic, the piſtol, or the knife: and he eſcaped with great difficulty, three or four of his fingers being cut in the ſtruggle.

The indictment was founded on the ſtatute of 2d George II. which enacts, that if any perſon ſhall ſteal or obtain by force or violence any exchequer order, promiſſory note, &c. ſuch an offence ſhall be deemed felony without benefit of clergy.

Mr. Courtoy was then called, and the note being produced, he was aſked, whether it was the ſame he gave to the priſoner? to which he anſwered in the affirmative.

Mr. Fielding, as counſel for the priſoner, objected to the admiſſibility of the evidence of Mr. Courtoy. He contended, that he ſtood in the light of an intereſted witneſs, inaſmuch as his evidence went to invalidate the note, which upon the face of it appeared to be the legal property of the priſoner.

After the counſel for the proſecution were heard on the other ſide, the court were of opinion, that Mr. Courtoy ought not to be examined.

Mary Brown, the ſervant of Mrs. Phipoe, gave an account of the tranſaction as above, as did the other witneſſes.

The jury, without leaving the box, pronounced the priſoner—guilty.

The priſoner's counſel moved in arreſt of judgment, upon the ground that the offence did not come within the meaning of the ſtatute, the note not being in any legal ſenſe the property of the proſecutor, at the time it was alleged to have been forcibly taken from him by the priſoner.

James Lyons, who remained on commitment for having forged receipts in the three per cent. conſol. to the amount of 1,440l. with intent to defraud the governor and company of the bank of England, was brought up for judgment. Mr. juſtice Groſe informed the priſoner, that it was the opinion of the judges, that the crime which he was guilty of was not that ſtated in the indictment. The judges were therefore agreed, that judgment ſhould be given againſt the crown.

Mr. Lyons addreſſed the court by ſaying, that an action was brought againſt him in the court of King's Bench, and a verdict of 5,000l. given, which happened in conſequence of his papers being detained; he therefore begged that the court would order them to be returned.

Mr. Juſtice Groſe informed him, that his application muſt be to the court of King's Bench.—Ordered back into cuſtody.

27th. This morning the new-erected horſe barracks at Romford, in Eſſex, were burnt down to the ground, except a ſmall diviſion of the building uncompleted. The accident was owing to the careleſſneſs of ſome workmen in letting a fire communicate to ſome ſhavings. The loſs is computed at 10,000l.

DIED.—At his houſe in Great Poland-ſtreet, in the 55th year of his age, James Boſwell, eſq.

JUNE.

1ſt. A general court was held at the Eaſt India houſe, to determine by ballot the following queſtion, carried at the laſt court, viz. 'That this court do recommend, that the court of directors ſhould apply to Warren Haſtings, eſq. for a ſtatement of the legal expences incurred by him in making his defence; and that, after having aſcertained the ſame, by a full and ſatisfactory inveſtigation, they do diſcharge the amount thereof, not exceeding the ſum of 71,080l.

The ballot commenced at eleven o'clock, and continued till ſix in the afternoon, when, on caſting up the votes, the numbers were as follow: For the queſtion 544—againſt it 244—majority 300.

And yeſterday a general court was held for determining by ballot the following queſtion: 'That it is the opinion of this court, that in conſideration of the long, faithful, and important ſervices of Warren Haſtings, eſq. and to mark the grateful ſenſe entertained by this company of the extenſive benefits which they have received from thoſe ſervices, a grant of an annuity of 5,000l. from the 1ſt of January 1795, to iſſue from the territorial revenues during the term of the company's preſent excluſive trade, to Warren Haſtings, eſq. his executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, be prepared by the court of directors, and ſubmitted to the board of commiſſioners for the affairs of India, for their approval and confirmation, purſuant to the act of parliament.'

On caſting up the votes, the numbers were, for the queſtion 508—againſt it 220—majority 288.

Lewes.—Laſt Wedneſday the 13 Oxford militiamen, who were lately tried (for a mutiny at Newhaven) by a general court-martial at Brighton, were taken from the houſe of correction in this town, and conducted in two artillery waggons, under a ſtrong guard of the Lancaſhire fencibles, to Brighton, where two of them are to be ſhot. Three were condemned, but one has been ſince pardoned on condition of being tranſported to Botany Bay. Four were liberated on Friday. Of the remaining ſix, five were to receive 1,000, and one 500 laſhes.

Birmingham.—On Sunday morning, as the workmen at Mr. Woolley's ſword blade mill, at Perry, near this town, were grinding ſword blades and bayonets, a ſtone of about two ton weight, and which had every appearance of being perfectly ſound, ſuddenly broke acroſs the middle in nearly two equal parts, one of which flew up with Richard Smith, who was then grinding at it, to the roof, and, ſtriking againſt the principal beam, ſplintered a conſiderable portion of it: thus impeded, it rebounded and took nearly a ſtrait direction of about eight or ten yards acroſs the mill, and forced its way through the upper part of the wall near to the roof. Such was the uncommon violence of the ſhock, that a man, at work at the diſtance of two fields, perceived the ground to ſhake under him. The men in the mill declare themſelves unable to give any other account of the dreadful accident, than that they found themſelves on a ſudden thrown flat upon the floor, without knowing the cauſe, and that, upon recovering themſelves, and ſearching for their unfortunate companion, they diſcovered him without the leaſt ſigns of life, and bruiſed in a ſhocking manner.

6th. *Copenhagen.*—Yeſterday afternoon, a little after three o'clock, by ſome unfortunate accident, which remains unknown to this moment, a fire broke out in the building of the old Holm, where the ſhip-timber and other naval ſtores for the fleet are kept. The flames, with an incredible rapidity, ſtill farther increaſed by a very ſtrong wind from the ſouth-eaſt, ſpread to the great magazine, and alſo ſet fire to this edifice, ſo eſſential to the ſtate, after the principal things kept in it had however been previouſly ſaved. While the firemen were occupied here in extinguiſhing the flames, the fire alſo broke out at the ſame time in the ſteeple of the church of St. Nicholas, which lies at the diſtance of three whole ſtreets from the Holm, and had even eſcaped in the great fire of 1728: the flames not only deſtroyed, in a very little time, this beautiful edifice, but ſpread alſo through all the adjacent ſtreets, ſo that at this time almoſt the whole of the old Holm, the College of Admiralty, and the buildings belonging to it, the edifices along the Canal, the Old Strand, and all the houſes ſituated in that part of the city are now entirely in aſhes. The number of houſes already burnt down are eſtimated to amount to ſeveral hundreds, among which are thoſe of the merchants Pechier, Erichſen, Cramer, Guſtmeyer, the apothecary Manthey, and of a great number of very reſpectable citizens. The damage which this conflagration occaſioned cannot yet be aſcertained, though it is already eſtimated to amount to ſeveral millions of rixdollars. The prince royal, who haſtened immediately with the princes of Heſſe Auguſtenburgh and Wurtemberg to give aſſiſtance, was extremely active in encouraging the people occupied in getting the flames under; but our fire engines and firemen, which are good in other reſpects, could make no great effect, owing to the violence of the wind, which threw large fleaks of fire all over this city. Many of the inhabitants, who were expoſed to the fire, covered their houſes with wet ſail-cloth and canvaſs, to ſcreen them from the effects of the conflagration. All the public ſquares, eſpecially the royal new market-place, and the Courſe, are full of effects ſaved from the fire. The conflagration, eſpecially the fall of the lofty pile of the church of St. Nicholas, exhibited a moſt terrific and awfully-grand ſpectacle. The city was illuminated all night as in a fine clear moonlight night. In this melancholy criſis, of which we cannot foretell the termination at this moment, the prince royal will probably not ſet out to the Swediſh camp, to which he has been invited, in the name of his Swediſh majeſty, by counts Marner and Steenbock, although his departure was fixed for next Monday, and perſons had been appointed to compoſe the ſuite of his royal highneſs.—P. S. The fire continues to ſpread farther and farther, and the whole Guildhall is now in flames; apprehenſions are alſo entertained for the church of Our Lady, though all poſſible pains are taken to ſave it from the danger. All the houſes that have no walls to reſiſt fire are pulled down to prevent the conflagration ſpreading farther. Both the ſoldiers and ſailors, whoſe number has been conſiderably increaſed here by the fitting out of the fleet, have much diſtinguiſhed themſelves. A great number of perſons were either maimed or have loſt their lives by the falling in of the houſes. The ſynagogue of the jews and the orphan hoſpital are among the buildings which have been burnt. The Lombard, or Mont de Piete, is ſafe, or it is thought at leaſt to be out of danger. It cannot yet be ſtated, with any degree of certainty, how the fire firſt broke out; ſome ſay by a copper of tar boiling over; others ſay it has been done on purpoſe; but ſuch reports are not now to be warranted. The fire has already raged thirty hours.—Second P. S. This moment, as the mail is going, the progreſs of the fire has been ſtopped.

7th. The number of houſes which are yet aſcertained to be burnt down to the ground, amounts to from 6 to 800; and 4,000 people wander about the ſtreets without a home and ſhelter. The circumſtance of the flames breaking out at the ſame time in the dock-yard and the ſteeple of St. Nicholas church, has given riſe to the report that the dock-yard had maliciouſly been ſet on fire by the Engliſh and Ruſſian emiſſaries, in order to deſtroy our fleet; but this calumny obtained no more credit than it deſerved, it being well known that a fire-brand, which flew into the ſaid ſteeple, ſet it on fire. Our fleet has received no damage, as a freſh eaſterly wind prevented the conflagration from being communicated to the ſhips. Our loſs is no doubt very great, as it is eſtimated at about ſix millions of dollars, and obſtructs the equipping of our fleet; but it is not true as was reported, that the third or fourth part of the town lies in aſhes.

In 1728, Oct. 20, in the evening, a fire broke out in a poor ſmall houſe near the weſt gate, which, notwithſtanding the excellent orders iſſued to extinguiſh it, ſpread itſelf with ſuch violence and terrible fury, that in leſs than 48 hours, it deſtroyed 74 ſtreets and ſquares, 1650 private houſes, 5 churches, almoſt all the buildings of the univerſity, the town-houſe, and part of the orphan-houſe. (Haſnia hodierna, p. 30.)

The old and new Holm reach from the cuſtom-houſe to the church of Bremerholm, and form two iſlands, the former called from Bremen merchants, who, during the Hanſeatic league, held their counting-houſes there, was of late years incloſed within the fortifications of the city, and was the receptacle of the condemned criminals, whoſe ſentence was changed into impriſonment for life, and to work in chains till removed to a ſafer place, by Chriſtian VI. who converted the ſpot into dock-yards. The principal building here is the commiſſary general of marine's houſe, built 1704, and ſince made the admiralty. To it adjoins the magazine of cordage, and every article neceſſary for fitting out ſhips. In the centre of this laſt building were kept the archives of the marine, and a variety of curious models. Oppoſite to this great magazine was a building for the various committees to meet in, and for the mathematical, mechanical, and other ſchools, a hall for the council compoſed of the admiralty and commiſſariate-general. Other buildings were the houſe of the governor of the Holm, a ſchool for 150 carpenter and ſailor lads; two magazines for fir and other timber, under cover and abroad; two large ſtore-houſes for cables, cordage, pumps, &c. erected by Chriſtian VI; the rope walk; pump-houſes; places for building various boats, and for dreſsing leather; a baſon for maſts; a dock for men of war. This old Holm is entirely ſeparated from the city, and ſurrounded with walls or fine canals. (Ib. 206, 217.) Bremerholm church, formerly called the admiralty church, becauſe appropriated to the marine department, is now parochial.

The church of St. Nicholas, which, in order, is but the third parochial church in the city, deſerved, by its internal and external ornaments, the title of firſt and principal. It eſcaped the fire of 1728, and boaſted a magnificent extenſive facade, with a handſome ſteeple, the higheſt after that of Notre Dame, finiſhed 1666, the old one being blown down 1627. The outſide of the church was decorated with fine paintings in copper; on the top of the end was a coloſſal figure of St. Nicholas, of ſtone, gilt, and on the top of the pillars round the choir were ten ſtatues in ſtone, large as life. In the ſpace between theſe pillars in front of the choir were painted on copper the patriarchs and prophets, the apoſtles and evangeliſts, with our Saviour, and Chriſtian IV. in his royal robes and crown. On the ſouth ſide on a large plate of copper was a fine ſun-dial, the work of the celebrated Longomontanus, ſcholar of Tycho Brahé; and all the doors of the church have gothic portals, richly carved with figures and other ornaments, as were alſo the pulpit and organ. Among the monuments were thoſe of the hero Roſencrantz, who loſt his life at the ſiege of Helſingburg; and Cornelius Lereke chancellor of ſtate 1680. The church was adorned with beautiful paintings and ſculptures, and in the walk behind it was faſtened by chains a cannon-ball, which was fired againſt the wood work of the roof on the north ſide of the choir, in the ſiege of 1653. In the king's ſeat in this church were portraits of all the kings of the houſe of Oldenburgh to his preſent majeſty, beſides thoſe of ſaints, apoſtles, and reformers. (Ib, 254, 259.)

6th. This day, in the court of King's Bench, the cauſe of the king *v.* Ramſay and Wilſon, the defendants, who had been convicted of putting a pregnant woman into an open boat at Woolwich, were brought from the King's Bench priſon into court to receive judgment. Mr. Mingay, their counſel, ſtated, that they had paid to the pariſh of Clerkenwell (in the workhouſe of which the woman was brought to bed) the ſum of 500l. for the coſts of the proſecution, and the expences of maintaining the pauper's child, which, together with their own coſts, would fix them with an expence of upwards of 700l. Mr. Juſtice Aſhhurſt then pronounced ſentence. He ſaid that the court taking into conſideration the general good character of the defendants, the money they had already paid, and were liable to pay, and the impriſonment they had ſuffered from the laſt term to the preſent, ordered that they pay a fine to the king of 1*ſ.* and be diſcharged.

Lord Kenyon ſaid, he hoped this proſecution would become a warning to all pariſh officers in the kingdom, to conduct themſelves with humanity and integrity.

10th. *Bath.*—Yeſterday a dreadful act of deſperation was committed in this city by John White, a young man about 19, who got up in the morning, procured a brace of piſtols which he loaded, and with coolneſs and deliberation walked into the ſchool-room of Maria Bally, in Corn-ſtreet, an amiable young woman, to whom he was affectionately attached; and after a ſhort converſation ſhot her inſtantly dead. The noiſe of the piſtol and the ſmoke greatly terrified the children in the ſchool, and, their cries alarming the neighbours, he was taken into cuſtody coming out at the door. The mayor ſhortly after ſummoned his jury, and a verdict of wilful murder was brought in againſt him. When before the magiſtrate, he behaved with much decency; and, on being aſked the cauſe of his committing ſo horrid a deed, he ſaid it was for *contemned love*;—and, whether he was not terrified at the idea of the puniſhment that awaited him both *here* and *hereafter*, he replied, 'that, David having cauſed the death of Uriah to obtain Bathſheba, and been forgiven, he alſo hoped for forgiveneſs. When the miſtreſs of the houſe where he lodged came in, and in bitter tears lamented his fate, and that ſhe ſhould never ſee him more, his agony was very piercing, and deeply affected all preſent. He is committed to Ilcheſter gaol for trial.

12th. This afternoon, between three and four o'clock, the moſt tremendous ſtorm was felt near Hatfield Broad Oak and Sawbridgeworth, ever known in thoſe parts. The ſtorm commenced at Hatfield town, and took a direction of more than two miles over the heath, extending about three quarters of a mile wide, and hurled deſtruction in its courſe. Whole fields of wheat, &c. are totally cut to pieces, and the damage to many individual farmers is very conſiderable. The hailſtones, or pieces of ice, meaſured four inches over, and drove in ſuch torrents as to be in many places upwards of five feet deep, and were ſeveral days in melting away.

13th. This day there was a tremendous ſtorm of thunder and lightning in the neighbourhood of Bury St. Edmonds, during which a colt was killed at Mrs. Wyard's, at Great Barton, and a large poplar tree in the paddock of Richard Cartwright, eſq. at Ixworth Abbey, was ſtripped of the bark, and ſplit from top to bottom. A wood-pigeon, ſuppoſed to be ſitting thereon, was found under the tree, with its head ſevered from the body.

Brighthelmſtone. The two ſoldiers of the Oxfordſhire militia were ſhot this morning, about a quarter paſt eight. One of them knelt down upon one coffin, and one upon the other, and they both inſtantly fell dead; though, leſt there might be any remains of life, a firelock was let off cloſe to the head of each immediately after The ſcene was moſt awful and impreſſive. It was in a valley about a mile diſtant from the camp, where all the troops, cavalry, infantry, and artillery, were drawn up in two lines, and after three men out of the ſix who had been ſentenced to be flogged, had received their puniſhment, in a very exemplary manner, the three others were pardoned. The men capitally convicted were then marched up between the two lines of the army, accompanied by a clergyman, and eſcorted by pickets from the different regiments of horſe and foot; and at the upper end of the line, after a ſhort time ſpent with the clergyman, they were ſhot by a party of the Oxfordſhire militia, who had been very active in the late riots, but had been pardoned. The men appeared very reſigned, and the party who ſhot them were very much affected afterwards. Indeed ſeveral of the men of the regiment ſeemed greatly agitated and concerned. The awful ceremony was concluded by the marching of all the regiments round the bodies of the ſoldiers as they lay on the ground.

14th. *Horſham.*—This day Sykes and Sanſom, the two Oxfordſhire militia-men, ſentenced to be hung at the late ſpecial aſſizes at Lewes, for ſtealing flour at Blatchington, were executed here. They appeared penitent, and deſired the ſpectators to take warning by their untimely fate.

16th. *Dumfries.*—On Thurſday evening the 11th inſtant, one of the ſoldiers of the firſt fencible regiment having been confined for impropriety in the field when under arms, ſeveral of his comrades reſolved to releaſe him; for which purpoſe they aſſembled round, and endeavoured to force the guard-room; but they were repelled by the adjutant and officer on guard, who made the ringleader a priſoner. The commanding officer of the regiment immediately ordered a garriſon court-martial, conſiſting of his own corps and the Ulſter light dragoons. When the priſoners were remanded back from the court to the guard-room, their eſcort was attacked by fifty or ſixty of the ſoldiers, with fixed bayonets. The eſcort, conſiſting of a corporal and ſix men, charged them in return, and would not have parted with their priſoners, but at the interceſſion of the ſerjeant-major, who thought reſiſtance againſt ſuch numbers was in vain. The mutineers then ſet up a ſhout, and part of them ran away with the priſoners. The lieutenant-colonel and major, on hearing a noiſe ran down to the ſtreet; and the former ſeeing the way the priſoners had gone, followed and retook them. They ſubmiſſively agreed to go with them to confinement; but when they had reached the middle of the ſtreet, the officers were ſurrounded by a great number, who charged them with fixed bayonets in every direction. The major did his utmoſt to bear down their bayonets on the left, and captain John Grant, jun. was near him on the right, equally active. The mutineers, like cowards, were encouraging one another to puſh on, and had encloſed the three officers in a narrow compaſs, when one of the moſt violent approaching the lieutenant-colonel's breaſt, and threatening to run him through, he was under the neceſſity of pulling out a piſtol, and preſenting it at his head. The fellow immediately ſtooped, and the whole fell back, as if they had received the word of command.—Many of the officers had by this time joined, and order was ſoon reſtored; they were paraded at the dock, the mutiny articles read, and a forcible ſpeech made to them by the lieutenant-colonel. They were then ordered, as a mark of returning duty and allegiance, to face to the right and march under the colours, which was inſtantly complied with. The ranks were then opened, and ſix of the ringleaders picked out, ſent to the guard under an eſcort, and the affair reported to the commander in chief. The regiment has ſince received a route to march to be encamped on the ſea coaſt.

19th. *Litchfield.*—This day the beautiful and elegant cathedral of this city, on the improvement and embelliſhment of which the Dean and Chapter, with the moſt laudable munificence, have expended not leſs than 8,000l. received its laſt finiſh, by the addition of a painted window at the eaſt end of the choir. The ſubject is the Reſurrection of Jeſus, from a deſign of Weſt's, and the execution of it reflects the higheſt praiſe upon Mr. Eggington, of Handſworth, near Birmingham.—The chaſte but brilliant effect of the præternatural light, the graceful form of the aſcending Saviour, and the animated expreſſion of the countenance, have excited the warm approbation of numerous viſitors of judgment, taſte, and faſhion, who have beſtowed unqualified commendations upon the unrivalled ſkill of the artiſt.

This evening, between 4 and 5, as the workmen were employed in pulling down three houſes in Bridewell, New Bridge-ſtreet, formerly occupied by the arts-maſters, but which were to be made into priſons, they ſuddenly gave way.

This melancholy event was cauſed in part, from removing the main beams below without ſhoring up the buildings in a proper manner, but principally from a violent and momentary guſt of wind. It is ſuppoſed that between 12 and 15 men were buried in the ruins—ſix were got out very ſoon; two of them not much bruiſed, but the others conſiderably hurt, who were immediately ſent to the hoſpital. In the evening two more were dug out alive, but very dangerouſly hurt; and two others have ſince been found, who appeared to have been killed on the ſpot. The walls, which from their dangerous ſtate after the fall of the houſes, threatened further deſtruction, were next morning pulled down.

20th. *Cork.*—On Thurſday laſt a caſe of importance to bankrupts was decided in our court. A merchant, who failed two years ago in Briſtol, and had obtained a certificate in England, under the bankrupt laws, came over to Ireland, and was here arreſted a few days back for a debt contracted previouſly to his failure in England. It was decided by the court, that certificates obtained in England protect the bankrupt in Ireland, and *vice verſa*, that certificates obtained in Ireland protect in England.

22d. This morning Iſdwell, Clarke and Sharpe, convicted in May ſeſſions of different forgeries, were executed in the Old Bailey. Iſdwell, for the forgeries on the ſtamp-office, died worth upwards of 3,000l. He confeſſed a ſhort time before his death, that he and his aſſociates had committed forgeries on the bank of Denmark, to a large amount.

Saliſbury. The intenſe cold which ſet in on Thurſday night, there is great reaſon to apprehend, will materially check the progreſs of vegetation; and from the information already come to hand, we fear very much miſchief has been done among the flocks juſt ſhorn of their wool, and deprived of that warm cloathing which, from the unſeaſonable ſeverity of the weather, was then ſo peculiarly neceſſary. At Broadchalk near 200 ſheep periſhed, about the half of which were the property of one farmer; and 120 at Downton, 60 of which belonged to Mr. William Mouland; 150 were killed at

Steeple Langford, the greater part of which ſuffered from the hail ſtorm; Mr. Huſſel, near Shaftſbury, loſt 300; Mr. Weſtcoat, of Biſhopſdown, loſt 32; Mr. Swayner, of Bulford, 29; Mr. Turner, of Anſty, 40; 60 were loſt in Coombe and its neighbourhood; 100 at Place Farm, Swallowclift; and a great many at Codford, and on almoſt all the farms around the plain. In ſhort, it is computed that one-fourth of our flocks are deſtroyed by this ſudden and unexpected calamity.

23d. A murder was committed at Kew, on the bodies of an old man and his wife, who reſided in Kew-lane, and with whom it appears the murderer, who uſed to work in the gardens about that neighbourhood, was in the habits of the greateſt intimacy. The old people, who lived on a ſmall independent income, frequently aſſiſted the wretch, who afterwards proved their aſſaſſin, with the loan of little ſums of money, ſome of which not having been repaid, the old woman refuſed to lend him any more, when he went to her for that purpoſe laſt night, about ten o'clock, at which time her huſband, being ſomewhat indiſpoſed, was gone to bed; the villain, finding he could not prevail on her, went up ſtairs to the old man, who, it is ſuppoſed, alſo denied him, as he immediately murdered him in the moſt ſhocking manner with a hammer, and the old woman hearing the groans of her dying huſband, was haſtening to his aſſiſtance, when the villain met her, and with the ſame inſtrument ſhattered her head in ſo dreadful a degree, that ſhe expired ſoon after. The neighbours, alarmed by the noiſe, got into the houſe and ſecured the murderer. He was taken before the magiſtrates at the police office, at Union-hall, in the Borough, where he underwent an examination, the reſult of which was, his being fully committed to take his trial for the murders at the next aſſizes for the county of Surrey.

Birmingham.—Yeſterday, about noon, a mob of 1,000 people aſſembled before the mill and bakehouſe of Mr. Pickard, of Snow-hill, in this town, on account of the dearneſs of proviſions, crying out—"A large loaf; are we to be ſtarved to death?" and preſently demoliſhed the windows, window-caſes, ſhutters, and doors to the front of the bakehouſe, which ſome of them entered. The acting magiſtrates of this town, W. Hicks, and W. Villers, eſqrs. however, being informed of it, repaired to the place and called out the military; and the riot act being read, the mob were appeaſed, and order again reſtored, inſomuch that all the military, except a guard of twelve men, who were left at the mill, were ordered to their quarters, with directions, however, to lie on their arms, and aſſemble at the ſound of trumpet. About eight o'clock at night the people became more riotous, and threw ſtones at the guard before the mill, upon which three were taken into cuſtody, and eſcorted by a file of men to the dungeon. As they were conducting thither, the eſcort were aſſailed with ſtones and brick-bats, and a reſcue apprehended; on which two of the ſoldiers fired, and killed one man of the name of Allen, and wounded another dangerouſly in the breaſt with a ball, who now lies in our hoſpital. There are five in cuſtody for being active in the mob.

A printed hand-bill, of an inflammatory nature, has been circulated in the ſtreets this morning. The magiſtrates have offered a reward of 100 guineas for the diſcovery of the author.

This morning earl Fitzwilliam, 28th. attended by Lord George Cavendiſh, and Mr. Bereſford, attended by ſir George Montgomery, met in a field near Tyburn turnpike. Juſt as the principals had taken their ground at twelve paces diſtance, a magiſtrate with peace officers came up and prevented any further proceeding.

In conſequence of advertiſements 29th. in ſome of the daily papers, as well as from a number of hand-bills having been circulated, convening a meeting in a piece of ground not far from the obeliſk in St. George's Fields, ſome thouſands of perſons collected there in the afternoon; many, no doubt, from views of riot and diſaffection to this or any other government eſtabliſhed by law; but many more from motives only of curioſity. Some large baſket-loads of buiſcuits were diſtributed amongſt the poor, ſtamped with the following inſcription: on the legend are theſe words—"Unanimity, firmneſs, and ſpirit;" and on the inſide was ſtamped, "Freedom and plenty, or ſlavery and want." This inſcription will ſuffice to give the public a very correct idea of the views of thoſe who were the promoters of this meeting. About three o'clock, a man, who ſells drugs ſomewhere in the neighbourhood of Tottenham-Court Road, took the chair; and ſoon after opened the meeting by an elaborate ſpeech againſt the preſent government of the country. It included all the common-place topics which have been brought forward at the different debating ſocieties againſt the conſtitution of the country as now happily eſtabliſhed. The theme of his diſcourſe was annual parliaments and univerſal ſuffrage; and he concluded by recommending to the people, that, if they could not obtain relief to their grievances by legal and conſtitutional repreſentation, they ſhould take the law into their own hands, and not be terrified by the baſtile erected by miniſters. A long ſtring of reſolutions was then read, expreſſive of the riotous diſpoſition of the founders of the meeting; and an addreſs was moved to the King, as well as thanks to citizen Stanhope, for his manly and impartial conduct in the Houſe of Lords, and that the public had reaſon to congratulate themſelves that they had at leaſt one honeſt man in parliament. An amendment was afterwards moved, that Mr. Sheridan ſhould be included in the vote of thanks, which was adopted. The meeting ſeems to have completely anſwered the purpoſes of ſome of its committee, as many thouſand tickets, at 6d. each, had been iſſued, to admit people within the paling of the field. There was no diſturbance of any kind.—The gentlemen volunteers belonging to the London, Weſtminſter, and Southwark aſſociations, were in readineſs on Kennington and Clapham commons, to have aſſiſted the magiſtrates in the execution of their duty, if neceſſary. The public are very much obliged to theſe gentlemen for their protection. Numerous bodies of people continued to parade about St. George's Fields till a late hour this night, but there were no ſymptoms of riot.

Died.—The rev. William Romaine, rector of St. Ann's, 25th. Black-friars, and lecturer of St. Dunſtan's in the Weſt, in his 81ſt year. Mr. Romaine was a native of Hartlepool, and educated at Chriſt-Church, Oxford, where he took the degree of M. A. October 15, 1737. In 1749, he ſucceeded Dr. Terrick as lecturer of St. Dunſtan's in the Weſt. In 1751 he was choſen lecturer of aſtronomy at Greſham college, a place which he ſoon reſigned. He afterwards became rector of St. Anne's Blackfriars, which he held until his death.

JULY.

1ſt. Yeſterday Jonathan Jones, William Tilley, George Hardwick, James Haydon, John Henley, John Delaney, William Heanlon, Simon Jacobs, John Solomon, John Philips, and Charles Croſwell, were ſeverally indicted for felony, in aiding and abetting Iſdwell Iſdwell in an attempt to eſcape from New Priſon, Clerkenwell.

The firſt witneſs on the part of the proſecution was Mr. Newport, head-keeper of the gaol, who proved the warrant of commitment againſt Iſdwell. Roberts, his deputy, concurred in the ſame point, and alſo ſaid that he knew not of the plan deſigned between Iſdwell and his turnkeys, one of whom (Day) on his examination, ſaid, that being induced by the promiſe of a large ſum, he went with Iſdwell to Artillery-lane, to viſit, as Iſdwell ſaid, a ſick aunt, who wiſhed to ſee him. When they arrived there, three of the priſoners, James Haydon, John Henley, and William Heanlon, ſeized him, and wreſted from him a blunderbuſs, which was fired off in the dark, by which Iſdwell was killed, and he himſelf wounded.

Bernard Solomon, the next witneſs, ſaid, he lived ſervant with Mrs. Iſdwell; that he often went with meſſages to Iſdwell; that he had been ſent to Goſport for Jonathan Jones, who was Mrs. Iſdwell's uncle; that Jones came to town, and took lodgings for her in Artillery-lane.—On Good Friday, the day on the evening of which Iſdwell was killed, he obſerved that Mrs. Iſdwell had ſet out her bedroom with a number of phials and other apparatus, ſo as to give the room the appearance of a ſick perſon being there: he ſaw Jacobs, Hardwick, Haydon, and Philips, in the houſe previouſly to the accident: he opened the door when Iſdwell and Day came, and ſome time after he heard the report of a blunderbuſs; after which, he ſurrendered himſelf to the people who came into the houſe in conſequence of the alarm.

Many other witneſſes corroborated this evidence, and alſo identified the perſons of the remaining priſoners.

The priſoners brought many reſpectable people, who gave them very good characters.

When the judge had ſummed up the evidence, the jury, after having retired for a ſhort time, brought in their verdict, Jonathan Jones, William Tilley, and John Delany—Not guilty; George Hardwick, James Haydon, John Henley, William Heanlon, Simon Jacobs, John Solomon, John Philips, and Charles Croſwell—Guilty.

Edinburgh.—On Monday the high court of juſticiary met, and proceeded to the trial of ſir Archibald Gordon Kinloch, bart. on the charge of having murdered ſir Francis Kinloch, of Gilmerton, bart. his brother, by firing a piſtol, which took effect and cauſed his death.

After the indictment was read over, the pannel was aſked the uſual queſtion—guilty or not guilty? to which he anſwered 'not guilty.'

Mr. Hume ſtated to the court, that the nature of the defence which was to be offered for the pannel was, that although it ſhould be proved he was the unfortunate inſtrument of the unhappy deed charged againſt him, yet, that at the time it was committed, he was in the moſt lamentable ſtate of a deranged mind, ſo as to be totally inſenſible of what was done, and even afterward did not retain the ſmalleſt recollection of what had happened. Mr. Hume further ſtated, that while in the Weſt Indies, the pannel had been ſeized with a fever, from which time he never was conſidered as poſſeſſing a ſound mind, but was ſubject to melancholy and fits of jealouſy; and this had ſuch an effect upon him as to make him attempt to take away his own life.

The court pronounced an interlocutor finding the libel relevant, but allowing the pannel a proof of all facts and circumſtances tending to exculpate or alleviate his guilt.

The pannel was at times conſiderably agitated, but upon the whole behaved with much compoſure.

The court then adjourned to this day, when the evidence being cloſed, and counſel heard, the jury, after having retired, brought in a ſpecial verdict, unanimouſly finding that the priſoner killed his brother ſir Francis Kinloch, in the way and manner mentioned in the indictment; but alſo finding that the priſoner was at the ſame time inſane, and deprived of reaſon.—The court deferred the conſideration of the verdict.

July 5. This morning, between two and three, a fire broke out at a baker's, near king James's ſtairs, Wapping, which entirely conſumed three houſes, and did conſiderable damage to ſeveral others. Three firemen, in endeavouring to ſave ſome property from one of the adjoining habitations, received much injury by part of the houſe falling on them; they were taken to the hoſpital with very little hopes of recovery. Several other perſons were injured by one of the party-walls giving way.

This day Lord Cholmondeley ſent a circular letter to all the ladies and gentlemen on the eſtabliſhment of the prince and princeſs of Wales, that there would be no farther occaſion for their ſervices. To this, however, there were theſe exceptions, viz. to the four ladies of the bedchamber; the marchioneſs of Townſhend, the counteſſes of Caernarvon, Cholmondeley, and Jerſey; to the earl of Jerſey, and to generals Hulſe and Lake. The attendants were all paid their ſalaries up to that date. The only perſons now remaining on the eſtabliſhment of their Royal Highneſſes are the above-mentioned ladies, generals Hulſe and Lake, as attendant officers; earl of Jerſey, as maſter of the horſe; with a ſalary of 1,200l. a year; and the earl of Cholmondeley, as maſter of the houſehold. The ſalary of the latter was fixed at 2,000l. a year, but his lordſhip wrote to the prince, that he ſhould be proud to ſerve his royal highneſs without emolument, and that, in fact, he could not think of accepting any ſalary.

12th. John Lewis, a fifer belonging to the 3d regiment of guards, accompanied by a lad, went on Sunday night to the King's-Arms, at Charing-croſs, to drink; but the licence having been taken away, they were informed by the perſons of the houſe, that they could have no liquor, when the fifer behaved in the moſt riotous manner, aſſaulted ſeveral perſons in the houſe, and on being turned into the ſtreet, raiſed a mob about the door, whom he told that his companion had juſt been crimped, and was with three others chained down in a cellar, whence they would be conveyed away by a ſecret door that communicated with the Thames.

Under this idea the mob proceeded to outrages which the appearance of a conſtable, who went and ſearched the houſe, and told them how ill founded their ſuſpicions were, could not quell, and which ultimately terminated in the deſtruction of the inſide of the houſe, and all the furniture, which was thrown into the ſtreet, and either deſtroyed or carried off.

To corroborate this account, the evidence of the young man who firſt went into the houſe with the fifer was taken on oath, and which exactly correſponded.

The fifer was taken into cuſtody by ſome perſons who were witneſſes of his conduct. He was committed for examination.

13th. On Monday night, a mob again collected at Charing-croſs, when, after making every one pull off their hats as they paſſed, they proceeded to Mr. Pitt's, in Downing-ſtreet, and broke ſeveral windows of his houſe; but the guards being immediately called out, and appearing in ſight, very ſoon diſperſed them.

The mob afterward went over Weſtminſter-bridge, and paraded to St. George's Fields, where they attacked the Royal George public-houſe, near the Obeliſk, and threw all the furniture of it into the road, and there burnt it. They gutted another recruiting-houſe in Lambeth-road, and afterward made a bonfire of the furniture. This was miſtaken by many to be houſes on fire.

There were ſome of the mob who kept watch on the outſide of the houſes, to give notice of the arrival of the military, who did not come till after the furniture of theſe two houſes were conſumed. The mob compelled the inhabitants in the neighbourhood to put up lights.

14th. And laſt night, in the neighbourhood of Charing-croſs, a numerous crowd, chiefly compoſed of boys under 20 years of age, was collected, which, however, on information of ſome military movements going forward at the Horſe-guards, haſtily withdrew in great part, as if by ſignal given, to St. George's fields, where they proceeded to demoliſh the remaining furniture of the Royal George, of which they made a large fire near the Obeliſk.—This was about nine o'clock; the horſe guards were ſoon with them, and drove them from their work of depredation, but not from the ſpot; they continued ſhouting and inſulting the ſoldiers by various geſtures for ſome time: among the moſt conſpicuous were a number of intoxicated women of the loweſt claſs in ſociety, who kept forcing on the young men, till at length the guards, provoked to more violent meaſures, ſpurred their horſes ſmartly into the midſt of them, in conſequence of which ſeveral were ſeverely wounded: meanwhile the civil power was occupied in apprehending ſome of the moſt active of thoſe who had been detected in deſtroying the goods of the houſe; theſe were immediately diſpatched under a ſtrong guard to a diſtant place of ſecurity.

After this the tumult conſiderably ſubſided: the ſoldiers, however, remained under arms till after daylight, when all ſeemed to be quiet; but, in a few hours, another multitude was drawn together, and it was thought neceſſary again to aſſemble the military on the ſpot, who paraded in conſiderable force, both horſe and foot; and detachments were alſo diſpatched to other parts of the town threatened with riots. Happily the ſoldiers were not driven to the neceſſity of firing.

15th. *Edinburgh.*—This day, the court of judiciary met, to conſider the verdict returned by the jury, in the caſe of ſir Archibald Kinloch, bart. when their lordſhips adjudged him to be confined in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh during all the days of his life; or, at leaſt, until any friend, or other perſon, ſhall become caution to ſecure and confine him in ſure cuſtody during all the days of his life, under the penalty of 10,000l.

17th. *Bowden, Cheſhire.*—This morning, at half paſt three o'clock, a violent ſhock of an earthquake was felt here; alſo, at Mancheſter, Bolton, and other places. The alarm was great, but no damage enſued.

The particulars are theſe:—'This morning, at half paſt three, having been awake upward of half an hour, owing to ſeveral guſts of wind with rain, I was ſuddenly alarmed with unuſual noiſes, uncommonly loud, which laſted for a few ſeconds, and (as I was not impreſſed with the idea of an earthquake) ſeemed to originate from below, either in the kitchen, cellar, or ſtreet; as if a horſe, or maid for clothes, had been thrown with violence to the ground, and dragged other articles of furniture with it; or, a heavy hanging ſhelf had fallen on ſome empty barrels; or a cart-load of ſtones had been emptied on a paved road. The ſhock was ſo great that I leaped out of bed and ſtood up, waiting the event. The reſt of the family being equally alarmed, a ſervant was ordered to go down, and enquire the occaſion, who returned trembling without being able to give any account of the matter, only ſaying all was quiet there. It was then ſuppoſed to have been an earthquake; and on enquiry made the ſame day, it turned out that the ſhock was diſtinctly felt, at the ſame inſtant, by different perſons in Mancheſter, Bolton, and other places.'

The ſtate of the atmoſphere was as follows: the moon had changed the preceding morning at half paſt ſeven, the barometer changeable, thermometer temperate, the air obſcured with clouds, thick and much agitated with guſts of wind and rain, at intervals, from the weſtern quarter.

On Wedneſday, at Hertford aſſizes, a ſingular cauſe was tried, wherein a ſoldier of the Eaſt York regiment of militia was plaintiff, and an officer in that corps defendant. The action was brought for an aſſault, by the defendant ſtriking the plaintiff a blow with his cane while in the ranks; the chief baron, in ſumming up, ſtrongly ſtated the neceſſity of moderate coercion in all military corps; on which the jury, without heſitation, found a verdict for the defendant.

This day came on at the aſſizes at Chelmsford, the trial of miſs Ann Broadrick, for the murder of George Errington, eſq. by ſhooting him with a piſtol, at his houſe in Grays Thurrock, on the 13th of May laſt. By the evidence of George Bailey, one of the ſervants of the deceaſed, it appeared, that miſs Broadrick came into the kitchen that day, and aſked if Mr. Errington was at home. He anſwered in the affirmative; and having informed his maſter of the circumſtance, he was directed to ſhow the lady up ſtairs into the drawing-room, where he was. This being done, and he having gone down ſtairs, in the ſpace of a minute he heard the report of a piſtol, the ſhrieks of his miſtreſs, and his maſter cry out and groan. On entering the room, he beheld his maſter all over blood, and leaning with his left hand on his right breaſt, who exclaimed, 'Oh, God, I am ſhot! I am murdered!' Mrs. Errington inſtantly ordered him to take that woman into cuſtody, for that ſhe had murdered her huſband. On this miſs Broadrick threw a piſtol out of her left hand on the carpet, and *laughed*, crying out, 'Here take me, hang me, and do what you will with me: I don't care now.' He related various other particulars; and his teſtimony was fully corroborated by other witneſſes.

The defence ſet up was *inſanity*; her brother-in-law depoſed, that her mother, his wife, and another ſiſter, had been all inſane; and ſeveral other witneſſes ſwore to ſuch ſtrange circumſtances in the conduct of the priſoner, as evidently manifeſted a deranged mind. Lord chief baron Macdonald, in his charge to the jury, dwelt upon this plea; obſerving, in particular, that her *laughing* in the midſt of an act of horror, bore a ſtrong appearance of mental derangement: and that this, indeed, had been made a teſt of madneſs in the fineſt-wrought theatrical repreſentations.—The jury conſulted in their box about two minutes, and then brought in their verdict, Not Guilty, to the general ſatisfaction of the court. The priſoner was then ordered to be taken care of for the preſent, till ſome arrangement could be formed, to ſecure her, as a lunatic, for the reſt of her life.

18th. *Reading.*—On Monday morning laſt the following melancholy occurrence took place in the biſhop of Wincheſter's park at Farnham Caſtle. As the keeper was walking in the park, attended by two aſſiſtants, they obſerved four men armed with a gun each; they inſtantly made after them, although only the keeper was armed, who had a double-barrel gun; when they got near them, one of the men preſented his gun, declaring he would fire if they did not keep off; they, however, perſiſting in approaching them, the man fired, and killed one of the keeper's companions, an old man, on the ſpot; the keeper then fired one of his barrels, which was loaded with ſhot, at the legs of his opponents, thinking to intimidate them; on which the three, whoſe guns were loaded, fired at the keeper and his companion, but luckily without the intended effect, though the keeper heard the balls whiz by him; he then fired his remaining barrel, which was loaded with ball, and killed one of them. The report of the guns bringing ſome people to the ſpot, the three men were ſecured, and lodged in gaol.

On Friday laſt came on, at the 27th. aſſizes for the county of York, before ſir Soulden Lawrence, and ſir Giles Rooke, and a ſpecial jury, the trial of Henry Yorke, alias Redhead.

At the laſt aſſizes, two bills of indictment were found againſt him; one for a conſpiracy, and the other for ſeditious words ſpoken and a libel printed, intitled, 'Proceedings of a meeting on Caſtle-hill, Sheffield, April 7, 1794.'

He was tried on the latter indictment only. He made a ſpeech of two hours, wherein he endeavoured to confute every charge brought againſt him, and called a number of witneſſes on his part. Theſe witneſſes were examined by his counſel, as he pleaded his own cauſe.

At twelve at night the judge finiſhed ſumming up the evidence; and the jury, after a ſhort conſultation, found the priſoner—Guilty.

Letters from Vienna ſtate the 29th. unfortunate death of the archduke Leopold, palatine of Hungary, and brother to the emperor, on Friday the 10th inſtant. On that day, the emperor and his brother amuſed themſelves at the Imperial palace at Luxembourg, near Vienna, with preparing fireworks, aſſiſted by a page and an Hungarian chaſſeur. The emperor had been ſome time ſuperintending this buſineſs, when finding the room warm, he walked out for the benefit of the air. The archduke wiſhed to try the effect of a rocket at one of the windows, but it rebounded back again, and ſet fire to the powder and other fireworks which were there. Every one ran to lend all poſſible aſſiſtance as ſoon as the exploſion was heard, but all efforts were in vain. The archduke expired, after ſuffering fifteen hours of excruciating pain.

Died—At Lymington, Dr. Adair Crawford, phyſician to St. Thomas's hoſpital, profeſſor of chemiſtry at Woolwich, and author of "Experiments and Obſervations on Animal Heat, and the Inflammation of Combuſtible Bodies: being an attempt to reſolve theſe phenomena into a general law of nature," 8vo. 1799.

AUGUST.

Letters from Jamaica, by the laſt mail, dated June 14, give an 1ſt. account of a dreadful fire which broke out the 12th of that month at the town of Montego Bay in that iſland. One hundred and ten of the beſt houſes in the town were deſtroyed. Two hundred hogſheads of ſugar, and one hundred puncheons of rum, beſides great quantities of proviſions, wine, ſoap, candles, and other property, belonging to the merchants, were totally conſumed. The loſs is eſtimated at little leſs than 400,000l. The accident was occaſioned by a gunſmith; while he was forging the ſpring of a gun, the ſparks from the forge flew among the ſtraw of a crate of earthen ware, which blazing up ſet fire to the houſe. This trivial accident cauſed the devaſtation in leſs than three hours.

This morning were executed, on Kennington-common, Jeremiah 3d. Aberſhaw, convicted at the laſt aſſizes at Croydon, of the murder of David Price, a police-officer, on the 13th of January laſt, in Maid-lane, Southwark, by ſhooting him with a piſtol; John Little, for the murder of James M'Evoy in the pariſh of Richmond, on the 23d of June; and Sarah King, for the murder of her baſtard child, in the pariſh of Nutfield. A point of law having ariſen on the conviction of Aberſhaw, he was again tried for ſhooting at Barnard Windſor, another police-officer, and, being convicted, ſuffered for *that* offence. His behaviour after his trial exhibited the moſt daring depravity, and, at the place of execution, a very unbecoming levity; which however, according to the ordinary's account, was much exaggerated in the newſpapers, and appeared to reſult from a ſtate of black deſpair. His body has been hung in chains on Wimbledon Common, and has ſince attracted the viſits of many thouſands of Sunday loungers; Little and King behaved in a manner ſuitable to their unhappy ſituation.

10th. *Exeter*,—A young regiment, called the Londonderry, commanded by viſcount Coninghame, and raiſed entirely among his lordſhip's tenantry in Ireland, marched in here to be paſſed by general Hotham, who ſhortly after arrived from Plymouth, for the ſaid purpoſe. On the regiment being paſſed, it was given to underſtand, that the whole was to be drafted into the 43d. Upon this, murmurs of diſapprobation ran, as it were, like a flaſh of lightning, throughout the whole line. The regiment was for this time diſmiſſed. On the Saturday following it was again aſſembled, but ſtill with a determined ſpirit not to be drafted. Lieutenant-colonel Dennis, of the 43d, who attended in order to receive the drafts, immediately addreſſed them, endeavouring to perſuade the whole to return to its duty; but this was ineffectual, and the regiment was immediately formed into a circle, to have the articles of war read, in order that the ſerious conſequences of mutiny might be pointed out. A private, ſeemingly very active, darted out of the rank, and damned the articles of war, with all who belonged to them. Another of the ſame ſtamp had the audacity to attempt ſhooting ſome one or other of the officers, as he levelled a loaded muſket at them, but it flaſhed in the pan. The ringleader, by the boldneſs and perſeverance of the officers aſſembled, was immediately ſecured and committed to the guard-houſe, and then the regiment was again diſmiſſed; whereupon the principal part of it, with their arms loaded and bayonets fixed, proceeded to releaſe the priſoner, but by the ſpirited conduct of the officers, the gates belonging to the caſtle, wherein was the guard-houſe, were ſhut, and the intention of the mutineers was fruſtrated.

They were again drawn up on the parade, when col. Dennis addreſſed them in a very conciliatory manner, intimating that if they would return to their duty, they ſhould meet with his protection, but if they ſtill perſevered in their mutinous conduct, they ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed. Their behaviour growing worſe and worſe, and the populace beginning to aſſemble in crowds, from which alarming conſequences were likely to enſue, they were ordered to repair to their quarters.—This they peremptorily refuſed; whereupon the 25th light dragoons, who were quartered here, immediately aſſembled, and were ordered into ſeparate diviſions, by way of acting with greater chance of ſucceſs, ſhould neceſſity urge them, which, I am ſorry to ſay, was really the caſe.

Major Shadwell, who commanded the cavalry, gave the mutineers a certain time to recover their ſenſes, and exhorted them to return to their duty, or elſe force would be employed: this had no effect. The given time was now gone; the major holding his watch in his hand, gave the light dragoons orders to charge, which was immediately done by galloping in among them, and cutting down all who ſhewed the leaſt oppoſition; they were then driven to their quarters and diſarmed, and afterwards to the Caſtle-yard, where a court martial was immediately held at the drum head, on one of the ringleaders, who was ſeverely puniſhed in the preſence of the regiment, now become rather cool.—Some had their noſes cut off, others their arms; in ſhort a great many have been diſabled.

12th. The Ruſſian fleet, according to the recent treaty with the Czarina is juſt arrived in the Downs. It conſiſts of the following ſhips:

Permete Aphſtapher	74	Vice-ad. C. Honigkoff, Capt. Chev. Sanarin.
Eleanor -	74	Rear-ad. Chev. Mackaroff, Capt. Chev. Paranoff.
Peter - -	74	Rear-ad. Chev. Tate, Capt. Bardakoff.
Gleb - -	74	Capt. Chev. Theſiger.
Retvezan -	66	—— Chev. Chickenuff
No. 82 -	66	—— Barretoff
Pimar - -	66	—— Chev. Colokolſoff
Joanna	66	—— Chev. Sarechoff
Mickonnor	66	—— Prince Trobetſkoi
Parmene -	66	—— Chev. Phon Kruſe
Groff Orloff	66	—— Chev. Bachmanof
Philip - -	66	—— Chev. Smerenoy
Venus - -	44	—— Bodeſko
Riga - -	44	—— Backdoff
Raphael -	44	—— Treſkene
Revel - -	44	—— Clockachuff
Archipelago	44	—— Phon Moller
Cronſtadt -	44	—— Chernavin.
Michael -	44	—— Brow

On Thurſday evening and Friday morning there was a violent ſtorm of thunder and lightning 17th.
which, it is feared has done conſiderable damage in the country. At Woolwich, a houſe was ſet on fire by one of the flaſhes, and the flames communicating to an adjacent dwelling, both were conſumed. Two horſes belonging to the Shrewſbury mail coach were ſtruck dead on the road while going at full ſpeed. At Dover, a cart and four horſes belonging to Mr. Coleman, of the Priory, were carrying a load of dung, when a violent flaſh and clap of thunder killed all the horſes, with Andrew Greaves, the driver. At Burghfield, near Reading, two horſes belonging to farmer Appleton, were killed, as they were grazing in a field; and a fine large oak, in the park of John Blagrave, eſq. of Calcot, was ſplit aſunder, and the bark ſtripped entirely off. In the pariſh of Worthe, near Lewes, five ſheep belonging to Mr. Brooker, were killed by the lightning; and the mill at Copthorne, in that pariſh, was ſhivered to pieces. At Wymondham common, in Norfolk, a cow, with ſome ſheep, and geeſe, were killed. A cottage was burnt down at Wood Dalling, and a barn at Wroxham. A child was killed at Grimſtone, near Swaffham. A hay-ſtack was fired at Wendling; and two barns, a ſtable, and out-houſe adjoining, were burnt at Northwold. A girl about eighteen years of age, who was on a viſit at ſome relations at Moulſoe, near Newport Pagnell, being greatly alarmed, aroſe from bed with the reſt of the family, and ſtanding near the chimney-piece, was ſtruck dead by a flaſh of lightning. She expired without a groan, and what is very extraordinary, there was not the leaſt mark of violence to be diſcovered about her.—

Some of the other perſons who were with her were ſcorched, but received very little injury.

Accounts from Rome mention, that prince Auguſtus, ſixth ſon to the king of England, has been received in the character of a Roman inhabitant, the public act of which has been ſolemnly depoſited in the capitol.

Bridgewater.—On Tueſday came 20th. on, at our aſſizes, the trial of William White, for the murder of miſs Maria Bally, a young ſchool-miſtreſs, of Bath, (to whom he had for ſome time paid his addreſſes, which, in the ſequel, ſhe had forbidden,) by ſhooting her with a piſtol, in the preſence of her ſcholars. After the witneſſes for the crown had been examined, he was aſked if he had any thing to ſay in his defence; he replied, that he left his caſe entirely to the counſel; who called three witneſſes to prove the inſanity of the priſoner, but their evidence went merely to a dejection of ſpirits he had manifeſted previouſly to the murder.

The jury, without heſitation, returned a verdict—Guilty. The judge then, in a moſt ſolemn manner, proceeded to paſs ſentence.

White was compoſed during the greater part of the trial, and heard the ſentence with reſignation, bowing ſubmiſſively to the court, and particularly to the proſecutor. He then ſhook hands with the witneſſes that had appeared againſt him, ſaying they had ſpoken nothing but what was truth.

He was taken from the priſon about half an hour after ten o'clock on Thurſday morning; the cart in about ten minutes arrived at the place of execution. He ſpent half an hour in fervent prayer with the county chaplain and another miniſter. He afterwards addreſſed the numerous ſpectators in a clear connected ſpeech, of full twenty minutes, in which he quoted many paſſages from Young's Night Thoughts, and cautioned the younger part of his hearers to be careful how they formed connexions, and when formed, not to trifle with each other's feelings. When the clergyman left the cart he remained compoſed, and met his fate with becoming fortitude.

The body, after receiving ſome inciſions from the ſurgeon, was delivered to the friends of the deceaſed.

The reduction in the expenſe of ſupporting the poor in Shrewſbury, ſince the firſt opening of the houſe of induſtry, has been wonderfully great. At another, ſituated at Bulcamp in Suffolk, a debt of 12,000l. has been paid off, and the laſt year there remained 1000l. in hand. At another houſe of induſtry, ſituated at Semer, a debt of 8,000l. has been reduced to 180l; and an annuity of 20l. At Wangford, 4,000l. of the debt contracted for the buildings, &c. has been paid off. In the hundreds of Boſmere and Clayden, 7,294l. has been paid off, in part of the ſum of 9,994l. borrowed. Such are the advantages derived from vigilant ſuperintendence and controul on the part of the directors of theſe eſtabliſhments. The Bedford houſe of induſtry, we are informed, is in a forward ſtate, and is expected to be finiſhed in December. It is moſt delightfully ſituated at the north-eaſt end of the town, on a rich ſoil, and commands a beautiful and extenſive proſpect over the adjacent country. The houſe is extenſive, and on a plan ſimilar to that at Oſweſtry in Shropſhire; and, it is ſomewhat extraordinary, all the building materials are procured on the ſpot. A woollen manufactory is intended to be eſtabliſhed for the employment of the poor, and to be managed on the ſame plan as that at Shrewſbury.

SEPTEMBER.

3d. *Dublin.*—On Monday the trial of O‘Connor and Griffin, charged with high treaſon, in imagining and compaſſing the death of the king, and in adhering to the king's enemies, by enliſting men to aſſiſt the French in caſe of an invaſion, came on at Naas, at an adjournment of the aſſizes, before Mr. juſtice Finucane and Mr. baron George. The attorney-general ſtated the caſe for the crown; and then called a ſoldier, named Horan, belonging to the Mayo militia, to prove the overt acts. He ſwore that O‘Connor had, in the preſence and with the aſſent of Griffin, ſworn him to aſſiſt the French republic in caſe of an invaſion. This man underwent a long croſs-examination by Mr. M‘Nally. Captain Burke, and Mr. Aylmer, a juſtice of the peace, were then called to corroborate ſome of the facts ſworn to by Horan. Mr. M‘Nally ſtated the caſe for the priſoners, and argued to ſhew the offence charged upon the priſoners, if truly charged, was not within the ſtatute of treaſons, but was an offence againſt the White Boy Act. The priſoners called two witneſſes to character. Mr. Ridgeway, on the part of the priſoners, ſpoke to evidence at large, and was replied to by Mr. Barrington. The jury, after receiving their charge from the judge, retired for two hours, and then brought in both priſoners—Guilty. O‘Connor received ſentence to be hanged, and quartered, on Monday next; but Griffin, who was recommended to mercy by the jury, is to have three weeks from Monday. O‘Connor, previous to receiving ſentence, addreſſed the court in a long ſpeech, in which he explained the meaning of the paper found upon him, and avowed the principles of defenderiſm.

4th. *Potzdam.*—A terrible fire has juſt reduced to aſhes the church of St. Nicholas, ſituate in the palace-ſquare, together with the ſurrounding houſes, toward which the wind directed the flames. The fire broke out yeſterday at four in the afternoon, in the tower, the repair of which was completing, through the negligence of a workman, who was melting lead. The flames, fed by a high wind, conſumed, in the ſpace of an hour, this very lofty tower; the fall of which communicated the fire to the church and the adjacent houſes.

The atmoſphere being inflamed by this immenſe maſs of fire, it became very difficult and hazardous to make any efforts to extinguiſh the flames. His majeſty directed the operations in perſon. At eleven at night the fire was ſtill burning, and there remained nothing of the beautiful church except the maſonry and facade. In conſequence of this terrible fire, his majeſty has given an example of a juſt ſeverity, by breaking the burgomaſter Freytag, as a puniſhment for the culpable neglect of the police with reſpect to the fire-engines, and the bad arrangements made to ſtop the progreſs of the flames. Of the latter his majeſty himſelf was an eye witneſs;

neſs; and it is his intention likewiſe to make other reforms in the magiſtracy. His majeſty, with his accuſtomed generoſity, has ſent ſuccours to the poor people who were burnt out of the adjoining houſes.

There has alſo been a dreadful fire at Stettin, the capital of Pruſſian Pomerania, which has reduced a great number of houſes to aſhes.

The village ſituated on the lake of the four towns belonging to Lucerne in Switzerland, named Weggis, has diſappeared. The following are the circumſtances attending this ſtrange event: a brook which had always flowed from the mountain of Regis to the village, ſuddenly changed its courſe; its new courſe was followed, and it was perceived that it flowed into a deep gulph of the mountain. At the ſame time it was perceived that in ſeveral places near the village the earth ſunk, and that the ſteeple tottered. The inhabitants immediately carried away their effects. In a few hours the ground, on which the village was ſituated, gave way towards the lake, and at the ſame moment a part of the mountain fell and covered the village, not a veſtige of which remains.

5th. Diſpatches have within theſe few days been received from the colony of Sierra Leone, dated the 13th of July, which ſtate, that the affairs of the company begin to reſume a very favourable aſpect. A factory eſtabliſhed in the Rio Pongos, is likely to become the means of a lucrative trade, when the ravages of the French ſhall be no more apprehended. The ſettlers were in exceeding good health, and in a diſpoſition that promiſed a continuance of good order. Mr. Watt, a valuable officer, through whoſe induſtry the expedition laſt year into the interior part of Africa was made, died in the month of June laſt. A violent exploſion occurred in the colony a ſhort time before theſe advices came away, by the blowing up of a powder magazine; but no particular damage was done, except the breaking of the windows, and the death of the keeper, a ſpark from whoſe pipe is ſaid to have produced the accident.

7th. It appears from the report of the agricultural ſociety that 50,000 acres of potatoes have been planted this year beyond that of laſt year.

8th. A monument of exquiſite workmanſhip has been erected at Chicheſter, by public ſubſcription, to the memory of Collins the poet, who was a native of that city, and died in a houſe adjoining to the cloiſters. He is repreſented as juſt recovered from a wild fit of phrenzy, to which he was unhappily ſubject, and in a calm and reclining poſture ſeeking refuge from his misfortunes in the divine conſolations of the goſpel, while his lyre, and one of the firſt of his poems, lie neglected on the ground. Above, are two figures of Love and Pity, entwined in each other's arms.

The whole was executed by Flaxman; under all is the following epitaph by Mr. Hayley:

Ye who the merits of the dead revere,
Who hold misfortune ſacred, genius dear,
Regard this tomb, where Collins' hapleſs name
Solicits kindneſs with a double claim.
Tho' nature gave him, and though ſcience taught
The fire of fancy and the reach of thought,
Severely doom'd to penury's extreme,
He paſs'd, in madd'ning pain, life's feveriſh dream;
While rays of genius only ſerv'd to ſhew
The thick'ning horror, and exalt his woe—

Ye walls, that echo'd to his frantic moan,
Guard the due records of this grateful ſtone:
Strangers to him, enamour'd of his lays,
This fond memorial to his talents raiſe;
For this the aſhes of a bard require,
Who touch'd the tendereſt notes of pity's lyre!
Who join'd pure faith to ſtrong poetic powers,
Who, in reviving Reaſon's lucid hours,
Sought on one book his troubled mind to reſt,
And rightly deem'd the Book of God the beſt.

10th. On Monday was killed by a labouring man at the Doctor's Buſh, near Widdrington, in Northumberland, an adder, whoſe length meaſured upward of four feet ſeven inches, and the girt upward of five inches: but what is ſtill more remarkable, in this reptile were found ſeventeen young ones, whoſe length meaſured upward of eleven inches, and all alive.

Dublin.—Laſt week, a little after day-break, a large water-ſpout was obſerved between Hoath and Lambay, by a fiſhing boat's crew, an appearance very unuſual in theſe ſeas. The boatmen deſcribe its firſt beginning on the ſurface of the water, by a bright ſpot of conſiderable extent, about twenty or thirty fathoms over. On the ſpot, immediately afterwards, there was an appearance of a whirlpool, the water ruſhing round in a ſpiral direction; the ſea, for ſome diſtance round, was much agitated, and though it was calm a little before, the wind blew in violent guſts at all points. The whirlpool threw up a high ſpray, in a perpendicular direction, to a conſiderable height, and a black cloud over the place deſcended, with a tapering pointed tail, as if to meet the ſpray; as ſoon as both had joined, the cloud ſeemed to ſuck up a column of water, of great magnitude, in the form of a ſugar-loaf, which was quite tranſparent, as if hollow within. It moved on the ſurface of the water to ſome diſtance from the place where it firſt appeared, and by that means broke the connexion with the cloud, and came down with a terrible craſh, and ſeemed to have been ſtruck with, or to have diſcharged at the inſtant, ſomething like lightning. The ſea was for a long time agitated with ſhort broken waves, and the boatmen, much alarmed, hauled up their anchor, and made for Dublin.

17th. The beautiful church of St. Paul Covent Garden, the architectural triumph of Inigo Jones, and the admiration of Europe, through the careleſſneſs of ſome workmen employed in finiſhing the interior of the new cupola, was this afternoon reduced to aſhes.

Between two and three o'clock a column of fire was ſeen to burſt forth from the cupola, which ſoon communicated with the roof, the timber work of which was very complex; the flames, with inconceivable rapidity, communicated to the body of the building, and the lead upon the roof poured off in a flood with the velocity of a cataract.

Soon after three o'clock the beams which ſuſtained the immenſe roof of the church began to fall in, not at once, but deliberately; all attempts to check the flames were deemed in vain, therefore every effort was directed toward the neighbouring buildings, which were with great difficult preſerved from taking fire, ſo intenſe was the heat from the church, which was now wrapt in an immenſe pyramid of flame, riſing to three times the height of the building: the heat was felt to the end of Ruſſel-ſtreet, and was ſcarcely to be ſupported ſo near as within fifty yards of it. By ſix o'clock the whole interior was in ruins.

The communion plate was ſaved; but every other article pertaining to the ſacred edifice, including the valuable and celebrated organ, the clock, &c. was devoured by the unconquerable fury of the deſtructive element.

The outer walls yet ſtand, and the pillars and pediment of the portico fronting Covent Garden. And it is hoped that the church can be repaired on the original plan of the architect.

The church had lately experienced a very expenſive renovation of all its parts; it had alſo been decorated within ſide in a ſtyle of uncommon magnificence.

The roof of the church was allowed to be a maſter-piece of architecture, being entirely unſupported by any croſs beams. The building has ſtood from the days of Charles the ſecond. When the then earl of of Bedford ſent for Inigo Jones, he told him he wanted a chapel for the pariſhioners of Covent Garden, but added, he would not go to any conſiderable expence. In ſhort, ſaid he, I would not have it much better than a barn. 'Well! then (replied Jones) you ſhall have the handſomeſt barn in Europe!' and he kept his word.

The original coſt of the building was 4,500l. Its repairs, about ſix years ago, were charged at 11,000l.

20th. Several of the workmen, who had been employed in repairing Covent Garden church, were examined before William Kinnard, eſq. at the public-office, Bow-ſtreet, reſpecting the cauſe of the fire; when, from what tranſpired, there is every reaſon to think it originated from a charcoal fire made in an iron ladle in the cupola, for the plumbers (who were doing ſome repairs there) to heat their metal and irons; to effect which they were obliged to uſe a bellows, which cauſing a number of ſparks to fly, it is conjectured that ſome muſt have fallen among the timbers of that part of the building, as the men were poſitive that they brought the ladle, in which the fire had been made, and the aſhes in it, down with them, when they left work.

24th. The Diſcovery ſloop of war, captain Vancouver, arrived at Limerick on the 13th inſt. in company with the homeward bound Eaſt India fleet, having completely effected the object of her expedition, and made ſome important diſcoveries on the north-weſt coaſt of America. She ſailed from England with 150 men on board, and ſuch was the attention of the officers to their health that only one died in the courſe of a very fatiguing voyage of four years. They ſpeak in the higheſt terms of the inhabitants of the Sandwich Iſlands, from whom they experienced every poſſible civility and attention.

Lord Camelford, after he left his majeſty's ſhip Diſcovery, in the South Seas, fell in with the Reſiſtance of 44 guns, captain Edward Pakenham, in the Indian Seas, and immediately entered on board her, where his lordſhip was ſerving as a lieutenant, when the laſt advices left that ſhip, with the ſtricteſt attention to his profeſſional duties.

25th. The corporation of the Trinity-houſe in London, have now cauſed a veſſel, fitted for a floating light, to be placed near the Goodwin-ſands, about one mile N.E. from the North-ſand-head, between the North and South Forelands; on which veſſel three diſtinct lights are exhibited, to diſtinguiſh them from the North and South Foreland lights, and which will be conſtantly attended, and kept burning from ſun-ſetting to ſun-riſing, for the benefit of navigation; a large bell is alſo fixed on board, which will be rung in hazy or thick weather, to warn ſhips of the danger as they approach the ſaid ſand, when the lights may not be ſeen.

This afternoon, about four o'clock, 26th. the new iron bridge over the river Team, at Stamford, county of Worceſter, ſuddenly gave way completely acroſs the center of the arch, and the whole of this elegant ſtructure was inſtantly immerſed in the flood. In the fall, the bars were all disjointed, and ſome of them, which ſtruck againſt the abutments, were ſhivered into many pieces. At the moment of the craſh, which was inſtantaneous, a man and boy were upon the bridge; the former, with great preſence of mind, leaped into the river, and ſwam ſafe to ſhore; and it is a circumſtance truly ſurpriſing that, though the boy went down with the fragments, he was alſo extricated unhurt. The bridge had been made paſſable, and only wanted the finiſhing of the ſide rails towards its completion; but no carriages had yet paſſed over it. The people employed had not left their work above an hour, and were at an adjoining public-houſe, receiving their wages, when the alarm was given. The ſpan of this bridge was about 90 feet; and the misfortune is generally imputed to the ſlightneſs of the iron-work, which was ſeveral tons lighter than the celebrated bridge at Colebrook Dale. The maſonry remains uninjured.

This day William Curtis, eſq. was elected Lord Mayor of London, for the year enſuing. 29th.

OCTOBER.

As the Marquis of Townſhend was was ſhooting at Packsfield, near Rainham attended by his game-keeper, Charles White, the Marquis 2d. having got over a hedge, White, was delivering the gun to him through the hedge, when unfortunately it went off, and the contents lodged in White's thigh, who died on Sunday afternoon, though every poſſible aſſiſtance was adminiſtered.

A robbery was this day committed in the houſe of Mr. Ardeſoif, of Hampſtead, to a conſiderable 7th. amount; the circumſtances of which have gained the intereſt and attention of many perſons. It appears that Mr. A. is an old gentleman of conſiderable property, and not long diſcharged one Joſeph Bodkin from his ſervice as butler. The man was ſaucy, and vowed vengeance. Soon after, ſome drawers were plundered and ſet on fire, by means of a hole in the back of a cloſet; and furniture, money, and many articles were ſtolen. By means of a young woman, of the name of Ann Hales, to whom it appears that Bodkin pretended paſſionate love, though he had been many years married, many of the articles have been found; and he was yeſterday committed from the public-office, in Bow-ſtreet, for trial, and the young woman bound over to appear as an evidence. They both appeared very much agitated, and the woman fainted ſeveral times. She was bailed by two gentlemen, with whom ſhe formerly lived as ſervant.

Yeſterday,

9th. Yeſterday, a court of common-council was held at Guildhall, London, when the thanks of the court were unanimouſly voted to lord Bridport, and the officers and ſailors of his majeſty's fleet, under the command of his lordſhip, for the glorious victory obtained over the French Fleet, off the coaſt of France, on the 23d of June laſt; alſo the freedom of the city of London, in a gold box, of the value of 100 guineas, was ordered by the court to be preſented to his lordſhip, as a teſtimony of the high eſtimation they have for his lordſhip's gallant conduct on that memorable day.

12th. An extraordinary circumſtance occurred in Bridge-ſtreet, Black-friars. A bullock, worried by the dogs, ran into the aperture made in the arch, which covers the large drain from Fleet-market to the Thames, under Bridge-ſtreet. The animal dropt into the drain, and was carried by the current of water down to the Thames, where it was laid hold of. The bullock loſt one of its eyes in the fall, but came out alive.

20th. *Dublin*.—Sometime in the courſe of laſt month, the appearances of a gold mine were diſcovered in the mountains of the county of Wicklow. Conſiderable quantities of gold having been found in a ſtream and adjacent bog, the country people were all in ſearch of it, and were ſo ſucceſsful, that the place obtained the name of Little Peru. This mine was taken poſſeſſion of on Thurſday laſt, on behalf of his majeſty. Major Browne of the royal engineers, attended by Mr. Coates, port ſurveyor of Wicklow, marched two companies of the Kildare militia from the barrack of Arklow, towards the place where the gold is got; but, with great judgment and propriety, on conſulting with that active and ſpirited magiſtrate Thomas King, eſq. it was judged proper to ſend a conſtable before them to read a proclamation and adviſe the crowd to diſperſe and leave the ground. In an hour afterward the major, accompanied by Mr. King, Mr. Hayes, ſub ſheriff, (who readily attended) and Mr. Coates, marched the army (about ſixty-eight men rank and file) to the place, where the crowd immediately without riot or reſiſtance diſperſed. For a more particular account of the mine, ſee the Appendix to the Chronicle.

26th. A general meeting of the London Correſponding Society was held in the fields near Copenhagen-houſe, where the number aſſembled as members, auditors, and ſpectators, was extremely great.—Three *roſtra* were erected for the convenience of thoſe who wiſhed to ſpeak. On the recommendation of a committee, communicated by Mr. Jones, Mr. John Binns was called to the chair, who opened the buſineſs of the meeting, which he ſtated to be—An addreſs to the nation on its preſent very critical and calamitous ſtate; a remonſtrance to his majeſty on the neglect and contempt ſhewn to the late addreſs, delivered into the hands of his miniſters; and certain reſolutions which were thought applicable to the preſent alarming criſis, and abſolutely neceſſary to be entered into. After Mr. Hodſon had recommended hearing the ſentiments of every perſon preſent who choſe to deliver them, whether a member of the ſociety or not, and no ſuch perſon appearing, the addreſs, remonſtrance, and reſolutions,

lutions, were ſeverally read, and adopted by acclamation; and they are to be printed and diſtributed at the expence of the ſociety. The meeting was cloſed by ſpeeches from Thelwall, Hodſon, and Jones; and, from proper precautions that had been previouſly taken, the multitude diſperſed in the utmoſt quietneſs.

29th. On the occaſion of his majeſty's going to the houſe of lords, the Mall and the Parade of St. James's Park and Parliament-ſtreet, were completely choaked up with ſpectators. The crowd was by no means ſo great at the coronation; and to ſee the king go to the houſe, there never were before more than a tenth part of the numbers of this day, for they at leaſt amounted to 200,000. Several noblemen and cabinet miniſters paſſed through the Park from Buckingham-houſe about two o'clock. The earl of Chatham, Duke of Glouceſter, &c. were hiſſed, and the duke of Portland was very much hooted.

About twenty minutes afterwards the king left Buckingham-houſe, and was violently hiſſed and hooted, and groaned at the whole way; but no violence was offered till he arrived oppoſite the Ordnance-office, when a ſmall pebble, or marble, or bullet, broke one of the windows. In returning, the moment his majeſty entered the Park, the gates of the Horſe Guards were ſhut, for the purpoſe of excluding the mob who followed the carriage; at which, as it paſſed oppoſite Spring Gardens Terrace, another ſtone was thrown, but it fortunately ſtruck the wood-work between the windows.

The crowd now preſſed cloſely round the coach, and his majeſty, perceiving himſelf in imminent danger, ſignified, by waving his hands to the horſe-guards on each ſide, his deſire that the multitude ſhould be kept at a diſtance. In this way he paſſed on through the Park, and round by the Stable Yard into St. James's Palace at the front gate, the bottom of St. James's-ſtreet. A conſiderable tumult took place when his majeſty was about to alight, and one of the horſes in the ſtate coach took fright, threw down an old groom of the name of Dorrington, and broke one of his thighs, but it proved fortunately a ſimple fracture. His other thigh was conſiderably bruiſed, but not dangerouſly.

A few minutes after his majeſty had entered the palace, the mob attacked the ſtate coach with ſtones, and did it great injury. In its way along Pall Mall to the Mews, many things were thrown at it. After a ſhort time the king went in his private coach from St. James's to Buckingham-houſe; but on his way through the Park, the mob ſurrounded the carriage, prevented it from proceeding, and attempted to force open the door, crying out—"Bread! Bread! Peace! Peace!" The guards were however ſpeedily brought up, and they protected the carriage till his majeſty got ſafe into Buckingham-houſe.

When his majeſty entered the houſe of peers, the firſt words he uttered were theſe, to the lord chancellor:

"My lord, I have been ſhot at!"

This alluded to the ſubſtance which had broke the window while paſſing the Ordnance-office.

Three or four perſons were apprehended on ſuſpicion of having thrown ſtones, &c. at the king, and one of them was charged with having called out, "No King!" and other ſuch expreſſions. They were all examined at the duke of Portland's office; and, waiting the reſult of this buſineſs, nothing was done in the houſe of lords till near ſix o'clock, when lord Weſtmoreland, who rode in the carriage with the king, having previouſly moved that ſtrangers be ordered to withdraw, ſtated the inſult and outrage with which the king had been treated; and added, that his majeſty, and thoſe who had accompanied him, were of opinion, that the glaſs of the coach had been broken by a ball from an air-gun, which had been ſhot from a bow-window of a houſe adjoining the Ordnance-office, with a view to aſſaſſinate him.

The king, through the whole of the riot, diſplayed the cool magnanimity for which the family have ever been diſtinguiſhed. At the time that the glaſs of the coach was broken, he ſaid to Lord Weſtmoreland—"That's a ſhot;" and, inſtead of leaning back in the carriage, or ſtriving to avoid the aſſaſſin, he pointed to the round hole in the pane, and examined it. But this was not all; he went in the private coach, from St. James's to the queen's-houſe, in the wildeſt fury of the mob, almoſt without guards, and then it was that the perſon of his majeſty was in the moſt imminent danger.

30th. Confident in the attachment of his people, notwithſtanding the alarms of the preceding day, the king, accompanied by her majeſty and three of the princeſſes, viſited Covent Garden theatre, and at their entrance were received with the uſual burſt of applauſe.—"God ſave the King," was ſung twice, and by a conſiderable part of the houſe zealouſly called for a third time; this, in a corner of the gallery, provoked a few hiſſes, which however were ſoon over-ruled, and one or two of the moſt active of the turbulent party were turned out; after which the performance (The Rivals) went on.

31ſt. This day, both houſes of parliament preſented a joint addreſs, to his majeſty, on the ſubject of the late daring outrages againſt his royal perſon. The ſame day, a proclamation was iſſued, in purſuance of the joint addreſs, offering a reward of 1,000l. for the diſcovery of the authors, actors, and abettors, concerned in the ſaid outrages.

1ſt. Died.—At Diſhley, in the county of Leiceſter, Mr. Robert Bakewell.—See Characters.

8th. At his houſe in Crown-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, the rev. and learned Andrew Kippis, D.D. F.R. and A.S. He was born at Nottingham, March 28, (O. S.) 1725. His father, a reſpectable tradeſman of that town, was deſcended from the rev. Benjamin King, of Oakham, Rutlandſhire, an ejected miniſter; and his mother, Ann Ryther, was the grand-daughter of the rev. John Ryther, who was ejected from the church of Ferriby, in the county of York. In the year 1730, he loſt his father, and went to reſide with his grandfather, Andrew Kippis, of Seaford, in Lincolnſhire. He received his claſſical education at the grammar ſchool in that town; but what contributed moſt to his future eminence was, the friendſhip of the rev. Mr. Merrival, who was equalled by few of his contemporaries in various branches of learning, particularly in his acquaintance with the claſſics, his knowledge of ancient and modern hiſtory, and his refined taſte in the *belles lettres*. Dr. K.

frequently ſaid, that it was impoſſible for him to expreſs his obligations to this friend of his youth.—In 1741, he removed to Northampton, and commenced his academical ſtudies under Dr. Doddridge. After a reſidence of five years at the academy, he was invited by ſeveral congregations to become their miniſter. Though he was preſſed to ſettle at Dorcheſter, and had been choſen their miniſter, he gave the preference to an invitation from Boſton, in Lincolnſhire, where he went to reſide in September 1746. Here he continued four years; and in November 1750, accepted the paſtoral charge of a congregation at Dorking, in Surry. The congregation meeting in Princes-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, having been without a miniſter about two years, he was choſen, in June 1753, to ſucceed the rev. Dr. Obadiah Hughes. On the 21ſt of September following, he married at Boſton, Miſs Elizabeth Bott, one of the daughters of Mr. Iſaac Bott, a merchant of that place; and in the month of October fixed his reſidence in Weſtminſter. In June 1767, he received the degree of D.D. from the univerſity of Edinburgh, on the unſolicited recommendation of the late learned profeſſor Robertſon. He was elected a member of the ſociety of antiquaries on the 19th of March, 1778, and on the 17th of June, 1779, he was choſen a fellow of the royal ſociety. In both ſocieties he had the honour of being in the council two years.

Dr. K. was eminently diſtinguiſhed for the virtues and accompliſhments which form the chief ornaments of private life. With a ſuavity of manners, and urbanity of behaviour peculiarly attractive, he united that knowledge of men and books, which rendered his converſation uncommonly entertaining and inſtructive to the circle of his acquaintance and friends. He was diſtinguiſhed by great ardour and activity of benevolence; and was of a temper extremely liberal and diſintereſted. As a miniſter, he was not leſs eminent for his profound acquaintance with every branch of theology, than for the happy manner in which he applied it, to the improvement of thoſe who attended his miniſtry.—His ſermons were remarkable for perſpicuity, elegance, and energy; and his elocution was unaffected and very impreſſive, particularly at the cloſe of his diſcourſes. But the ſuperior powers and vigour of his mind, which he derived from nature, and which he had cultivated with unremitting diligence and peculiar ſucceſs, were not to be confined to the narrow limits of private life, and the duties of the paſtoral charge, however important; they were deſigned for more extenſive and important ſervices to his country and to mankind. The intereſts of literature, ſcience, and religion, have received from the exertion of his talents as a writer the moſt eſſential advantages. His firſt efforts in literature were made in "The Gentleman's Magazine;" a periodical publication called "The Library;" and "The Monthly Review;" to each of which he contributed many important articles, eſpecially in the hiſtorical and philological departments of the laſt. He was the author of two important tracts, viz.—"A Vindication of the Proteſtant Diſſenting Miniſters, with regard to their late application to Parliament, 1772," which went through two editions in the ſame year; and "Conſiderations on the Proviſional

Treaty with America, and the Preliminary Articles of Peace with France and Spain, 1783," 8vo. two editions. His improved edition of "Dr. Doddridge's Lectures," is a work of great value; and, "The Hiſtory of Knowledge, Learning, and Taſte, in Great Britain," prefixed to the new Annual Regiſter, merits, and has received, the approbation of the public. He publiſhed at different times ſeveral ſingle ſermons; among which, that on the death of his friend the rev. Mr. Laugher, is entitled to very high praiſe. The greater part of theſe he republiſhed, with other practical diſcourſes, in the year 1794. But the work which, next to the ſtudies immediately connected with his office as a chriſtian miniſter, engaged his principal attention, and by which he has long been diſtinguiſhed, is the new edition of the "Biographia Britannica." In this great national publication, the comprehenſiveneſs and powers of his mind, the correctneſs of his judgment, the vaſt extent of his information, his indefatigable reſearches and unremitting aſſiduity, his peculiar talent of appreciating the merits and analyzing the labours of the moſt eminent writers, and his unſhaken integrity, unbiaſſed fidelity, and impartial deciſion on the characters of the philoſopher, ſtateſman, poet, ſcholar, and divine, are ſtrongly diſplayed, and univerſally acknowledged. His ſtyle, formed on the models of Sir William Temple and the claſſical Addiſon, is remarkable for its perſpicuity, elegance, and purity; and gives a peculiar luſtre to the rich ſtores of knowledge treaſured in the volumes now publiſhed. This work has given him a high rank among the literati of this kingdom, and will carry down his name with diſtinguiſhed reputation to poſterity.

NOVEMBER.

4th. This day, was iſſued a proclamation againſt ſeditious meetings.

6th. The lord-mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London, preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, on the ſubject of the late outrage againſt his royal perſon.

The memory of man does not recollect ſo violent a hurricane as that of this morning. Its continuance was happily ſhort. It began about half-paſt one, and had totally ſubſided before four o'clock. The ſquall came from the north-weſt, and was not accompanied by rain or hail. Its ravages were dreadful beyond deſcription: trees were torn up by the roots, ſtacks of chimnies blown down in every corner of the metropolis, houſes totally uncovered, and a number of buildings entirely demoliſhed.

The following are a few of the particulars:

A houſe in Mead's-row, Lambeth, was blown down, and a lady, who ſlept in the firſt floor, (and who was to have been married that day,) buried in the ruins; two of the ſervants were very much hurt. A child in the ſame row was alſo killed, by the falling of a ſtack of chimnies.

A houſe in another part of Lambeth was unroofed, by which an old woman loſt her life. In St. George's Fields, a young woman was killed, and another dreadfully maimed, by the falling of a houſe. A houſe in New-road, Fitzroy-ſquare, and another

other in Conduit-ſtreet, were completely deſtroyed. A brew-houſe, belonging to Mr. Huſkiſſon, in the New Cut leading to Weſtminſter-bridge, another in St. John's-ſquare, and the orcheſtra in the Apollo Gardens, are entire heaps of ruins.

The houſe of ſir John Sinclair, at Whitehall, is very much injured; the upper part fell into the ſtreet. The dwelling of a poor man at Somers Town, by trade a bow and arrow maker, was ſwept away, and all his little property deſtroyed.

The brick wall at the ſouth end of the opera-houſe was blown down, and falling in the adjoining court, did conſiderable damage to the houſes. At Limehouſe-bridge a pile of deal boards was thrown down, and carried by the force of the wind to the diſtance of a hundred yards.

Several dwellings in Cornhill, Moorfields, the Borough, Shadwell, Wapping, &c. alſo received very material injury.

Several large trees in St. James's and Hyde Park, were blown down, and great numbers torn up by the roots in other places.

At Twickenham, alſo, ſeveral trees which ſtood before the houſe of Lord Dyſart were blown down.

In St. James's Park and at Knightſbridge, ſimilar accidents happened. In Greenwich Park ſeveral trees fell a ſacrifice.

The effects of this hurricane at ſea, we fear, have been of the moſt melancholy nature. In the river ſeveral tier of ſhips ſtarted from their moorings, and received much injury.

An immenſe torrent of rain preceded the ſtorm.

In the late high winds, ſeveral of the colliers and other veſſels were driven from their anchors in the Downs, on the coaſt of France, where two or three of them went on ſhore; two or three others were ſo fortunate as to reach Calais harbour, by which their crews eſcaped periſhing.

In the Temple many chambers were unroofed. A brick wall and handſome paling, with which the Bedford fields had been lately interſected, and the upper part of one of the new houſes, building on the ſame ſite, were totally demoliſhed. The paling ſeems to have been blown about the fields in ſheets.

The king and queen, who were at Buckingham-houſe, aroſe from their beds, as did many hundreds of families; for the ſtorm of wind was of that continuance, weight, and preſſure, that ſcarcely any fabrick ſeemed to be capable of bearing its force.

Many of the largeſt and moſt beautiful trees in the walks of King's, St. John's, and Queen's Colleges, Cambridge, were torn up by the roots. St. John's bridge has alſo been conſiderably damaged.

At Brompton, Chatham, and Rocheſter, the effects of the ſtorm were ſeverely felt. The church of St. Margaret's, at the latter place, was much injured. The veſtry-room chimney was blown down, and much of the tiling blown off.

At Norwich, one of the largeſt trees in Chapel-field was actually ſnapt in twain during the tremendous ſtorm, and five others very much damaged. The demolition of chimnies, and the unroofing of houſes, were very general throughout that city. Alſo in the neighbourhood of Reading, a windmill on Biſhop's-hill was totally demoliſhed. The mail-coach going to Ipſwich, was ſeveral times actually blown out of the road, and the guard obliged to diſmount to lead the horſes.

Great damage was done at St. Albans ; alſo to the buildings and walls of the dowager lady Spencer, and in and about lord Grimſton's park.

At Birmingham the hurricane was much felt ; two women were killed by a ſtack of chimnies falling in Lionel-ſtreet ; Mr. Barker's garden-wall at Summer Hill, 180 feet long, covered with choice peach and nectarine trees, was entirely thrown down to its very foundation ; and the night coaches were greatly impeded and endangered upon all the roads by the falling of trees torn from their roots, &c.

Much damage was alſo done to the ſhipping at Spithead, and in various parts along the coaſt.

From Eſſex we are informed of the following particulars of a dreadful accident which occurred during the above hurricane :—A ſtack of chimnies belonging to the houſe of the Rev. Dr. Waller, Archdeacon of that county, at Waltham-houſe, were blown down, and forced their way through the roof of the houſe, into the room where the doctor was lying ; the bricks drove a part of the roof with them, which fell directly upon him as he lay, and prevented him from making his eſcape : nearly a cart load of bricks was lying upon him with ſome large beams at one time ; aſſiſtance was procured him as ſoon as poſſible, but the doctor was unable to riſe : a ſurgeon was immediately ſent for, and the bruiſes which he had received were hoped not to be mortal ; he, however, languiſhed till the Tueſday following, and then, to the irreparable loſs of his family and friends, died. Mrs. Waller had, providentially, juſt before the horrid craſh, jumpt out of bed and left the room, fearing ſomething of the kind might occur, to alarm the family.

8th. An action of criminal converſation was tried in the court of King's Bench, in which one Manners, was plaintiff, and Dr. Pitcairne, defendant. There was no evidence produced of the fact of criminal converſation ; and it was proved, on behalf of the defendant, that a letter had been written to him by the plaintiff, charging him with the offence, and threatening, that if he did not appoint a place near the Royal Exchange, and either come, or ſend ſome one to endeavour to make it up, he would bring an action againſt him. He ſaid, the law was peculiarly ſevere upon phyſicians, that the trial would get into the newſpapers, and that nobody would ever employ ſuch, for fear of their wives and daughters. The counſel for the plaintiff would proceed no farther in the cauſe after this letter had been read. Lord Kenyon ſaid, that a groſs conſpiracy had been formed againſt the defendant ; and the jury immediately delivered in the verdict—Not Guilty.

13th. Yeſterday, in conſequence of a public meeting, in the fields behind Copenhagen-houſe, having been called by the London Correſponding Society, an immenſe concourſe of perſons aſſembled there about twelve o'clock. Five roſtra or tribunes being raiſed in different parts of the fields, Mr. Aſhley, the ſecretary, informed the multitude, that at each a member of the ſociety would offer to their conſideration three petitions: 1. To the king; 2. To the houſe of lords; 3. To the houſe of commons; which he entreated them to hear and receive with a decorum, that ſhould refute the miſrepreſentations of their enemies.

At two o'clock, the roſtra were entirely filled, and not leſs than an hundred thouſand perſons ſurrounded them. The petitions were ſigned, and the multitude diſperſed with perfect peace and good order.

14th. On Wedneſday, a porter preſented a draft for payment at the houſe of Meſſrs. Down, Thornton, and Co. purporting to be drawn by John Reid, eſq. of Bedford-ſquare. A ſuſpicion of forgery ariſing, the porter ſaid he received it from a perſon in Hanway-yard, to which place the bankers ſent one of their clerks, with the porter and proper officers. The man was found waiting for the porter's return with the money, and after ſome converſation with the parties, he took them to his lodgings in the neighbourhood, when he opened a cloſet, and while his back was toward them, took a razor out of the cloſet, with which he cut his throat, and died almoſt inſtantaneouſly.

15th. On Friday, Edward Collins was finally examined before Mr. Bond, for high treaſon, he ſtanding charged with having wickedly and feloniouſly thrown a ſtone into his majeſty's carriage, his majeſty being therein at the time, traitorouſly compaſſing and imagining the death of the king. He was fully committed to take his trial at the Old Bailey.

Kidd Wake was alſo fully committed for trial, charged with a high miſdemeanor in having indecently and diſloyally hiſſed and hooted his majeſty, on his way to and from his parliament.

16th. This day, there was a meeting of the electors of Weſtminſter (in purſuance of a public notice ſigned by Mr. Fox) to conſider of a petition to the houſe of commons againſt the two bills now pending in that houſe, for the better ſecurity of his majeſty's perſon, and the ſuppreſſing of ſeditious aſſemblies. The meeting was attended by the duke of Bedford, Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Sheridan, who ſeverally inveighed againſt the bills as utterly ſubverſive of the liberties of the people. On the other ſide appeared lords Hood and Belgrave, Mr. Jenkinſon, &c. The two former were the only diſſentients from the proceedings adopted by the meeting; and lord Hood proteſted againſt the preſent mode as unfair, inſiſting that the ſenſe of the electors of Weſtminſter could be known only by meetings of their reſpective veſtries. A petition, however, was agreed (by all but the two diſſentients) to be preſented to the houſe of commons, againſt the two bills in queſtion; after which the meeting quietly diſperſed. Parties of the military were ſtationed in different places; but, happily, their interference was not neceſſary.

18th. *Glaſgow.*—About one o'clock this morning a violent ſtorm of wind and rain, accompanied with ſnow, came on here, which continued till four in the afternoon. Early in the afternoon the river Clyde roſe to a prodigious height, ſo as to lay all the low part of the town, near the river, under water. The Gallowgate Bourn, from the overflowing of the Monkland Canal, came down with ſuch rapidity as to fill all the houſes in the Gallowgate,

lowgate, eaſt ſide of the Salt-market, and lower part of St. Andrew's-ſquare, with water.

The fine new bridge acroſs the river oppoſite the Salt-market, which was paſſable to foot paſſengers, is totally ſwept away. Boats for the relief of the inhabitants are plying along the bridge-gate, the depth of water being near ſix feet in ſome places. From Charlotte-ſtreet to Jamaica-ſtreet is a continued ſheet of water of conſiderable depth, and the paſſage by either of the bridges is impaſſable for the preſent. A conſiderable number of cows, ſheep, horſes, &c. are carried away by the violence of the water, and loſt. A great deal of goods in the cellars near the river will be greatly damaged, if not entirely uſeleſs: Indeed the amount of the loſs ſuſtained, though it cannot as yet be aſcertained, muſt be very great. The height of the water in the Salt-market at preſent (ſeven o'clock) is within 16 inches of the inundation in March 1782.

18th. The outward bound Weſt India fleet, under the command of rear-admiral Chriſtian, having in the whole near ſixteen thouſand troops on board, paſſed down the channel, on Tueſday, and exhibited, off Weymouth, a grand and beautiful ſpectacle; but the ſcene was ſoon changed to horror and diſmay. The following letter from an officer at Weymouth, deſcribes the melancholy events that enſued.

19th. *Weymouth.*—To give a true deſcription of the ſcenes of horror I have ſince yeſterday been witneſs to, would be impoſſible. The outward bound Weſt India fleet ſailed from St. Helen's on Sunday night, and paſſed by Weymouth on Tueſday morning with ſo light a breeze, that every ſail was hoiſted to it. In the afternoon, however, it began to blow very freſh; in the evening, quite a gale of wind, and all night a moſt dreadful hurricane. The fleet could not make Torbay, though very near it, the wind blowing from the weſt; they therefore put about, in order to make for Weymouth. The convoy (a 74, with a frigate, &c.) came ſafely to anchor in Portland roads; but many of the tranſports and merchantmen, being heavily laden with troops and merchandize, could not ſtretch out far enough (the wind being S. W.) to get out of what is called the Weſtern Bay, ſo as to clear the iſle of Portland, conſequently ſeveral of them were loſt by ſtriking on a bank of pebbles extending from Portland nearly to Bridport. Here the dreadful ſcene began: a tranſport with near two hundred troops on board (including officers) ſunk within fifty yards of the ſhore: the cries of the unfortunate perſons on board were diſtinctly heard on ſhore: the bodies floated on the waves, and hundreds of people were on the ſhore, but the means of affording aſſiſtance impracticable: of the two hundred ten lives were ſaved, by the waves throwing the bodies upon the beach. But inſtead of the ſpectators (who were chiefly people from Portland, and who are always praying for wrecks on their coaſt) attempting to reſcue the drowning perſons from the water, their whole attention was devoted to plunder, and I was myſelf witneſs to a ſcene the moſt unpardonable that ever humanity ſhuddered at: the body of an officer was driven aſhore; a party of the Portland people ran to it for the purpoſe of plunder; a cheſt, however, coming aſhore at the inſtant, the body was left to be waſhed back by the next wave, while the inhuman wretches were ſolely intent on preſerving the cheſt, which they bore away in trumph. The officer, however, was ſaved by ſome of our people, and is now living.

Three veſſels went to pieces in this way within the ſpace of an hour. Out of one only two lives were ſaved; out of another ten; and out of the third three: of thoſe ſaved, one was a lady, whoſe huſband, an officer of the 26th light dragoons, was drowned; ſhe had been ill, and was in bed when the ſhip ſtruck, but was miraculouſly carried through a port-hole, and thrown on ſhore naked and very much bruiſed. She was conveyed to a houſe ſenſeleſs, and has ſince been delirious, at times waking to a recollection of her ſituation, only to add to her miſery. Of the ten who eſcaped from one of the ſhips, one (a ſoldier) had his leg broken, and cruſhed by a piece of the wreck in ſo ſhocking a manner, that he juſt crawled on the ſand, and then very ſoon died from the loſs of blood. Some veſſels were loſt farther up the country, and out of theſe ſome, but not many, lives were ſaved. Among theſe a lieutenant-colonel Roſs, and a ſurgeon, are the only officers I have heard of. During the whole time, the Portland people, and a conſiderable mob from different parts, were ſolely intent on plunder; neglecting, with more than ſavage indifference, to give the wretched ſufferers the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance. An officer's party from our regiment at length put a check to their proceedings, and we remained on the ſands the whole of laſt night to protect the property. One merchantman ran aſhore without bulging, and though all but ten of her hands were drowned, the property of this veſſel was ſaved, and great part of it brought aſhore, and we poſted ſentinels over it during the night; but even this did not prevent the raſcals from attempting to plunder, and our men were abſolutely obliged to fire upon them to diſperſe them. The number of veſſels loſt is not yet aſcertained, although it is known that ſix or ſeven certainly are: one is now lying off Weymouth quite diſmaſted; another with only a foremaſt ſtanding, &c. The number of people drowned it is impoſſible to gueſs at; but you may conceive it to be great, when I aſſure you that I counted 275 dead bodies which the tide had thrown up on the ſands yeſterday, many of them women, and their numbers are hourly increaſing.

26th.

In my laſt I gave you a haſty ſketch of the melancholy ſcene which has recently occurred here: however lamentable I then repreſented it, ſubſequent enquiry has proved it to be infinitely ſhort of the reality. The ſhore from hence to Abbotſbury, about ſeven miles diſtant, is ſtill covered with dead bodies, and parts of the wrecks hourly thrown up. I yeſterday counted nine dead bodies thrown upon the beach by one tide, within the ſpace of a quarter of a mile; the violence of the ſea had torn every particle of cloathing off of them, and from bruiſes, and lying ſo long in the water, they made the moſt ſhocking appearance. Part of the Glouceſter militia, aided by the peaſantry, are conſtantly employed in burying them. The number of ſufferers almoſt exceeds belief: upwards of 1600 bodies having, it is ſaid, been thrown up, along the beach. An officer of the Glouceſter militia has told me he aſſiſted at the burial of 300. The veſſels loſt in the Weſt Bay were ſeven in number; and ſuch was the fury of the waves, that ſeveral of the tranſports, heavily laden, were driven to the very ſummit of the beach, which is a conſiderable deal higher than a common built houſe. Had the poor wretches continued on board, many more would have been ſaved; but ſuch was their agitation and fright, that, as ſoon as the veſſel ſtruck, they leaped overboard, and were exhauſted before they could reach the ſhore. A ſoldier of the 63d tells me, that, previous to his quitting the tranſport, one of the officers of the regiment, who was lame and in bed, and conſcious of the impoſſibility of his eſcaping death, met it with the moſt dignified conſtancy: he told the ſoldier, that from his ſtrength there was a chance of his ſafety, told him how to huſband it beſt to his advantage, and then gave him his purſe and watch, which, he obſerved, were no longer neceſſary to him.—There were 170 troops in this veſſel, and five only were ſaved. Capt. Bearcroft, who commanded the detachment, is amongſt the ſufferers.—The lady I mentioned to have been ſo miraculouſly preſerved, was wife to cornet Burns, of the 26th. On Tueſday, his remains, together with thoſe of lieut. Kerr, of the 46th, with 26 others, were buried at Wick church, about two miles from hence, with military honours; the Glouceſter militia, &c. attending.—The people of Abbotſbury ſay they ſaw five veſſels, excluſive of what are known to have been wrecked, run foul of each other, and, it is probable, moſt of them have foundered. The tranſports were, it appears, moſt wretchedly manned; the Hannah was driven aſhore to another tranſport, the maſter of which was the only ſeaman on board of her. The Hannah went to pieces on the rocks; the crew and cargo are ſaved. Several horſes on board were drowned.

23d. *Birmingham.*—On Wedneſday night, a little before eleven o'clock, a ſhock of an earthquake was very ſenſibly felt by moſt of the inhabitants of this town, and in all the adjoining counties, and occaſioned conſiderable alarm. Thoſe in bed felt themſelves raiſed up in the ſame manner as if a perſon had been underneath them, and a ſhaking of the bedſtead, and of the other furniture in the room immediately enſued. Thoſe who had not retired to their beds, were diſturbed by an indiſtinct rumbling noiſe, apparently proceeding from the cellar, which was followed by a rocking of the houſe.

28th. Henry Yorke, alias Redhead, convicted of ſedition at the laſt York aſſizes, was this day brought up to the Court of King's Bench, and ſentenced to be confined two years in Dorcheſter gaol, to pay a fine of 200l. and at the expiration of the two years to enter into a recognizance with two ſufficient ſureties, in the ſum of 2.000l. for his good behaviour for ſeven years more.

DECEMBER.

9th. On Monday the London Correſponding Society, with an immenſe concourſe of ſpectators aſſembled in Marylebone meads. A petition to the king, and a ſtring of reſolutions, were read and agreed to, after which the mob diſperſed.

Dublin.—On Saturday evening 16th. laſt a moſt ſhocking murder was committed on the bodies of two men, labourers, by a man, ſuppoſed to be a companion of theirs, near Clogheen, in the county of Tipperary. It ſeems the deceaſed were brothers, and had, during this ſeaſon, acquired by their induſtry four or five guineas, and were about proceeding to the county of Kerry, their native place; when, as is the cuſtom with the lower orders of people at parting to teſtify their friendſhip in drink, they were at a public houſe, and at paying the reckoning diſcovered to their companion the fruits of their induſtry, which is believed to be the cauſe of their untimely death, as, at leaving the houſe, he inſiſted on accompanying them a few miles on their journey, and even took from one of them his ſpade, ſaying, he would eaſe him of the weight of it while he continued with them, and which is the weapon with which he perpetrated the horrid deed. Shortly after they were found, about a mile from the houſe they had left, with their ſkulls almoſt cloven aſunder, and robbed of the above ſum.

Plymouth.—This evening, about five o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out in a ſail-loft, in Southſide-ſtreet, belonging to Mr. Douglaſs, ſail-maker; in a few minutes the whole building was in flames; every exertion was made to check its progreſs, but the lofts were filled with ſuch inflammable ſubſtance as rendered every effort ineffectual. In addition to the ſail-cloth, rope, &c. belonging to Mr. Douglaſs, the lofts of the ſame premiſes were filled with a valuable cargo of bale goods, landed out of a Daniſh ſhip that was then under repair, to which the fire ſoon communicated, and the conflagration became terrible indeed; the flames preſently extended to the houſes on each ſide Mr. Douglaſs's, and, they being occupied by people of the ſame profeſſion, their lofts were alſo filled with the like inflammable articles, ſo that the fire became extremely alarming, and threatened deſtruction to the whole neighbourhood; it continued burning ſix hours, with incredible fury, when, by the great exertions of the inhabitants and the military, with the aſſiſtance of the dock-yard and hoſpital engines, it was fortunately prevented from ſpreading farther, but the three houſes were entirely conſumed: the loſs is ſuppoſed to amount to 15,000l. Many of the unfortunate ſufferers are uninſured, and ſubſcriptions are now open for their relief. It is a providential circumſtance, that the tide was flood at the time, or the fire would have communicated to the ſhipping in the Pool, and probably in that caſe half the town been deſtroyed.

A few days ago, a man who had the appearance of a labourer, 20th. was found ſtrangled in a field near Camberwell, Surrey. It appeared that he had ſtolen a ſheep, the hind legs of which he had tied together, and put them over his forehead, in order to carry it away, but it is thought that, in getting over the gate, the ſheep ſtruggled, and by a ſudden ſpring, ſlipt its feet down to his throat, for in that poſture they were found, the animal hanging on one ſide of the gate, and the dead man on the other.

Dublin.—This day, James Weldon, indicted for high treaſon, 21ſt. was called on to plead, by the denomination of *yeoman*.

Counſellors Curran and M'Nally, the counſel for the priſoner, moved and argued in abatement of this indictment, that yeoman was not the proper deſignation of the priſoner, under the ſtatute of additions of Henry V, and adviſed him not to plead thereto.

It was contended on the part of the crown by the prime-ſerjeant, the attorney-general, the ſolicitor-general, counſellors Saurin and Kells, that yeoman, in its ancient and uſual acceptation, was the proper deſignation of the priſoner in his ſtation of life, being, at the time of the facts charged, a ſoldier in his majeſty's ſervice.

A jury was impannelled to try this point before the priſoner ſhould plead. Mr. Gregg, gaoler of Newgate, was the only evidence adduced to the fact, and on his croſs-examination could not ſwear that he knew the legal definition of yeoman.

The court, after full argument on both ſides, delivered its opinion to the jury, through Mr. Juſtice Chamberlaine, who ſaid, that under the definition given by Blackſtone, who was certainly a writer of moſt reſpectable authority on the law, the priſoner was not a yeoman; and under the definition of Dr. Johnſon, who was certainly the firſt authority in the Engliſh language, the priſoner was a yeoman. Shakſpeare, in ſpeaking of the battle of Agincourt, called the ſoldiers yeomen, and at this day the ſoldiers of the king's body guard were called yeomen. His lordſhip, however, appriſed the counſel on both ſides, that whatever ſhould be the finding of the jury, the court would adjourn, in order to ſubmit the point for the deciſion of the judges, and report it on the opening of the court tomorrow morning. The jury, after retiring for a ſhort time, found for the indictment, i. e. that the priſoner was a yeoman at the time of the facts charged againſt him, and the court forthwith adjourned.

22d. The court ſat at a quarter paſt nine o'clock, to proceed on the trial of J. Weldon.

The jury being ſworn in, the priſoner's counſel moved that his irons be ſtruck off, which the court ordered accordingly. James Weldon was then indicted on a charge of high treaſon, for compaſſing the king's death, and for adhering to the king's enemies. The trial occupied the attention of the court till half-paſt eight o'clock at night, in the courſe of which there were but two witneſſes produced on the part of the crown, namely, William Lawler, who was the principal and only evidence that affected the priſoner, and Oliver Carleton, eſq. On the part of the priſoner two witneſſes were produced, who gave him a moſt excellent character. Mr. Curran and Mr. M'Nally having ſpoken to evidence, and the prime-ſerjeant in reply, and the three judges having ſeverally charged the jury, the latter retired for about twenty minutes, and brought in their verdict —Guilty.

A party of defenders having committed ſome outrages near Armagh, a detachment of ſir John Sinclair's fencibles, commanded by lieutenant Laing, was ſent by a magiſtrate to apprehend them. On arriving at the ſpot they found the offenders had ſhut themſelves up in a houſe. The lieutenant demanded admittance, which they refuſed, ſaying, "they were defenders, and would die rather than ſurrender!" This expreſſion was immediately followed by a diſcharge of fowling-pieces, through holes they had made in the door. The balls went through lieutenant Laing's great coat, and the ſerjeant's trowſers. The military then fired at the door, &c. and thoſe in the houſe continued their fire, which wounded ſome of the people who had followed the ſoldiers. After diſcharging ſeveral rounds to no effect, the ſoldiers forced open the door, killed five of them, took ten priſoners, and ſet fire to the houſe. Two of the fencibles were ſlightly wounded by cutlaſſes.

The annual elections for the city 23d. ſenate have terminated with much fewer changes than might have been expected from the unuſual exertions that were made. The average number of new members, in the moſt quiet times, amounts, from deaths and voluntary reſignations, to eighteen: on the preſent occaſion, there are but twenty-two. In the majority of the wards, all the old members are returned; in others a ſingle member is removed, either of one party or the other, as local circumſtances have happened. The ſtrongeſt conteſt has been in the wards of Cheap and Farringdon without. In Cheap, eight new candidates appeared, all on the ſide of government; and three were ſucceſsful. In Farringdon, on the contrary, were ſix new ones on the ſide of oppoſition; who ſo far carried their point, as to introduce two of their champions, but were diſappointed in the main object of their attempt.

Sierra Leone Houſe.—This day advices were received from Sierra Leone, dated the 1ſt of November; by which it appears, that the colony was in good health, and that the rainy ſeaſon had paſſed without the death of any European.

A factory had been lately eſtabliſhed by the company in a neighbouring river, the Rio Pongas, with the view of maintaining the intercourſe lately opened with the kingdom of the Foulahs, to the capital of which, ſituated about 300 miles inland, a ſmall body of new coloniſts, who carry with them the arts of civilized life, are on the point of embarking from this country. It appears by the preſent diſpatches, that attempts had been made by the ſlave traders in the neighbouring parts to deſtroy this new factory, but that their endeavours had happily been defeated through the good-will of ſeveral natives.

Stratford upon Avon.—On Friday laſt a party of the Iriſh 27th. dragoons, now quartered here, to the number of ſix or ſeven, ſallied forth about eleven in the evening, from a houſe where they had been drinking to great exceſs, and drawing their ſwords, inſulted and threatened every perſon they met; till, being reproached for their ſhameful conduct by Joſeph Pinfield, a nailer, they almoſt hacked the man to pieces in the preſence of his wife, who on her knees in vain implored their mercy in behalf of her huſband. After they had committed the murder they gave the mangled corpſe ſeveral blows and kicks in wanton and exulting cruelty.—During the whole night they paraded the ſtreets, ſword-in-hand, broke a number of windows, burſt open ſeveral ſtreet-doors, menacing the peaceful inhabitants with inſtant death, and brandiſhing their weapons over their heads. About day-break they got to their quarters;

and, the murder being preſently made public, the coroner's jury held their inqueſt; and, having returned their verdict wilful murder, ſix of the dragoons were committed to priſon.

BIRTHS *in the Year* 1795.

Jan. 5. The lady of Richard Joſeph Sulivan, eſq. M. P. a ſon.
17. Lady of the right honourable Charles Townſhend, a daughter.
27. Viſcounteſs Belgrave, a ſon.
Lately, the lady of ſir Gilbert Heathcote, bart. a ſon and heir.
Lady of ſir John Rous, bart. a ſon.
Feb. 1. Lady of ſir Henry Harpur, bart. a ſon.
14. Lady Auckland, a ſon.
23. Lady Forbes, a daughter.
26. Lady of ſir Henry Daſhwood, bart. a ſon.
Mar. 5. Lady of lord G. H. Cavendiſh, a daughter.
21. Princeſs of Braſil, a ſon.
April 6. Viſcounteſs Conyngham, a ſon.
18. Lady of William Manning, eſq. M. P. a ſon.
May 24. Lady Ann Wombwell, a ſon.
June 2. Lady C. Ainſlie, a ſon and heir.
25. Lady of Dr. William Cleaver, biſhop of Cheſter, a daughter.
July 2. Counteſs of Exeter, a ſon and heir.
7. Lady Elizabeth Loftus, a ſon.
At Manheim, the Ducheſs of Deux Ponts, of a ſon, ſince baptized Charles-Theodore-Maximilian-Auguſtus.
10. Counteſs of Breadalbane, a daughter.
24. Lady of Thomas Boothby Parkyns, eſq. M. P. a daughter.
26. Lady of ſir John Ingilby, bart. a daughter.
30. Lady Arden, a ſon.
Lately, lady Rodney, a daughter.
Aug. 7. Lady Harriot Sullivan, a daughter.
Lady of ſir Francis Ford, bart. a daughter.
9. Lady Mary Ann Sturt, a ſon and heir.
Lady of ſir Archibald Dunbar, bart, of Northfield, a daughter.
11. Ducheſs of Dorſet, a daughter.
26. Lady Charlotte Hope, a ſon.
Sept. 25. Lady Bruce, a daughter.
26. The conſort of prince Lewis of Pruſſia, a prince.
Oct. 16. Counteſs of Jerſey, a ſon.
18. Lady of Lord Hugh Seymour, a daughter.
20. Lady of Thomas Anſon, eſq. M. P. a ſon and heir.
30. Lady of George Smith, eſq. M. P. a ſon.
Lately, lady Sherrard, a daughter.
Nov. 3. Lady Fludyer, a daughter.
Dec. 4. The empreſs of Germany, a princeſs, baptized Carolina-Ludovica-Leopoldina.
8. Lady of H. P. St. John Mildmay, bart. a ſon.
10. Ducheſs of Mancheſter, a daughter.
19. Hon lady Shaw, a daughter.
Lately, counteſs of Carliſle, a ſon.

MARRIAGES

MARRIAGES *in the Year* 1795.

Jan. 18. Hon. Simon Butler, to Miſs Lynch, daughter of Edward Lynch, eſq. of Hampſtead.

19. Francis lord Down, ſon of the earl of Moray, to Miſs Lucy Scott, daughter of the late general Scott.

Lately, hon. Henry Forbes, brother of the earl of Granard, to Miſs E. Preſton, ſiſter of John Preſton, eſq. M. P. for Navan.

24. Earl of Barrymore, to Miſs Coghlan, daughter of Mr. Coghlan, of Ardo, in the county of Waterford.

30. Hon. Newton Fellowes, ſon of the earl of Portſmouth, to Miſs F. Sherard, daughter of the rev. Caſtel Sherard.

Lately, hon. Edward Maſſey, ſecond ſon of the late lord Maſſey, to Miſs Villiers, daughter of John Villiers, eſq. of Limerick.

Feb. 9. Rev. George Trevalyan, ſon of ſir John Trevalyan, bart. to Miſs Neave, daughter of Rich. Neave, eſq. of Dagnam Park, Eſſex.

15. Elector Palatine of the Rhine, to the archducheſs Maria-Leopoldina, ſecond daughter of the archduke Ferdinand of Auſtria.

21. Capt. Metcalfe of the Staffordſhire militia, to Miſs Vane, daughter of the hon. Mr. Vane, brother to the earl of Darlington.

Lately, Thomas Cole, eſq. to lady Elizabeth Henrietta Stanley.

Mar. 3. John Claudius Beresford, eſq. M. P. for Louth, to Miſs Eliza M'Kenzie Menzies, daughter of Archibald Menzies, eſq. Culdare, county Perth.

5. Richard Johnſtone Vanden Bempdé, eſq. M. P. to Miſs Scott, niece of the rev. Dr. Scott, rector of Simonbourn.

10. Lieutenant Laſcelles, ſon of lieutenant-general Laſcelles, to Miſs Gould, daughter of ſir Charles Morgan, bart.

24. Earl of Dalkeith, to the hon. Miſs Harriet Townſhend, daughter of lord Sidney.

25. Hon. Robert Banks Jenkinſon, to lady Louiſa Hervey, daughter of the earl of Briſtol and biſhop of Derry.

30. Hon. and rev. Richard Bourke, ſecond ſon of the late earl of Mayo, archbiſhop of Tuam, to Miſs Frances Fowler, daughter of the archbiſhop of Dublin.

Dr. Henry Vaughan, phyſician extraordinary to his majeſty, to the hon. Elizabeth Barbara St. John, ſiſter to lord St. John of Bletſoe.

31. Captain Patrick Hunter, to the hon. Miſs Jane Rollo, daughter of the late James lord Rollo.

Lately, Francis Drake, eſq. to

the only daughter of the late ſir Herbert Mackworth, bart.

Robert O'Callaghan Newenham, eſq. M. P. for the county of Dublin, to Miſs Suſannah Hoare, daughter of the rev. Dakin Hoare, vicar-general of the dioceſe of Limerick.

April 7. Lord Torpichen, to Miſs Inglis, daughter of ſir John Inglis, bart.

15. Sir Harry Burrard, bart. to Miſs Neale, daughter of the late Robert Neale, eſq. of Shaw Houſe, Wilts.—Sir Harry takes the name of Neale.

27. Richard Brinſley Sheridan, eſq. M. P. for Stafford, to Miſs Ogle, only daughter of the dean of Wincheſter.

May 4. Sir Robert Wilmot, bart. to Miſs Howard, only daughter of the late Charles Howard, eſq. of Litchfield.

9. Sir James Sanderſon, bart. M. P. for Malmeſbury, to Miſs Skinner, daughter of the lord-mayor.

10. Hon^{ble} lieutenant-colonel George St. John, to Miſs Lavinia Breton, daughter of William Breton, eſq.

21. Finely Ferguſon, eſq. to the hon. Miſs Maclellan, only daughter of lord Kircudbright.

26. Sir Edward Denny, bart. to Miſs Day, daughter of Robert Day, eſq. of Dublin.

28. John William Clough, eſq. of Norton Conyers, Yorkſhire, to Miſs Elizabeth Broughton, daughter of the rev. ſir Thomas Broughton, bart.

30. Earl of Winterton, to Mrs. Bodicote, of Weſterham.

Lately, hon. captain Forteſcue, brother to earl Forteſcue, to lady Ackland, widow of ſir Thomas Ackland, bart.

June 8. John Willes, eſq. eldeſt ſon of the late hon. Mr. juſtice Willes, to Miſs Charlotte Floyer, only daughter of Charles Floyer, eſq. of Portland Place.

12. Capt. George Parker, of the royal navy, nephew of ſir Peter Parker, bart. to Miſs Harriet Butt, daughter of Peter Butt, eſq. of the dock-yard at Deptford.

16. Sir Richard Bedingfield, bart. to Miſs Jerningham, daughter of ſir William Jerningham, bart.

17. Crauford Tait, eſq. to Miſs Suſan Campbell, daughter of the right hon. Ilay Campbell, lord preſident of the court of ſeſſion of Scotland.

18. Captain Grey, of the royal navy, third ſon of ſir Charles Grey, K. B. to Miſs Whitbread, youngeſt daughter of Samuel Whitbread, eſq. M. P. of Bedwell Park, Herts.

20. Lord Charles Fitzroy, ſecond ſon of the duke of Grafton, to Miſs Mundy, daughter of Edward Miller Mundy, eſq. M. P. for Derbyſhire.

22. John Dalrymple, eſq. of the 3d regiment of guards,

eldeſt ſon of the right hon. ſir John Dalrymple, bart. one of the barons of the exchequer in Scotland, to Miſs Johnſon, daughter of the rev. R. A. Johnſon, of Kenilworth, Warwickſhire.

23. Sir John Wrotteſley, bart, to lady Caroline Bennett, daughter of the earl of Tankerville.

The earl of Banbury, to Miſs Charlotte Blackwell, daughter of the late Ebenezer Blackwell, eſq. of London, banker.

29. Rev. George Moore, eldeſt ſon of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, to lady Maria Iſabella Hay, daughter of the late earl of Errol.

July 1. Rev. Brook Henry Bridges, brother of ſir Brook Bridges, bart. to Miſs Jane Hales, ſecond daughter of the late ſir Thomas Hales, bart.

15. Hugh lord Carleton, lord chief juſtice of the Common Pleas in Ireland, to Miſs Mathew, at Uxbridge.

20. Lord George Seymour Conway, to Miſs Iſabella Hamilton, daughter of the late hon. and rev. George Hamilton.

21. William-Henry Digby, eſq. of Twickenham, to lady Anne Kennedy, daughter of the late earl of Caſſilis.

25. Lord Paget, to lady C. Villiers, daughter of the earl of Jerſey.

Lord St. Aſaph, to lady Charlotte Percy, daughter of the earl of Beverley.

29. Right hon. Dudley Ryder, to lady Suſan Leveſon Gower.

30. Viſcount Dungannon, to the hon. Miſs Fitzroy.

Aug. 4. Marquis of Titchfield, to Miſs Scott, daughter of the late general Scott.

8. Earl of Belfaſt, ſon of the marquis of Donegal, to Miſs May.

Lord Spencer Stanley Chicheſter, ſecond ſon of the marquis of Donegal, to lady Harriet Stewart, daughter of the earl of Galloway.

20. Sir William Langham, bart. to Miſs Vane, only daughter of the hon. C. Vane.

24. Thomas Beevor, eſq. eldeſt ſon of ſir Thomas Beevor, bart. to Miſs Hare, only daughter of Hugh Hare, eſq. of Hargham, Norfolk.

Lately, hon. Robert Leeſon, ſon of the late earl of Miltown, to Miſs Grace Head, of Derry, in Tipperary.

Sept. 9. Sir John Riggs Miller, bart. to lady Davenport.

24. Charles Duncombe, eſq. (eldeſt ſon of Charles Slingſby Duncombe, eſq. of Duncombe Park, Yorkſhire) M. P. for Shafteſbury, to lady Charlotte Legge, only daughter of the earl of Dartmouth.

Edward Wigley, eſq. M. P. for Worceſter, to Miſs Anne Maria Meyſey, only daughter and heireſs of the late Charles Watkins Meyſey, eſq. of Shakenhurſt, in Boynton, Worceſterſhire.

Oct. 9. John Richard viſcount Dungarvon, to the hon. Iſabella Henrietta Poyntz, maid of honour to her majeſty, and daughter of William Poyntz, eſq. of Midgham Houſe, Berks.

Francis Gregor, eſq. M. P. for Cornwall, to Miſs Jane Urquhart, niece of general Morris.

15. Major general Roſs, to Miſs Gunning, daughter of ſir Robert Gunning, K. B.

20. Lord Mulgrave, to Miſs Sophia Malling, daughter of C. T. Malling, eſq. of Weſt Henington.

26. Harrington Hudſon, eſq. of Bleſſingby, Yorkſhire, to lady Ann Townſhend, daughter of marquis Townſhend.

27. John Gibbons, eldeſt ſon of ſir William Gibbons, bart. of Stanwell Place, to Miſs Taylor, daughter of the late Richard Taylor, eſq. of Charlton Houſe.

31. Captain Knox, of the firſt regiment of foot guards, to Miſs Emma Williams, daughter of Thomas Williams, eſq. M. P.

Nov. 2. Charles Pole, eſq. ſecond ſon of ſir Charles Pole, bart. to Miſs Buller, daughter of Richard Buller, eſq. of Croſby-ſquare.

7. Robert Dalrymple, eſq. ſon of admiral Dalrymple, to Miſs Howard, of Knightſbridge.

11. Mark Sykes, eſq. high ſheriff of Yorkſhire, and eldeſt ſon of ſir Chriſtopher Sykes, bart. to Miſs Maſterman, only daughter of Henry Maſterman, eſq. of Stettrington.

13. Sir Francis Henry Drake, bart. to Miſs Anne Frances Mateby, daughter of Thomas Mateby, eſq. of Great Mary-le-bone-ſtreet.

Thomas Ridgate Maunſell, eſq. to Miſs Daly, daughter of the late James Daly, eſq. of Upton Houſe, near Brixham, Devon.

Dec. 12. Sir John William Roſe, knt. recorder of London, to Miſs Penn, of Walworth.

15. Hon. George Auguſtus Legge, ſon of the earl of Dartmouth, to Miſs Honora Bagot, daughter of the Rev. Walker Bagot.

21. Sir William Gerard, bart. of Garſwood, county of Lancaſter, to Miſs Anna Maria Stapleton, youngeſt daughter of Miles Stapleton, eſq. of the Grove, Richmond, county of York.

PROMOTIONS *in the Year* 1795.

January 4. John earl of Bute, to be lord-lieutenant of Glamorganſhire.

14. George earl of Warwick, to be lord-lieutenant of the county of Warwick.

17. George James earl Cholmondeley, to be chamberlain to the prince

of Wales, and intendant of the houſes.

17. John earl of Darnley, to be groom of the ſtole to his royal highneſs.

Charles Naſſau Thomas, eſq. to be vice-chamberlain.

John Byde, eſq. to be maſter of his royal highneſs's houſehold.

Earl of Jerſey, to be maſter of the horſe.

21. Robert Shore Milnes, eſq. to be governor of Martinico.

29. Dr. William Newcombe, biſhop of Waterford, to be archbiſhop of Armagh.

Rev. Thomas Lewis O'Birne, to be biſhop of Offory.

Hon. Charles Lawrence Dundas, to be private ſecretary to the lord-lieutenant.

Rev. Dr. Richard Murray, to be provoſt of Trinity-college, Dublin.

John earl of Portarlington and George lord Milton, to be privy-counſellors of Ireland.

February 10. General the duke of York, to be field-marſhal of the forces.

March 4. George John earl Spencer, Charles George lord Arden, Charles Small Pybus, ſir Charles Middleton, bart. lord Hugh Seymour, Philip Stephens, and James Gambier, eſqrs. to be lords of the Admiralty.

Philip Stephens, eſq. to be a bart. with remainder to his nephew Stephens Howe, eſq.

6. Lord Hugh Seymour and lord Villiers, to be gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales.

William Churchill, eſq. to be firſt groom of the bed-chamber, maſter of the robes, and privy-purſe to his royal highneſs.

7. Lieut.-colonel Hervey Aſton, to be one of the grooms of the bed-chamber.

11. Right hon. Thomas Pelham, to be a privy-counſellor.

John Jeffries earl Camden, to be lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

Henry Willoughby Rooke, eſq. to be page of honour to his majeſty.

27. Suſannah baroneſs Hood, of the kingdom of Ireland, to be baroneſs Hood of Great Britain.

Dr. John Law, biſhop of Killala and Achonry, to be biſhop of Elphin.

April 11. Thomas Tyrwhitt, eſq. to be private ſecretary to the prince of Wales.

Sir George Chetwynd, of Brocton-hall, in the county of Stafford, and ſir John Dryden, of Canons Aſhby, in the county of Northampton, knts. Robert Saluſbury, of Llanwern, in the county of Monmouth, eſq. Richard Gamon, of Minchenden-houſe, in the county of Middleſex, eſq. (with the remainder to Richard Grace, of Rahin, in the Queen's county and kingdom of Ireland, eſq. and his iſſue male), Lionel Darel, of Richmond-hill, in the county of Surry, Richard Neave, of Dagnam-park, in the county of Eſſex, Henry Hawley, of Leybourne Grange, in the county of Kent, John Pollen, of Redenham, in the county of Southampton, eſqrs. and John Wentworth, eſq. lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, to be baronets.

16. Sir Rich. Hughes, bart. John Elliot and William Hotham, eſqrs. vice-admirals of the red, to be admirals of the blue.

22. Thomas Pickering, eſq. mayor of Arundel, to be knighted.

23. Earl of Bute, to be ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Madrid.

25. John Eamer and Robert Burnett, eſqrs. ſheriffs of London, to be knighted.

29. Earl of Mounte-Edgcumbe, to be lord-lieutenant of Cornwall.

May 8. Robert Mackreth, eſq. M. P. to be knighted.

William Luſhington, eſq. M. P. for London, to be alderman of Billingſgate-ward.

June 1. Hon. Edward Stopford, William Lloyd, Mark Milbanke, and Nicholas Vincent, eſqrs. Thomas lord Greaves, Robert Digby, eſq. and Alexander lord Bridport, K. B. admirals of the blue, to be admirals of the white.

Joſeph Peyton and John Carter Allen, eſqrs. ſir Charles Middleton and ſir John Laforey, barts. John Dalrymple, Herbert Sawyer, ſir Richard King, Jonathan Faulknor and Philip Affleck, eſqrs. vice-admirals of the red, to be admirals of the blue.

Sir John Jervis, K. B. and Adam Duncan, eſq. vice-admirals of the white, to be vice-admirals of the blue.

Richard Braithwaite, Philip Coſby, Samuel Corniſh, John Briſbane, Charles Wolſeley, and Samuel Cranſton Goodall, eſqrs. William Henry duke of Clarence, Richard Onſlow, and Robert Kingſmill, eſqrs. vice-admirals of the white, to be vice-admirals of the red.

Sir George Bowyer, bart. ſir Hyde Parker, knt. Benjamin Caldwell, eſq. hon. William Cornwallis, vice-admirals of the blue, to be vice-admirals of the red.

William Allen, John M'Bride, John Vandeput, Charles Buckner, John Gell, and William Dickſon, eſqrs. and ſir Alan Gardner, bart. vice-admirals of the blue, to be vice-admirals of the white.

John Lewis Gidoin, George Gayton, George Murray, and Robert Linzee, eſqrs. ſir James Wallace, knt. William Peere Williams, eſq. ſir Thomas Paſley, bart. rear-admirals of the red, to be vice-admirals of the white.

John Symonds, eſq. and ſir Thomas Rich, bart. rear-admirals of the red, to be vice-admirals of the blue.

Charles Thompſon, James Cumming, John Ford, John Colpoys, Skef. Lutwidge, Archibald Dickſon, George Montagu, and Thomas Dumareſq, eſqrs. and the hon. ſir George Keith Elphinſtone, K. B. rear-admirals of the white, to be vice-admirals of the blue.

James Pigott, eſq. and hon William Waldegrave, rear-admirals of the blue, to be vice-admirals of the blue.

Thomas Mackenzie, and Thomas Pringle, eſqrs. ſir Roger Curtis, knt. Henry Harvey, Robert Man, William Parker, Charles Holmes, Everitt Calmady, and John Bourmaſter, eſqrs. ſir George Young, knt. John Henry, and Richard Rodney Bligh, eſqrs. rear-admirals of the blue, to be rear-admirals of the red.

Captains, Alexander Græme, George Keppel, Samuel Reeve, Robert Biggs, Francis Parry, Iſaac Preſcott, John Bazeley, Chriſtopher Maſon, Thomas Spry, ſir John Orde, bart. William Young, and James Gambier, eſqrs. to be rear-admirals of the white.

Captains, Andr. Mitchell, Charles Chamberlayne, Peter Rainier, Hugh Clo. Chriſtian, William Truſcott, lord Hugh Seymour, John Stanhope, Chriſtopher Parker, Philip Patton, Charles Maurice Pole, John Brown, and John Leigh Douglas, to be rear-admirals of the blue.

6. Horatio Nelſon, eſq. hon. Thomas Pakenham, and hon. George Berkeley, to be colonels of marines.

6. Rev. John Porter, D.D. to be biſhop of Killala and Achonry.

10. George lord Vernon, Richard Aubrey, and John Price, eſqrs. to be deputy lieutenants, to execute the office of lord-lieutenant of Glamorganſhire, during the abſence of John earl of Bute.

James Watſon, eſq. ſerjeant at law, to be knighted.

18. John viſcount Fitzgibbon, lord chancellor of Ireland, to be earl of Clare.

Charles Agar, archbiſhop of Caſhel, to be baron of Somerton, in the county of Kilkenny.

Lord chief baron Yelverton, to be lord Yelverton, baron of Avonmore, in the county of Cork.

20. James Crawfurd, John Brickwood, Allen Chatfield, John Bowles, and Alex. Baxter, eſqrs. to be commiſſioners for the care and diſpoſal of ſuch ſhips and veſſels, with their cargoes, as are, or hereafter may be, detained in, or brought into, any of the ports of this kingdom, purſuant to an act of the preſent year of his majeſty's reign, intitled, "An act to make further proviſion reſpecting ſhips and effects come into this kingdom, to take the benefit of his majeſty's orders in council of the 16th and 21ſt of January 1795, and to provide for the diſpoſal of other ſhips and effects detained in or brought into the ports of this kingdom."

Duke of Portland, to be lord-lieutenant of Nottinghamſhire, and ſteward, keeper, and guardian of the foreſt of Sherwood, and Park of Polewood.

22. Edmund Henry lord Glentworth, to be keeper of the privy ſeal in Ireland.

Hugh O'Reilly, eſq. of Ballinlough, to be bart. of Ireland.

23. John Murray, of Lanrick, in the county of Perth, colonel and military auditor-general of Bengal; William Pierce Aſhe a' Court, eſq. of Heytſbury, Wilts; Richard Bempdé Johnſtone, eſq. of Hackneſs-hall, Yorkſhire, (remainder to his brother, Charles Johnſtone, eſq. of Haverford-weſt;) James Hamlyn, eſq. of Clovelly-court, Devon, and of Edwinsford, in the county of Carmarthen; and John Methuen Poore, eſq. of Rudſhall, Wilts, (remainder to his brother Edward Poore, of Wedhampton, ſame county, eſq.) to be baronets of Great Britain.

30. Right hon. Henry Dundas, lord Grenville, duke of Portland, right hon. William Pitt, duke of Montroſe earl of Mornington, lord Belgrave earl Bathurſt, hon. E. J. Elliott, hon. R. B. Jenkinſon, and right hon. Sylveſter Douglas, to be commiſſioners for managing the affairs of India.

July 4. Sir J. Banks, bart. to be K. B.

11. Daniel Hailes, eſq. to be envoy extraordinary at the court of Stockholm.

Lord Robert Stephen Fitzgerald to be envoy extraordinary at the court of Copenhagen.

William Wickham, eſq. to be miniſter plenipotentiary to the Swiſs Cantons.

15. Major Thomas Saumarez to be knighted.

Major-general Ralph Abercrombie, to be K. B.

29. Right hon. ſir George Howard, K. B. to be a privy-counſellor, and governor of Jerſey.

30. Thomas Jackſon, eſq. to be ſecretary of legation to the court of Turin.

August 15. Earl of Elgin, to be miniſter plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to the Court of Berlin.

26. William Parſons, Muſ. D. compoſer of his majeſty's band of muſic at St. James's, to be knighted.

Sept. 21. Roper George, Ambroſe Searle, John Schank, and William Albany Otway, eſqrs. captains in the navy, and John Marſh, eſq. to be commiſſioners of the tranſport ſervice and of priſoners of war.

Oct. 6. Robert viſcount Leitrim, to be earl of Leitrim.

Charles lord Lucan, to be earl of Lucan.

Luke lord Mountjoy, to be viſcount Mountjoy.

Robert lord Londonderry, to be viſcount Caſtlereagh.

Lawrence Harnan lord Oxmantown, to be viſcount Oxmantown.

John lord O'Neil, to be viſcount O'Neil.

Francis lord Bandon, to be viſcount Bandon.

Mrs. Anne Wolfe, wife of the right hon. Arthur Wolfe, to be baroneſs of Kilwarden.

Right hon. Richard Longfield, to be baron Longueville.

Sir Ralph Payne, K. B. to be baron Lavington.

Thomas Boothby Parkyns, eſq. to be baron Rancliffe. The above eleven of the kingdom of Ireland.

19. Alexander baron Loughborough, lord chancellor of Great Britain, to be baron Loughborough, of Loughborough, in the county of Surry, with remainder to ſir James St. Clair Erſkine, bart. and to his brother John Erſkine, eſq.

24. James Bland Burgeſs, eſq. under-ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs, to be a baronet.

Horace Hayes, eſq. to be a commiſſioner of taxes.

Nov. 7. Major-general his highneſs prince William of Glouceſter, to be colonel of the 6th regiment of foot.

Dec. 1. George John earl Spencer, Charles George lord Arden, Charles Small Pybus, eſq. lord Hugh Seymour, ſir Philip Stephens, bart. James Gambier, and William Young, eſqrs. to be lords of the admiralty.

2. Iſaac Pennington, eſq. regius profeſſor of phyſic in the univerſity of Cambridge, John Bulkeley and Cuthbert Shafto, eſqrs. and Thomas Bonſall, eſq. high ſheriff of Cambridgeſhire, to be knights.

17. George Auſt, eſq. to be commiſſary-general of the muſters, chief muſter-maſter of all the forces in Great Britain, and ſecretary and regiſter of Chelſea-hoſpital.

DEATHS *in the Year* 1795.

January 6. Rev. George Berkeley, D. D. prebend of Canterbury, &c. ſon of the celebrated biſhop of Cloyne.

Lately, earl of Coleraine.

Colonel William Dundas, brother to the right hon. Henry Dundas.

13. At Chiſlehurſt, Kent, the hon. Thomas Broderick, under-ſecretary of ſtate, brother of the preſent, and ſecond ſon of the late, viſcount Middleton; aad born Dec. 10, 1756.

At his lordſhip's houſe in Arlington-ſtreet, lady Frances Marſham, wife of lord Romney, and younger ſiſter of the earl of Egremont. She has left one ſon and three daughters to lament the irreparable loſs of ſo excellent a mother.

19. At Long-Newton, near Darlington, lady Vane, relict of the late rev. ſir Henry V. bart. and mother of the preſent ſir Henry Vane Tempeſt, bart. M. P. for the city of Durham.

22. Counteſs dowager of Carliſle.

22. At Dromoland, Six Mile Bridge, Ireland, ſir Lucius O'Brien, bart. one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council of that kingdom, and repreſentative in parliament for the borough of Ennis. By his death the place of clerk of the hanaper, which he had held for many years, falls to lord baron Glentworth, who obtained the reverſion of it only a few months ſince.

23. At four o'clock, in his 78th year, at his houſe at Maddingley, county of Cambridge, ſir John Hynde Cotton, bart. He ſucceeded his father, ſir J. H. C. the well-known opponent of the Walpole miniſtry, 1752, and repreſented St. Germain's, in Cornwall, 1741, Marlborough, on his father's death, 1752, and again 1754, and the county of Cambridge 1768 and 1771. He married, Auguſt 1754, Anne, ſecond daughter of Humphrey Parſons, eſq. of Reigate, twice lord-mayor of London, by his wife Sarah, third daughter of ſir Ambroſe Crowley, knt. by whom ſir John had ſix ſons: John, died 1781; Charles, captain of a man of war; George, deceaſed 1781, and Alexander, twins; Henry, died at his birth, and Edward, twins; and three daughters; Sarah; Anne, married to the rev. Mr. Olderſhaw; and Lettice.

25. Edwin lord Harewood, the title extinct.

27. Hon. Miſs Fitzroy, eldeſt daughter of lord Southampton.

30. Lieutenant-general Douglas, colonel of the 99th regiment of foot.

31. At his houſe in Hill-ſtreet, Berkeley-ſquare, Charles William ninth viſcount Molyneux, and firſt earl of Sefton; born 30th September, 1748; conformed to the proteſtant religion 1768; created earl of Sefton 1771; married, 1768, Iſabella, daughter of William earl of Harrington; and had iſſue a ſon, born 1772, and other children.

At Coleraine, in Ireland, in his 76th year, ſir Hugh Hill, bart. repreſentative for the city of Londonderry in four ſucceſſive parliaments. He was created a baronet in July, 1779. His title devolves to his ſon, ſir George Hill, recorder of Derry.

February 4. At his houſe in Groſvenor-ſtreet, George earl and viſcount Mount-Edgcumbe, viſcount Valletort, baron of Mount-Edgcumbe, and admiral of the white, lord-lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of the county of Cornwall, and joint vice-treaſurer of Ireland. He was born in 1730; married, Auguſt 6, 1761, Emma, daughter and heir of Dr. John Gilbert, late archbiſhop of York; by whom he had iſſue Richard lord Valletort, now earl Mount-Edgcumbe, born Sept. 14, 1764; married, Feb. 21, 1789, Sophia, daughter of the earl of Buckinghamſhire.

John Webb, eſq. M. P.

At Bale, count de Goltz, the Pruſſian miniſter.

5. Maria dowager lady Tempeſt.

Sir John Duntze, bart. M. P.

7. Sir James Langham, bart.

8. Lady Rivers.

9. At his houſe in Cavendiſh-ſquare, Thomas earl of Macclesfield, viſcount Parker of Macclesfield; born Oct. 12, 1723; married Dec. 12, 1749, Mary, eldeſt daughter of ſir William Heathcote, bart. by whom he has iſſue George viſcount Parker, born Feb. 14, 1755; married, May 24, 1780, to Miſs Drake, and has iſſue.

10. Margaret baroneſs Cloncurry.

12. Thomas Groſvenor, eſq. M. P. brother to earl Groſvenor.

14. In his 71ſt year, at his ſeat in

Headfort, county of Meath, Thomas Taylor, earl of Bective, viſcount and baron Headfort of the kingdom of Ireland, knight of the order of St. Patrick, a baronet, and a privy-counſellor. He is ſucceeded in his titles and eſtates by his eldeſt ſon, lord viſcount Headfort, M. P. for the county of Meath, and has left iſſue four other ſons and three daughters, namely, Hercules Langford, Robert, Clotworthy, and Henry; Sarah, Henrietta, and Catharine. His lordſhip had a paralytic ſtroke in September laſt, by which he was confined till his death.

14. In his 65th year, the prince Biſhop of Wurtzburg and Bamberg, brother of the elector of Mentz.

19. Sir David Kinloch, of Gilmerton.

Sir Thomas Maſſey Stanley, bart.

20. John Sawbridge, eſq. alderman and M. P. of London.

22. Jane ducheſs dowager of Athol.

March 3. Hon. Stephen Digby, ſon of the earl of Digby.

4. Viſcounteſs Colloſeau, ſiſter of ſir John Trevalyan, bart.

Hon. admiral Keith Stewart.

5. Baſil William Douglas lord Daer.

Sir William Gordon, of Gordonstown, bart.

6. Lady Fitzherbert, relict of ſir W. Fitzherbert, bart. of Bleſſington.

9. Sir Henry Houghton, bart. M. P.

11. Sir Richard Brooke, bart. of Norton Priory, Cheſhire.

12. William Moſtyn Owen, eſq. M. P.

14. At Vienna, of a ſcarlet fever, the Archducheſs Caroline Frances, born June 10, 1794.

16. Lord Henderland.

20. Lieutenant-general Sir William Erſkine, bart.

23. Hon. and rev. St. Andrew St. John, ſecond ſon of John 10th lord St. John, of Bletſoe.

30. At his ſeat at Rockingham caſtle, county of Northampton, the hon. Lewis Monſon Watſon baron Sondes, of Lees-court, in that county, and a vice-preſident of the Lock-hoſpital. He was born November 28, 1728, and took the name of Watſon in compliance with the will of Thomas Watſon earl of Rockingham, his maternal uncle. In 1748 he was elected repreſentative in parliament for Boroughbridge, in Yorkſhire; and, in 1754, one of the knights of the ſhire for the county of Kent; on Feb. 16 the ſame year he was conſtituted one of the auditors of the impreſt in the exchequer, which office was ſuppreſſed by act of parliament in 1785, but a ſalary of 7000l. per annum was continued during life; and, on May 20, 1760, was created a peer by his late majeſty. His lordſhip married, Oct. 12, 1752, Grace, daughter of Henry Pelham, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, by whom he had three ſons, the eldeſt of whom, Lewis Thomas, born April 18, 1754, becomes his ſucceſſor.

Sir Richard Bedingfield, bart.

Lady Hatton, relict to Sir T. Hatton.

April 1. At Manheim, after a ſhort illneſs, his ſerene highneſs the duke of Deux Ponts. His dominions have been in the poſſeſſion of the French, with ſome few intervals, for more than two years paſt. The ſucceſſion to the duchy devolves to Maximilian Joſeph count palatine of the Rhine, duke of Bavaria, &c. brother to the late reigning duke.

6. Sir George Collier, knt, vice-admiral of the blue.

8. Sir Alexander Livingſtone, bart.

10. Mr. Worſley, only ſon of ſir Richard Worſley, bart.

12. Hon. Philip Tufton Perceval, brother to the earl of Egmont.

13. Lady Sarah Anneſley, daughter of the earl of Mountmorris.

16. Lady Grantley.

17. Thomas Whitmore, eſq. M. P.

Lady Perryn, wife of ſir Richard Perryn.

24. Hon. Thomas Talbot, brother to the earl of Shrewſbury.

Sir Charles Booth.

May 2. Sir Herbert Perrot Packington, bart.

16. John Aldridge, eſq. M. P. for Shoreham.

17. Henry Beaufoy, eſq. M. P. for Yarmouth.

At his ſeat at Sunning-hill, Berks, the moſt noble Thomas Fiennes Pelham Clinton duke of Newcaſtle, earl of Lincoln, baron Say and Clinton, lord lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of the county of Nottingham, ſteward and guardian of the foreſt of Sherwood and park of Folewood, in the ſame county, high ſteward of Eaſt Retford, a major-general in the army, and colonel of the 17th regiment of dragoons. His death is attributed to the violent operation of an emetick, which he had taken for relief in the hooping-cough, unfortunately caught from his children. His grace was born July 1, 1752; and married, May 2, 1782, to lady Anna-Maria, daughter of William Stanhope, the late earl Harrington, and ſiſter to Charles the preſent earl; and has had iſſue Anna-Maria, born July 30, 1783; Henry Fiennes Pelham Clinton (the preſent duke) born Jan. 30, 1785; Thomas Pelham Clinton, born Feb. 24, 1786; a daughter, in 1791; another daughter, born in June 1792. His grace's remains were interred in the antient family vault at St. George's chapel, Windſor.

20. At Stutgard, aged 67, Charles Eugene, the reigning duke of Wirtemberg.

26. Sir Edward Lloyd, bart.

27. At Berlin, aged 70, count Hertzberg.

Lately, Sir Nicholas Conway Coulthurſt, bart.

June 8. At Paris, Lewis the XVIIth.

Hon. captain Charles Nairne.

2. Lady Stepney, mother of ſir John Stepney, bart.

18. Counteſs dowager of Radnor.

22. Sir Robert Murray Keith, K. B. colonel of the 20th regiment of foot, and formerly ambaſſador extraordinary to the court of Vienna.

30. General ſir John Vaughan, K. B.

July 3. Lady Sarah Bruce, daughter of Thomas earl of Kincardine.

Lord Henry John Spencer, ſecond ſon of the duke of Marlborough, and envoy extraordinary at Berlin.

5. Miſs Mary Yorke, daughter of the hon. and right rev. the biſhop of Ely.

6. Sir Philip Muſgrave, bart.

Sir William Middleton, bart. M. P.

9. At his ſeat at Park-place, near Henley, county of Oxford, aged 75, the right hon. Henry Seymour Conway, brother to the late and uncle to the preſent marquis of Hertford. He went from his houſe in Soho-

ſquare, the preceding day, in apparent good health; was ſeized, at three o'clock in the morning, with the cramp in his ſtomach, which proved fatal at five. He was the oldeſt general officer in the army, and premier fieldmarſhal of Great Britain. He was born in 1723; was choſen, 1741, one of the knights of the ſhire for the county of Antrim, in the parliament of Ireland; in the ſame year, repreſentative for Higham Ferrers: he alſo ſerved for Penryn, 1747; St. Maws, 1754; Thetford, 1761; St. Edmund's Bury, 1768; Wendover, 1775. In 1741 he was conſtituted captain-lieutenant in the firſt regiment of foot-guards, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In 1746, being then aid-du camp to the duke of Cumberland, he got the command of the 48th regiment of foot, and the 29th on July 24, 1749; was appointed colonel of the 13th regiment of dragoons in 1751, which he reſigned on being appointed colonel of the firſt or royal regiment of dragoons, Jan. 30, 1759. In 1756 he was advanced to the rank of major-general; March 30, ſame year, to that of lieutenant-general; and May 25, 1772, to that of general. He ſerved with reputation in ſeveral military capacities, and commanded the Britiſh forces in Germany under prince Frederick of Brunſwick, during the abſence of the marquis of Granby, 1761. He was one of the grooms of the bed-chamber to the late king, and to the preſent, till 1764; when, at the end of the ſeſſion of parliament, he reſigned his office and military commands, but his name was continued in the liſt of privy-counſellors of Ireland; and the late duke of Devonſhire, who died Oct. 3, 1764, left him a legacy of 5,000l. on account of his conduct in parliament. July 10, 1765, he was ſworn of the privy-council, and appointed ſecretary of ſtate for the Northern department, which he reſigned January 1768. Feb. 16 following, he was appointed colonel of the 4th regiment of dragoons; Oct. 24, 1774, colonel of the royal regiment of horſe-guards; Oct. 22, 1772, governor of the iſland of Jerſey. Dec. 19, 1747, he married Caroline, widow of ſir Charles Bruce, earl of Ayleſbury and Elgin, and only daughter of lieutenant-general John Campbell, ſince fourth duke of Argyle, and hath iſſue a daughter, Anne, married, June 14, 1767, to to John eldeſt ſon of Joſeph Damer, now earl of Dorcheſter.

9. Sir Francis Wood, bart.

22. Lord Clonbrock of the kingdom of Ireland.

24. Sir William St. Quintin, bart.

Jonathan Faulknor, eſq. admiral of the blue.

28. Lady Suſan Gordon, daughter of the earl of Aberdeen.

At Dawliſh, in Devonſhire, whither he had ſome time retired for the benefit of his health, John Richard Weſt earl Delawar, viſcount Cantalupe, and a lord of the bed-chamto the king. He was the fourth of that title, created by his preſent majeſty in the year 1761, and the ſenior in the peerage of the preſent reign, and was a lieutenant in the ſecond regiment of foot guards. His lordſhip ſucceeded his brother, William-Auguſtus Weſt, who died unmarried in 1783. He was born July 28, 1758, and, April 22, 1783, married Sarah, only child of Henry Lyell, of Bourne, county of Cambridge, eſq. by whom he has left three children: viſcount Cantalupe, now earl of Delawar, aged ſix years; another ſon, aged three years; and an infant daughter, only a few months old. He was made a lord of the bed-chamber in 1789.

19. John Heathcote, eſq. M. P.

Auguſt 1. Henry Hippeſley Coxe, eſq. M. P.

2. Viſcounteſs Tracey.

4. Sir Robert Sinclair, bart, of Murkle, lieutenant governor of Fort George.

17. Lady Mary Stanley.

Lady Suſan Drummond.

27. Lady Lyttleton, ſecond wife of George lord Lyttleton.

September 4. Sir James Ibbetſon, bart.

9. Viſcount Kenmure.

12. Alexander lord Macdonald.

30. Hon. Miſs Charlotte Clive, ſiſter of lord Clive.

October 5. Hon. Mrs. Home, relict of the Hon. George Home.

17. Sir John Gordon, bart. of Earlſton.

November 1. Sir Michael Bruce, bart.

3. Sir John Hotham, bart. biſhop of Clogher.

9. Hon. Mrs. John Thomas Townſhend.

24. Samuel Eſtwick, M. P. for Weſtbury.

28. Hon. Mrs. Robinſon, lady of colonel Robinſon, and ſiſter to lord Clive.

December 7. The princeſs Louiſa, daughter of the hereditary prince of Denmark.

8. Rev. ſir James Stonehouſe, bart. M. D. rector of Great and Little Cheverell, Wilts.

21. Thomas Wildman, eſq. M. P.

23. In the 103d year of her age, Mrs. Bereſford, great aunt to the marquis of Waterford.

24. Gen. ſir Henry Clinton, K. B.

25. Hon. Mrs. Murray, wife of rear-admiral George Murray, M. P.

29. Counteſs dowager of Findlater and Seaford.

30. At Kilkenny-caſtle, the right hon. John Butler earl of Ormond and viſcount Thurles of the kingdom of Ireland. He is ſucceeded in titles and eſtates by his eldeſt ſon Lord Thurles, M. P. for the city of Kilkenny.

Matthew Barton, eſq. admiral of the white.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his Majeſty in Council for the Year* 1795.

Bedfordſhire. John Harvey, of Ickwell.

Berks. William Thoyts, of Surhampſtead.

Bucks. Lovell Badcock, of Little Miſſenden.

Cambridge and *Huntingdonſhire.* Thomas Quintin, of Hatley St. George.

Cheſhire. James Hugh Smith Barry, of Marbury.

Cumberland. Sir James Graham, of Netherby, bart.

Derbyſhire. William Drury Lowe, of Lockow.

Devonſhire. William Clarke, of Buckland Tout Saints*.

Dorſetſhire. Edward Greathed, of Uddings.

Eſſex. John Hanſon, of Great Bromley-hall.

Glouceſterſhire. Samuel Edwards, of Botham-lodge.

Herefordſhire. John Moore Green, of Cagebroke.

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* On his deceaſe, ſoon after, Philip Morſhead, of Wordey, was appointed.

Hertfordſhire. James Harding, of Tring.

Kent. Gabriel Harpur, of Gore-court.

Leiceſterſhire. Edward Muxloe, of Pickwell.*

Lincolnſhire. Ayſcough Boucherett, of Stalingborough.

Monmouthſhire. Richard Morgan, of Argoed.

Norfolk. George Nelthorpe, of Lynford.

Northamptonſhire. Valentine Knightley, of Fawſley.

Northumberland. Cuthbert Shaftoe, of Baſington.

Nottinghamſhire. Jonas Bettiſon, of Holme-Pierrepont.

Oxfordſhire. Strickland Freeman, of Henley-upon-Thames, eſq.

Rutlandſhire. Sir Gilbert Heathcote, of Normanton, bart.

Shropſhire. Henry Bevan, of Shrewſbury.

Somerſetſhire. Edward Lyne, of Saltford.

Southampton. Wither Bramſton, of Oakley-hall.

Staffordſhire. Thomas Swinnerton, of Butterton.

Suffolk. Jacob Whitbread, of Loudham.

Surry. Thomas Turton, of Starborough-caſtle.

Suſſex. Francis Newberry, of Heathfield Park.

Warwickſhire. William Little, of Kenilworth.

Wiltſhire. James Montague, of Alderton.

Worceſterſhire. William Waldron, of Stourbridge.

Yorkſhire. Mark Sykes, of Sledmire, eſqrs.

SOUTH WALES.

Brecon. Henry Skreen, of Danby Park.

Cardigan. Thomas Bonſal, of Trodfraith.

Carmarthen. John Rees, of Kilymaenllwyd.

Glamorgan. Wyndham Lewis, of Laniſhen.

Pembroke. John Herbert Foley, of Ridgeway.

Radnor. Francis Fowke, of Boughrood, eſqrs.

NORTH WALES.

Angleſey. John Bulkeley, of Preſaddfed.

Carnarvon. William Jones, of Bodfaur.

Denbighſhire. John Wynne, of Gorwenvawr.

Flint. Bromfield Foulkes, of Gwern y gron.

Merioneth. Robert Lloyd, of Cefngoed.

Montgomery. Lawton Parry, of Welch Pool, eſqrs.

SHERIFF *appointed by his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales in Council, for the year* 1795.

County of Cornwall, Ralph Allen Daniel, of Truro, eſq.

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* On his deceaſe, ſome time after, Anthony Kech, of Stoughton-hall, was appointed.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

EXTRACTS *from the* LONDON GAZETTES.

London Gazette, April 6, 1795.

A DISPATCH, of which the following is a copy, was this evening received from vice-admiral Hotham, commander of his majeſty's ſhips and veſſels in the Mediterranean.

Britannia at Sea,
SIR, *March* 16, 1795.

YOU will be pleaſed to inform their lordſhips, that on the 8th inſtant, being then in Leghorn road, I received an expreſs from Genoa, that the French fleet, conſiſting of 15 ſail of the line and 3 frigates, were ſeen two days before off the iſle of Marguerite, which intelligence correſponding with a ſignal made from the Mozelle, then in the offing, for a fleet in the north-weſt quarter, I immediately cauſed the ſquadron to be unmoored, and at day-break the following morning we put to ſea with a ſtrong breeze from the eaſt north-eaſt.

The Mozelle previouſly returned to me, with the information, that the fleet ſhe had ſeen were ſteering to the ſouthward, and ſuppoſed to be the enemy; in conſequence of which I ſhaped my courſe for Corſica, leſt their deſtination ſhould be againſt that iſland, and diſpatched the Tarleton brig to St. Fiorenzo, with orders for the Berwick to join me with all poſſible expedition off Cape Corſe; but in the courſe of the night ſhe returned to me with the unwelcome intelligence of that ſhip having been captured two days before by the enemy's fleet.

To treſpaſs as little as poſſible upon their lordſhips' time, I ſhall not enter into a detail of our proceedings until the two ſquadrons got ſight of each other, and the proſpect opened of forcing the enemy to action, every movement which was made being directed to that object, and that alone.

Although the French ſhips were ſeen by our advanced frigates daily, yet the two ſquadrons did not get ſight of each other until the 12th, when that of the enemy was diſcovered to windward.

Obſerving them on the morning following ſtill in that direction, without any apparent intention of coming down, the ſignal was made for a general chace, in the courſe of which, the weather being ſqually, and blowing very freſh, we diſcovered one of their line of battle ſhips to be without her topmaſts, which afforded to captain Freemantle of the Inconſtant frigate (who was then far advanced on the chace) an opportunity of ſhewing a good proof of Britiſh enterpriſe, by his attacking, raking, and haraſſing her until the coming up of the Agamemnon, when he was moſt ably ſeconded by captain Nelſon, who did her ſo much damage, as to diſable her from putting herſelf again to rights; but they were at this time ſo far detached from our own fleet, that they were obliged to quit her, as other ſhips of the enemy were coming up to her aſſiſtance, by one of which ſhe was ſoon afterwards taken in tow.

Finding that our heavy ſhips did not gain on the enemy during the chace, I made the ſignal for the ſquadron to form upon the larboard line of bearing, in which order we continued for the night.

At day-light the next morning (the 14th) being about ſix or ſeven leagues to the ſouth-weſt of Genoa, we obſerved the enemy's diſabled ſhip, with the one that had her in tow, to be ſo far to leeward, and ſeparated from their own ſquadron, as to afford a probable chance of our cutting them off. The opportunity was not loſt, all ſail was made to effect that purpoſe, which reduced the enemy to the alternative of abandoning thoſe ſhips, or coming to battle.

Although the latter did not appear to be their choice, they yet came down (on the contrary tack to which we were) with a view of ſupporting them; but the Captain and Bedford, whoſe ſignals were made to attack the enemy's diſabled ſhip and her companion, were ſo far advanced, and ſo cloſely ſupported by the other ſhips of our van, as to cut them off effectually from any aſſiſtance that could be given them; the conflict ended in the enemy's abandoning them, and firing upon our line as they paſſed with a light air of wind.

The two ſhips that fell proved to be the Ca-Ira (formerly the Couronne) of 80 guns, and the Cenſeur of 74.

Our vanſhips ſuffered ſo much by this attack, particularly the Illuſtrious and Courageux (having each loſt their main and mizen maſts) that it became impoſſible for any thing further to be effected.

I have, however, good reaſon to hope, from the enemy's ſteering to the weſtward, after having paſſed our fleet, that, whatever might have been their deſign, their intentions are for the preſent fruſtrated.

The French fleet were loaded with troops; the Ca-Ira having thirteen hundred men on board, and the Cenſeur one thouſand, of whom, by their obſtinate defence, they loſt in killed and wounded between three and four hundred men.

The efforts of our ſquadron to ſecond my wiſhes for an immediate and effectual attack upon the enemy, were ſo ſpirited and unanimous, that I feel peculiar ſatisfaction in offering to their lordſhips my cordial commendation of all ranks collectively. It is difficult to ſpecify particular deſert, where emulation was common to all, and zeal for his majeſty's ſervice the general deſcription of the fleet.

It is, however, an act of juſtice to expreſs the ſenſe I entertain of the ſervices of Captain Holloway, of the Britannia. During a long friendſhip with that officer, I have had repeated proofs of his perſonal and profeſſional talents; and on this recent demand for experience and information, his zeal afforded me the moſt beneficial and ſatisfactory aſſiſtance.

Herewith I tranſmit a liſt of the killed and wounded on board the different ſhips of the ſquadron, and have to lament the loſs of captain Littlejohn of the Berwick, who (I underſtand from ſome of her men that were retaken in the Ca-Ira) was unfortunately killed the morning of the ſhip's being captured; by which misfortune his majeſty has loſt a moſt valuable and experienced officer, and I have only to add, that he has left a widow and four ſmall children.

I am, ſir,
Your moſt obedient
humble ſervant,
WM. HOTHAM.

P. S. Incloſed are liſts of the ſhips that compoſed the two ſquadrons on the 14th inſtant.

I am now on the way with the prizes to St. Fiorenzo, but doubt much whether it will be poſſible to get them in, as they are diſmaſted, greatly ſhattered, and very leaky, particularly the Ca-Ira.

Return of the officers and men killed and wounded on board the different ſhips of the ſquadron under vice-admiral Hotham's command, in an action with the French fleet off Genoa, the 14th of March, 1795.

Britannia, captain Holloway. 1 ſeaman killed, 18 ditto wounded.

Princeſs Royal, captain Purvis. 3 ſeamen killed, 7 ditto wounded; 1 marine or ſoldier wounded.

St. George, captain Foley. Third lieutenant R. Honeyman wounded, 4 ſeamen killed, 12 ditto wounded.

Windſor Caſtle, captain Gore. Firſt lieutenant Thos. Hawker, wounded, 5 ſeamen killed, 28 ditto wounded; 1 marine or ſoldier killed, 2 ditto wounded.

Captain, captain Reeve. Mr. William Hunter (maſter) and firſt lieut. Wilſon Rathbone, wounded; 3 ſeamen killed, 17 ditto wounded.

Fortitude, captain Young. 1 ſeaman killed, 4 ditto wounded.

Illuſtrious, captain Frederick. Mr. Sam. Moore (midſhipman) wounded, 15 ſeamen killed, 68 ditto wounded; 5 marines or ſoldiers killed, 1 ditto wounded.

Egmont, captain Sutton. 7 ſeamen killed, 21 ditto wounded.

Terrible, captain Campbell. 6 ſeamen wounded.

Courageux, captain Montgomery. Mr. William Coleman (midſhipman) killed, Mr. John Blackburn (maſter) wounded; 8 ſeamen killed, 21 ditto wounded; 6 marines or ſoldiers killed, 11 ditto wounded.

Bedford, captain Gould. Firſt lieutenant Miles wounded, 6 ſeamen killed, 14 ditto wounded; 1 marine or ſoldier killed, 3 ditto wounded.

Agamemnon, captain Nelſon. Mr. John Wilſon (maſter) and 12 ſeamen wounded.

Diadem, captain Tyler. 3 ſeamen killed, 7 ditto wounded.

Inconſtant, captain Freemantle. 3 ſeamen killed, 4 ditto wounded.

Tancredi, Le Chevalier Carraccioli. 1 ſeaman killed, 5 ditto wounded.

Total. 75 killed, 280 wounded.

W. HOTHAM.

Order

Order of battle, the 14th March, 1795.

Loweſtoffe repeating frigate.
Tarleton, Palade, Poulette, and Minerva frigates.

Van ſquadron,
Under the commander in the ſecond poſt.

No.	Ships.	Commanders.	Guns.	Men.	
1.	Captain,	Captain Reeve,	74	590	Starboard or Weather Diviſion. Vice-ad. Goodall.
2.	Bedford,	Captain Gould,	74	590	
3.	Tancredi,	Captain Le Chevalier Caraccioli,	74	600	
4.	Princeſs Royal,	Captain Purvis	90	760	
5.	Agamemnon,	Captain Nelſon,	64	491	

Inconſtant and Meleager frigates, to repeat ſignals.

Centre ſquadron,
Under the commander in chief.

No.	Ships.	Commanders.	Guns.	Men.	
6.	Illuſtrious,	Captain Frederick,	74	590	
7.	Courageux,	Captain Montgomery,	74	640	
8.	Britannia,	Captain Holloway,	100	839	Vice-ad. Hotham.
9.	Egmont,	Captain Sutton,	74	590	
10.	Windſor Caſtle,	Captain Gore,	90	755	Rear-ad. Linzee.

Romulus repeating frigate—Fox cutter.

Rear ſquadron,
Under the commander in the third poſt.

No.	Ships.	Commanders.	Guns.	Men.	
11.	Diadem,	Captain Tyler,	64	491	Larboard or Lee Diviſion, Vice-ad. ſir Hyde Parker.
12.	St. George,	Captain Foley,	90	760	
13.	Terrible,	Captain Campbell,	74	590	
14.	Fortitude,	Captain Young,	74	590	

Names of the ſhips which compoſed the French fleet on the 14th March, 1795.

Names.	Guns.	Complement of men.	On board at the time of action.
Le Sans Culotte	120	1200	2000
Le Victoire (late Languedoc)	80	950	1300
Le Tonnant	80	950	1300
Le Guerrier	74	730	1000
Le Conquerant	74	730	1000
Le Mercure	74	730	1000
Le Barras	74	730	1000

Le

Le Genereux	74	730	1000
Le Heureux	74	730	1000
Le Duqueſne	74	730	1000
Le Timoleon (late Commerce de Bourdeaux)	74	730	1000
Le Ca-ira (taken)	80	950	1300
Le Cenſeur (taken)	74	930	1000
L'Alcide	74	930	1000
Le Souverain	74	930	1000
La Minerve	40	300	300
La Thamiſe	40	300	300
La Veſtal	32	250	250
L'Alceſte	32	250	250
Scout	18	120	120
Le Hazard	20	120	120

WM. HOTHAM.

London Gazette, June 27.

Extract of a Letter from vice-admiral Cornwallis, to Evan Nepean, eſq.

Royal Sovereign at Sea, June 19, 1795.

I have the honour of acquainting you, for the information of the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, that on the 16th in the morning, ſtanding in with the land, near the Penmarks, I ſent the Phaeton a-head to look out for any of the enemy's ſhips upon the coaſt. I ſtood after her with the reſt of the ſhips*. At ten ſhe made a ſignal for ſeeing a fleet a-head, and afterward that they were of ſuperior force. Upon her bringing to, I made the ſignal to haul to the wind upon the ſtarboard tack. At this time I could not ſee the hulls of the ſtrange ſails. Thirty were counted, and ſome of them had all their ſail out upon a wind, being directly to leeward of us. I ſtood upon the ſtarboard tack with all our ſail, keeping the ſhips collected. Upon enquiring by ſignal the enemy's force, captain Stopford anſwered, thirteen line of battle ſhips, fourteen frigates, two brigs and a cutter; in all thirty ſail. Near half of them tacked in ſhore in the afternoon; the wind fell very much, and came round to the northward, off the land, and of courſe brought thoſe ſhips of the enemy (which had tacked) to windward, and the others laid up for us. They were ſeen in the morning before it was day-light, upon both quarters of the ſquadron.

At nine in the morning, one of the front line of battle ſhips began to fire upon the Mars. Their frigates were ranged up a-breaſt of us to windward, except one, which kept to leeward, and ran up upon the larboard quarter of the Mars, then yawed and fired, which was frequently repeated. This was the only frigate that attempted any thing. The line of battle ſhips came up in ſucceſſion, and a teazing fire, with intervals, was kept up during the whole day. In the evening they made a ſhew of a more ſerious attack upon the Mars, (which had

* Mars, Triumph, Brunſwick, Bellerophon, Phaeton, and Pallas.

gotten a little to leeward) and obliged me to bear up for her ſupport. This was their laſt effort, if any thing they did can deſerve that appellation. Several ſhot were fired for two hours after, but they appeared to be drawing off, and before ſun-ſet their whole fleet had tacked and were ſtanding from us.

The Mars and Triumph being the ſternmoſt ſhips, were of courſe more expoſed to the enemy's fire; and I cannot too much commend the ſpirited conduct of ſir Charles Cotton and ſir Eraſmus Gower, the captains of thoſe ſhips. Lord Charles Fitzgerald alſo in the Brunſwick kept up a very good fire from the after guns, but that ſhip was the whole time obliged to carry every ſail. The Bellerophon being nearly under the ſame circumſtances, I was glad to keep in ſome meaſure as a reſerve, having reaſon at firſt to ſuppoſe there would be full occaſion for the utmoſt exertion of us all, and being rather a-head of me was not able to fire much. I conſidered that ſhip as a treaſure in ſtore, having heard of her former achievements, and obſerving the ſpirit manifeſted by all on board when ſhe paſſed me, joined to the activity and zeal ſhewed by lord Cranſtoun during the whole cruize. I am alſo much indebted to captain Whitby for his activity and unremitted diligence on board the Royal Sovereign. The frigates ſhewed the greateſt attention and alertneſs. I kept the Pallas near me to repeat ſignals, which captain Curzon performed very much to my ſatisfaction. Indeed, I ſhall ever feel the impreſſion which the good conduct of the captains, officers, ſeamen, marines and ſoldiers in the ſquadron has made on my mind; and it was the greateſt pleaſure I ever received to ſee the ſpirit manifeſted by the men, who, inſtead of being caſt down at ſeeing thirty ſail of the enemy's ſhips attacking our little ſquadron, were in the higheſt ſpirits imaginable.

I do not mean the Royal Sovereign alone, the ſame ſpirit was ſhewn in all the ſhips as they came near me; and although (circumſtanced as we were) we had no great reaſon to complain of the conduct of the enemy, yet our men could not help repeatedly expreſſing their contempt of them. Could common prudence have allowed me to let looſe their valour, I hardly know what might not have been accompliſhed by ſuch men.

Little damage has been received by the ſhips in general, except the ſterns having been very much ſhook by firing the guns. The Mars reports twelve men wounded, but none killed; the mainmaſt, fore and foretopſail yard wounded; and her rigging and ſails cut a good deal. The Triumph has ſhifted and repaired ſome of her ſails, but any damage ſhe has received is ſo trifling, at leaſt in her captain's eye, that ſir Eraſmus Gower has not thought it worth reporting; indeed the cool and firm conduct of that ſhip was ſuch, that it appeared to me the enemy's ſhips dared not to come near her.

It has blown hard from the northeaſt ſince I parted from the French fleet.

I take the firſt opportunity of ſending this by the Phaeton, leſt, upon hearing that the French fleet are at ſea, their lordſhips may be under apprehenſions for the ſafety of theſe ſhips.

The following diſpatch was this morning received from admiral lord Bridport, K. B.

Royal George at Sea,
Sir, *June* 24, 1795.

IT is with ſincere ſatisfaction I acquaint you, for the information of the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, that his majeſty's ſquadron under my command attacked the enemy's fleet, conſiſting of twelve ſhips of the line, attended with eleven frigates, and ſome ſmaller cruizers, on the 23d inſtant, cloſe in with Port L'Orient. The ſhips which ſtruck are, the Alexander, Le Formidable, and Le Tigre, which were with difficulty retained. If the enemy had not been protected and ſheltered by the land, I have every reaſon to believe that a much greater number, if not all the line of battle ſhips, would have been taken or deſtroyed.

In detailing the particulars of this ſervice I am to ſtate, that on the dawn of day, on the 22d inſtant, the Nymph and Aſtræa, being the look-out frigates a-head, made the ſignal for the enemy's fleet. I ſoon perceived that there was no intention to meet me in battle; conſequently I made the ſignal for four of the beſt ſailing ſhips, the Sans Pareil, Orion, Ruſſell, and Coloſſus, and ſoon afterward for the whole fleet to chaſe, which continued all that day, and during the night, with very little wind.

Early in the morning on the 23d inſtant, the headmoſt ſhips, the Irreſiſtible, Orion, Queen Charlotte, Ruſſell, Coloſſus, and Sans Pareil, were pretty well up with the enemy, and a little before ſix o'clock the action began, and continued till near nine. When the ſhips ſtruck, the Britiſh ſquadron was near to ſome batteries, and in the face of a ſtrong naval port, which will manifeſt to the public the zeal, intrepidity, and ſkill of the admirals, captains, and all other officers, ſeamen, and ſoldiers employed upon this ſervice; and they are fully entitled to my warmeſt acknowledgments.

I beg alſo to be allowed to mark my approbation, in a particular manner, of captain Domett's conduct, ſerving under my flag, for his manly ſpirit, and for the aſſiſtance I received from his active and attentive mind. I feel likewiſe great ſatisfaction in doing juſtice to the meritorious conduct of all the officers of every claſs, as well as to the bravery of the ſeamen and ſoldiers in the Royal George, upon this event, and upon former occaſions.

I judged it neceſſary, upon the information I had received of the force of the enemy, to put the Robuſt, Thunderer, and Standard, into the line of battle; but from their diſtance from my ſquadron, and under the circumſtance of little wind, they could not join me till after the action was over.

I ſhall proceed upon my ſtation as ſoon as I have ordered a diſtribution of the priſoners, and made other neceſſary arrangements for the ſquadron. It is my intention to keep at ſea, in order to fulfil every part of my inſtructions.

I have judged it neceſſary to ſend captain Domett with my diſpatches, who will give their lordſhips ſuch further particulars as ſhall have occurred to him on the victory we have gained.

You will herewith receive a liſt of the killed and wounded, with the ſhips they belonged to, and the commanders names.

I am, &c.

Bridport.

Evan Nepean, eſq.

N. B. I am happy to find by the report made to me, that captain Grindall's wounds are not dangerous.

Note. Captain Domett reports, that the remainder of the enemy's fleet made their eſcape into L'Orient.

Liſt of the killed and wounded on board his majeſty's ſquadron under my command, in an action with the enemy off Port L'Orient, June 23, 1795.

Irreſiſtible, captain Grindall. 3 ſeamen killed, 9 ſeamen and 3 ſoldiers wounded; captain Grindall and Mr. Troughton, the maſter, wounded.

Orion, ſir James Saumarez. 5 ſeamen and 1 ſoldier killed, 17 ſeamen and 1 ſoldier wounded.

Queen Charlotte, ſir A. S. Douglas. 4 ſeamen killed, 25 ſeamen and 5 ſoldiers wounded; Mr. David Coutts, maſter's mate, and Mr. Charles Hornſby, midſhipman, wounded.

Ruſſell, captain Thomas Larcom. 2 ſeamen and 1 ſoldier wounded, 9 ſeamen wounded; captain Bacon of 11th regiment wounded.

Coloſſus, captain J. Monkton. 4 ſeamen and 1 ſoldier killed, 26 ſeamen and 2 ſoldiers wounded; lieutenant Mends and Mr. John Whiley, midſhipman wounded.

Sans Pareil, right hon. lord Hugh Seymour, captain Browell. 7 ſeamen and 1 ſoldier killed; lieutenant C. M. Stocker, 2d lieutenant; lieutenant W. Jephcott, lieutenant of marines, killed; lieutenant F. Nott, and Mr. Richard Spencer, midſhipman, wounded.

London, captain E. Griffith. 2 ſeamen wounded; Mr. J. E. Baker, midſhipman, wounded

Queen, vice-admiral ſir A. Gardner, captain Bedford. None killed or wounded.

Prince George, captain Edge. None killed or wounded.

Royal George, admiral lord Bridport, captain Domett. 5 ſeamen and 1 ſoldier wounded.

Bridport.

Royal George at Sea, June 24.

London Gazette Extraordinary.

Horſe Guards, Nov. 23, 1795.

Diſpatches of which the following are copies and an extract, have been this day received by the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, from vice-admiral ſir George Keith Elphinſtone, K. B. and major generals Alured Clarke, and J. H. Craig.

Caſtle of the Cape of Good Hope,
Sir, *Sept.* 21, 1795.

THE Dutch governor having not only rejected, in the moſt peremptory terms, the propoſals which had been made to him, that the ſettlement ſhould place itſelf under the protection of Great Britain, but having alſo acted in a manner demonſtrative of ſuch hoſtile diſpoſitions towards us, as to juſtify the ſuſpicion which was conveyed to us of its being his intention to ſet fire to Simon's Town, from which all the inhabitants had been obliged to retire by his order, the admiral and myſelf concurred in thinking it expedient to prevent the execution of his purpoſe, by landing ourſelves, and taking poſſeſſion of the place, which I accordingly did on the 14th of July, with the part of the 78th regiment under my command, and the marines of the ſquadron, the latter amounting to about 350 men, and the former to 450. Very few days elapſed before our patroles were fired upon by the Burgher militia and Hottentots, who occupied the hills round us, while our people were reſtrained by the directions which they had received not to commit any act of hoſtility towards the Dutch troops. Hoſtilities being, however, thus commenced, and as the time approached when we might reaſonably expect the arrival of the troops and ſtores which had been requeſted of the governor of St. Helena, it appeared to me to be an object of conſequence to diſpoſſeſs the Dutch forces of the poſt which they occupied at the important paſs of Muyzenberg, as by it we might perhaps open a more ready communication with the country, at the ſame time that we ſhould by doing ſo convince the inhabitants of the reality of our intentions, of which we knew they entertained doubts. I accordingly propoſed it to ſir George Elphinſtone, who immediately agreed to it with that readineſs which has ſo ſtrongly attended all the inſtances of aſſiſtance which I have received from him. Sir George having landed a detachment of ſeamen, which was formed into two battalions, we were only delayed by the want of a proper wind, which would not permit the movement to take place till the morning of the 7th of Auguſt, when ſir George having made the ſignal that it would ſerve, the America and Stately, with the Echo and Rattleſnake, got under weigh about twelve o'clock, and I marched at the ſame time with the 78th and marines, together with the ſeamen, being in all about 1600 men.

The poſt of Muyzenberg being extremely ſtrong to the front, and covered by a numerous field artillery, againſt which I had not one gun to oppoſe, our principal reliance was upon the fire from the ſhips, which, being properly diſpoſed of at the different ſtations aſſigned them by commodore Blankett, produced every effect which could be expected from it. The enemy were driven from two twenty-four pounders, which were directed towards the ſea, and abandoned the poſt before it was poſſible for us to arrive near enough to profit by the circumſtance ſo completely as we were in hopes of doing, as they carried off all their artillery, except the two heavy guns above-mentioned, and one braſs ſix-pounder, with two eight-inch howitzers.

The enemy having, however, taken poſt on an advantageous ridge of rocky heights, very ſtrong and difficult of acceſs, a little beyond the camp, the advanced guard, under the command of major Moneypenny, of the 78th, ſupported by the battalion of that regiment, attacked and drove them from thence with the greateſt ſpirit, although, in addition to the ſtrength of the ground, the enemy were further protected by cannon from the oppoſite ſide of the Lagoon, which covers the poſt of Muyzenberg towards the Cape Town. In this affair, which terminated only with the day, the activity and ſpirit of the light company of the 78th, under the command of captain Campbell, were conſpicuouſly diſplayed. Captain Scott, of the 78th, was the only officer wounded on the occaſion.

The next morning the enemy, having drawn out their whole force from the Cape Town, eight field pieces advanced to attack us, but finding us too ſtrongly poſted, and being themſelves fired upon from the pieces they had left behind the preceding day, which had been drilled and brought forward by the exertions of a company of pikemen under lieutenant Coffin, of the Rattleſnake, they thought it more prudent to deſiſt from the attempt, and retired, after ſome ſkirmiſhing, attended with little loſs on our ſide, and only remarkable for the ſteadineſs diſplayed by the 1ſt battalion of ſeamen, commanded by captain Hardy, of the Echo, who having croſſed the water with the marines, received the enemy's fire without returning a ſhot, and manœuvred with a regularity that would not have diſcredited veteran troops. The marines, under major Hill, diſplayed an equal degree of ſteady reſolution on the occaſion.

On the 9th the Arniſton arrived from St. Helena with ſuch aſſiſtance as governor Brooke had been able to afford us. It conſiſted of 352 rank and file, with ſome field artillery, and a very limited proportion of ammunition. They were directed to proceed immediately to camp, and the boats of the fleet were unremittingly employed in forwarding ſtores and proviſions to us; a work in which, from the peculiar difficulty of our ſituation, and the inſufficiency of our means, our progreſs was very ſlow, and frequently ſo much interrupted by unfavourable weather, that we could hardly get a-head of our conſumption. While this neceſſary buſineſs was going on, our future operations became the object of the moſt earneſt conſideration. On the one hand, as the enemy appeared numerous, and diſpoſed to an obſtinate defence, for the which they had had ample time to make the beſt preparations, I could not but be ſenſible that the force under my command was, in point of numbers, inadequate to the attempt of reducing them; and I had little to rely on to counterbalance the diſparity, but the ſpirit of the individuals belonging to it. I poſſeſſed no cattle or carriages for the tranſport of ammunition or proviſions, and a communication of twelve miles was to be kept up to be furniſhed with either, at leaſt till I could open a ſhorter one with the ſhips that the admiral might ſend to Table Bay, for which the ſeaſon was ſtill very unfavourable. On the other hand, though theſe difficulties were ſufficiently diſcouraging, yet the arrival of general Clarke was uncertain, and the ſtate of our proviſions was ſuch as to render the poſſibility of our ſtay, till it ſhould happen, very doubtful. Under theſe circumſtances, I determined on an attempt by night on the moſt conſiderable of the enemy's out-poſts, in the hopes that a ſevere execution among the burgher militia might intimidate them, and produce circumſtances to our advantage. It took place on the 27th of laſt month; but unfortunately, notwithſtanding every attention on the part of lieutenant-colonel M'Kenzie, who commanded, it failed, from the intricacy of the roads and the timidity and ignorance of the guides; while it ſerved only to produce among the enemy a degree of vigilance, which ſoon convinced me of the impracticability of any further attempt by way of ſurprize.

On the morning of the 21ſt of September, the enemy, having lined the mountains above us with Hottentots and burgher militia, commenced a fire of muſquetry upon our camp, which, from the total want of effect that had attended a former attempt of the ſame nature, was little attended to, till unfortunately the piquet of the reſerve, being too much occupied with covering themſelves from it, neglected their front, from whence the enemy poured in conſiderable numbers, and forced them with ſome loſs. Captain Brown, with the 78th grenadiers, advancing however to their ſupport, the enemy were immediately driven down the hill again, and the ground of the piquets re-occupied. In this affair major Moneypenny, of the 78th, was ſeverely wounded; and we ſuffered a great loſs in being deprived of the aſſiſtance of an officer of diſtinguiſhed zeal and activity in the command of the reſerve, with which he had been charged ſince our march from Simon's Town. Captain Dentaffe, of the St. Helena troops, was alſo wounded.

In a conference with ſir George Elphinſtone, on the 2d of September, it was agreed to wait ſix days longer for the poſſibility of the arrival of general Clarke, and that if he did not appear by that time I ſhould then advance, and under every diſadvantage of numbers and ſituation, try the fortune of an attack, which, however hazardous, we deemed it our duty to make, before the total failure of our proviſions put us under an abſolute neceſſity of ſeeking a ſupply elſewhere.

On the morning of the 3d, however, the enemy, encouraged by the little ſucceſs which had attended our attempt on the 1ſt, meditated a general attack on our camp, which in all probability would have been deciſive of the fate of the colony: they advanced in the night with all the ſtrength they could muſter, and with a train of not leſs than 18 field pieces. Some movements which had been obſerved the preceding evening had given me a ſuſpicion of their intention, and we were perfectly prepared to receive them. They were on their march, and conſiderable bodies began to make their appearance within our view, when at that critical moment the ſignal for a fleet firſt diſconcerted them, and the appearance of 14 ſail of large veſſels, which came in ſight immediately after, induced them to relinquiſh their enterprize, and retire to their former poſts. General Clarke came to an anchor in Simon's Bay the next morning; and for the ſubſequent events, which have been attended with the capture of this important colony, I do myſelf the honour to refer you to his account; truſting that his majeſty and our country will do me, and the troops and ſeamen under my command, the juſtice to believe, that it has not been owing to any want of zeal, or of a chearful determination to encounter every hazard in the neceſſary diſcharge of our duty, that the ſame event did not take place during the period in which we were left to ourſelves. Under the circumſtances of our ſituation, I did not think the attempt juſtifiable, unleſs compelled to it by neceſſity; but we were at the ſame time fully reſolved not to retire, in any event, without making that attempt, which, whether ſucceſsful or not, would at leaſt have been a proof of our zeal for his majeſty's ſervice.

It is impoſſible for me to cloſe this report, ſir, without making my acknowledgments to lieut. colonel M'Kenzie, of the 78th, major Hill, of the marines, and the captains Hardy and Spranger, of the Echo and Rattleſnake ſloops, who commanded the two battalions of ſeamen. Animated by the exertions of theſe officers, the troops and ſeamen have undergone great fatigue and hardſhips with a chearful reſignation, and have encountered a more numerous enemy with an active ſpirit, which entitles them to the moſt favourable report from me to his majeſty. Lieutenant Campbell, of the Echo, who commanded a company of ſeamen, which I formed into a light company, merits alſo that I ſhould notice his indefatigable zeal, and the ability with which he conducted the ſervice in which his company was conſtantly employed. To this, ſir, I have only to add, that my ſenſe of the obligation I am under to ſir George Elphinſtone is ſuch, as I ſhould not do juſtice to in an attempt to expreſs it; his advice, his active aſſiſtance, and cordial co-operation on every occaſion have never been wanting, and entitle him to my warmeſt gratitude.

I have the honour to be,
with the greateſt reſpect, ſir,
your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
J. H. Craig, major-general.

I have the honour to encloſe a return of the killed and wounded during the period of my command.

Right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, &c.

[Then follows a return of the killed, wounded, and miſſing, of the troops and ſeamen under the command of major-general Craig, between the 7th of Auguſt and the 3d of September, 1795; amounting in the whole to three rank and file killed; 1 major, 2 captains, 1 ſubaltern, 1 drummer, 32 rank and file wounded; 5 rank and file miſſing.]

Names of the officers wounded.

Major Moneypenny, of the 78th regiment; captain Hercules Scott, of ditto; captain Dentaffe, of St. Helena corps; Mr. Hardy, midſhipman, R. N.

J. H. Craig, major-gen.

Cape Town,
Sir, *September* 23, 1795.

MY letter from St. Salvador by the Chatham brig, will have acquainted you of our leaving that place; and I have now the honour to inform you, that all the India company's ſhips having troops on board, arrived off the Cape of Good Hope on the 3d, and entered Simon's Bay on the 4th inſtant, where I found the admiral in poſſeſſion of the harbour, and major-general Craig at Muyzenberg, a poſt of importance, about ſix miles on the road to this place, with a corps compoſed of ſeamen and marines from the fleet, ſix companies of the 78th regiment that came in it, and a detachment of the Eaſt-India company's troops from St. Helena, amounting in all to about 1900 men, and the enemy, who had peremptorily rejected all negotiation, in a ſtate of active hoſtility againſt us. Under theſe circumſtances it became neceſſary to endeavour to effect the execution of our orders without loſs of time; I therefore, in conjunction with, and aided by the admiral, diſembarked the regiments,

ments, artillery, and neceſſary ſtores, and forwarded them to the advanced poſt as faſt as poſſible, where, through his ardent zeal for the public ſervice and indefatigable exertions, as much proviſion was collected as we hoped might enable us to ſit down before the town, and go on till we could communicate with our ſhips in Table Bay, or draw ſome aſſiſtance from the country behind us: and having made the beſt arrangement we could for tranſporting our proviſions, guns, ſtores, ammunition, and neceſſary articles of every kind, by the only means in our power, men's labour, we marched on the 14th from Muyzenberg, leaving a ſufficient detachment for the protection of our camp and ſtores at that place. The enemy could ſee all our motions, and the country through which we were to paſs for ſeveral miles being very favourable to the ſort of warfare that it was their buſineſs to purſue (many of them being on horſeback, and armed with guns that kill at a great diſtance) I had reaſon to think we might be greatly haraſſed, and ſuffer much on our route. Our loſs, however, from the precautions taken and the ſhyneſs of the enemy, fortunately proved leſs than might have been expected, having only one ſeaman killed and ſeventeen ſoldiers wounded in our progreſs to the poſt of Wyneberg, where the enemy were in force, with nine pieces of cannon, and had determined, as we are told, to make ſerious reſiſtance.—But having formed the army from columns of march in two lines, and made a detachment from my right and left to attack both their flanks, while I advanced with the main body and artillery, (which, much to the credit of major Yorke, was extremely well conducted and ſerved) againſt their centre, they found themſelves ſo preſſed by us, and at the ſame time alarmed by the appearance of commodore Blankett with three ſhips the admiral had detached into Table Bay, to cauſe a diverſion on that ſide of which they were very jealous, that they retired with the loſs of a few men from our cannon, before we could gain the top of the hill; from whence we followed them cloſe for two miles; but dark coming on, and great part of the troops being much fatigued by the burdens they carried, and the haraſſment they met with through very ſwampy ground in the courſe of the day, I determined to halt for the night in the poſition I found myſelf, which proved favourable for the purpoſe, with the intention of proſecuting my march at daylight next morning. In this ſituation an officer arrived with a flag and letter from Governor Sluyſkin, aſking a ceſſation of arms for 48 hours to arrange and offer propoſals for ſurrendering the town; but I did not think it prudent to grant more than 24, in which time every thing was ſettled agreeably to the articles of capitulation that I have the honour to encloſe, whereby the regular troops that formed the garriſon became priſoners of war, and his majeſty was put into the full poſſeſſion of the town and colony, which I hope will prove acceptable to him, and juſtify the commendation and report that I think it my duty to make of the meritorious ſervices of all the officers, ſoldiers, ſeamen, and marines that have been employed in this arduous ſervice.—The difficulties and hardſhips that great part of them have experienced are extreme, and the perſeverance and chearfulneſs with which they were encountered, do them the higheſt credit, and, I am perſuaded, will recommend them all in the ſtrongeſt manner to his majeſty's favour.

The general character of ſir George Keith Elphinſtone, and his ardent deſire to ſerve his country, are too well known to receive additional luſtre from any thing I could ſay upon that ſubject; but I ſhould do injuſtice to my own feelings if I did not expreſs the obligations I am under for the ready co-operation and aſſiſtance that he afforded upon every occaſion, which ſo eminently contributed to the ſucceſsful iſſue of our joint endeavours.

The arrangements made by major-general Craig previous to my arrival, and the active ſervices he rendered afterwards, claim my thanks, and furniſh the beſt proof of his having conducted his majeſty's ſervice in a manner honourable to himſelf, and beneficial to his country.

Lieutenant-colonel M'Murdoc, deputy quarter-maſter-general to the expedition under my orders, will have the honour of delivering this diſpatch. He is well qualified to give you every information that his ſhort reſidence here will admit; and I take the liberty, ſir, of recommending this old and moſt valuable officer to your good offices and his majeſty's favour.

I have the honour to be,
with the higheſt reſpect and regard,
Sir,
your moſt obedient and moſt
faithful humble ſervant,
Alured Clarke.

P. S. The quantity of ordnance, ammunition, naval and other ſtores that we find here is very conſiderable; but as there is not time to have it examined, and proper inventories made before the departure of the ſhip which conveys theſe diſpatches, we muſt defer ſending ſuch documents as may be thought neceſſary upon this ſubject till another opportunity.

The regular troops made priſoners of war amount to about one thouſand, ſix hundred of which are of the regiment of Gordon, and the reſt principally of the corps of artillery. Encloſed is a return of the killed and wounded on the 14th inſtant. A. C.

Articles of Capitulation propoſed by the honourable commiſſary and council of regency of the Cape of Good Hope, to general Alured Clarke, commanding his Britannic majeſty's troops, and to vice-admiral the honourable ſir George Keith Elphinſtone, K. B. commanding the ſhips of war of his ſaid majeſty.

Art. I. The caſtle and the town ſhall be ſurrendered to the troops of his Britannic majeſty.

Anſ. The capitulation being ſigned, the caſtle and the town muſt be ſurrendered to a detachment of his Britannic majeſty's troops at eleven o'clock this day.

Art. II. The military ſhall march out with the honours of war, and ſhall then lay down their arms and become priſoners of war; but the officers ſhall retain their ſwords.

Anſ. Agreed.

Art. III. Such officers as ſhall be deſirous of leaving the colony ſhall have permiſſion to do ſo, they giving their parole of honour that they will not ſerve againſt Great Britain during the preſent war; and there ſhall be no impediment to their going home in neutral ſhips, if they chuſe it, at their own expence.

Anſ. Agreed; and in the mean-time they ſhall remain priſoners on their parole at the Cape Town.

Art. IV. Such officers as chuſe to remain here without ſervice ſhall have leave ſo to do.

Anſ. Agreed.

Art. V. All property belonging to the Dutch Eaſt India Company ſhall be faithfully delivered up without reſervation, and proper inventories furniſhed to ſuch officers as ſhall be appointed to receive it; but all private property of every ſort, whether belonging to the company's civil, naval, or military ſervants, to the burghers and inhabitants, to churches, orphans, or public inſtitutions, ſhall remain free and untouched.

Anſ. Agreed, in its fulleſt latitude.

Art. VI. Servants of the company out of pay, or in the ſervice of the burghers, deſirous of remaining in the colony, ſhall be permitted to do ſo.

Anſ. Agreed.

Art. VII. The inhabitants of the colony ſhall preſerve the prerogatives which they at preſent enjoy. Public worſhip, as at preſent in uſe, ſhall alſo be maintained without alteration.

Anſ. Agreed.

Art. VIII. His Britannic majeſty ſhall continue the paper money in its preſent value, to prevent the total ruin of the inhabitants.

Anſ. Agreed.

Art. IX. No new taxes ſhall be introduced, but the preſent ones ſhall be modified as much as poſſible in conſideration of the decay of the colony.

Anſ. Agreed.

Art. X. The commiſſary, as governor, being priſoner of war, ſhall, after having delivered up what belongs to the company, be at liberty to depart from hence on his parole of honour, and may, if he chuſes it, take his paſſage on board a neutral ſhip.

Anſ. Agreed.

Art. XI. He ſhall alſo be permitted to carry along with him, or to realize all his private property of every ſort, giving his word of honour as to its being really ſuch.

Anſ. Agreed.

Art. XII. He ſhall likewiſe have permiſſion, after having faithfully delivered up all papers, plans, &c. belonging to this government, to retain all papers belonging to himſelf, and which may appear neceſſary to him for the vindication of his conduct during the time of his miniſtry, in the ſame manner as he might have done, had he been diſcharged by his ſovereign.

Anſ. Agreed.

Art. XIII. No perſons whatever, whether ſervants of the company, ſeamen, military, burghers, or others belonging to the colony, ſhall be preſſed into his Britannic majeſty's ſervice, or engaged but by their own free-will and conſent.

Anſ. Agreed.

(Signed)
ALURED CLARKE, General.
GEO. KEITH ELPHINSTONE,
Vice-Admiral.

Additional Article.—It having been repreſented to us, that the utmoſt confuſion muſt enſue in the colony, and that it would, in all probability be attended with the entire ruin of it, if the paper money now circulating in it were deprived of that ſecurity which can alone give any effect to the eighth article, we therefore conſent, that the lands and houſes, the property of the Dutch Eaſt India company in this ſettlement, ſhall continue the ſecurity of that part of the money which is not already ſecured by mortgages upon the eſtates of individuals, by its having been lent to them. This is to be, however, without prejudice to the government of Great Britain having the uſe of the buildings, &c. for public purpoſes. And we will further repreſent to his majeſty's government the infinite importance of this ſubject to the future proſperity of the colony, and requeſt that they will take it into conſideration, in order to make ſuch arrangements as may appear proper for its further ſecurity, if neceſſary, or for its final liquidation, if practicable.

(Signed)
Alured Clarke, General.
Geo. Keith Elphinstone,
Vice-admiral.

Copy of tranſlation,
John Jackson.

Return of the killed and wounded of the troops and ſeamen under the command of general Alured Clarke, on the 14th of September, 1795.

78th grenadiers. 2 rank and file wounded.

84th ditto. 1 rank and file wounded.

95th ditto. 4 rank and file wounded.

98th ditto. 2 rank and file wounded.

78th light infantry. 2 rank and file wounded.

95th ditto. 2 rank and file wounded.

St. Helena Company. 1 ſerjeant, 2 rank and file wounded.

98th regiment. 1 rank and file wounded.

Light company of ſeamen. 1 rank and file killed.

Total. 1 rank and file killed, 1 ſerjeant, 16 rank and file wounded.

Walter Cliffe,
Dep. Adj. Gen.

Extract of a letter from vice-admiral the hon. ſir G. K. Elphinſtone, K. B. to Mr. Secretary Dundas, dated on board his majeſty's ſhip Monarch, Table-Bay, Cape of Good Hope, September 23, 1795.

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that on the 3d inſtant, the India ſhips from Salvador arrived in Falſe Bay; his majeſty's ſhip Sphynx, which ſailed with them, having met with an accident, was obliged to return to the former place for repair.

On the 4th general Clarke came into the harbour, and on a conference with him it was determined to land the troops without a moment's loſs of time; but, notwithſtanding the utmoſt exertion of the troops and ſeamen, it was the 14th before proviſions, guns, ammunition, &c. could be collected to enable the general to move forward from the camp at Muyzenberg.

On the morning of that day the army marched, each man carrying four days proviſion, and the volunteer ſeamen from the India ſhips dragging the cannon through a deep ſand: the country being difficult to proceed on, they were conſiderably galled by the enemy during a fatiguing march performed in hot weather.

At Wyneberg the bulk of the Dutch made a ſtand, but were ſoon diſlodged by his majeſty's forces; and nearly at the ſame moment commodore Blankett, whom I had previouſly detached for the expreſs purpoſe of alarming the enemy, and giving them a diverſion on the Cape Town ſide, appeared off Camps Bay, with the America, Echo, Rattleſnake, and Bombay Caſtle India ſhip, and performed that ſervice in the completeſt manner. At eleven P. M. the commiſſary Sluyſkin ſent in a flag of truce to demand a ceſſation of arms for 48 hours; and on the following morning the colony was ſurrendered to his majeſty.

I cannot conclude this letter without acknowledging the conſolation I have derived from the friendly aſſiſtance and advice of major-general Craig, during a tedious ſojournment before this place, under many diſtreſſing circumſtances; and it is a real pleaſure to add, that, with him, and alſo ſince the arrival of general Clarke, the ſame ſentiments ſeem to have actuated the minds of the officers to whom his majeſty has been pleaſed to entruſt the conduct of the expedition.

I beg leave to notice the eminent ſervices of captains Hardy and Spranger; the conduct of the officers, and of the ſea and marine corps, is alſo truly praiſe-worthy, and will be acceptable to his majeſty: the readineſs with which the ſeamen of the India ſhips, under the command of captain Acland, of the Brunſwick, offered their ſervice, gave me the higheſt ſatisfaction; indeed all ranks of men bore this long ſervice, during bad weather, with the utmoſt chearfulneſs, though often unavoidably ill fed, and attended with great fatigue.

My anxiety to diſpatch the Orpheus, and the ſhort time ſince our obtaining poſſeſſion, will, I hope, plead my excuſe for not tranſmitting, by this opportunity, a return of the naval ſtores taken, which I underſtand are conſiderable; but the variety of other circumſtances at preſent occupying my mind have hitherto prevented my attending to that point.

Admiralty Office,
Nov. 23, 1795.

A diſpatch, of which the following is an extract, has been this day received from vice-admiral the hon. ſir George Keith Elphinſtone, K. B. dated on board his majeſty's ſhip Monarch, in Table Bay, September 23, 1795.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, for the information of my lords commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that on the 16th inſtant, the colony and caſtle of the Cape of Good Hope ſurrendered by capitulation to the Britiſh arms, in conſequence of which I proceeded in the Monarch to this Bay, whither I had previouſly diſpatched commodore Blankett, in the America, with the two ſloops and an India ſhip, for the purpoſe of raiſing an alarm on the Cape Town ſide, in which he ſucceeded admirably.

This event has given me great ſatisfaction; not only from the fortunate termination, but alſo from the relief it affords to the officers, ſeamen and marines of the fleet under my command, after a laborious ſervice for a length of time, wherein they were continually fatigued, and often unavoidably ill fed. They merit my warmeſt thanks, to which the volunteer ſeamen from the Eaſt India Company's ſhips are alſo entitled, for their readineſs in undertaking to draw the cannon, and the chearfulneſs with which they performed that duty; and I muſt more particularly beg leave to notice the eminent ſervices of captains Hardy and Spranger, which, however, are more fully deſcribed in a letter from major-general Craig to me, a copy of which I have the honour to encloſe, together with a liſt of promotions, wherein you will perceive I had given the command of the Princeſs to captain Hardy, whoſe acknowledged merit will, I truſt, juſtify my election, and recommend him to their lordſhips' confirmation. This ſhip is one of thoſe found in Simon's Bay, called by the Dutch Wilhemſtadt and Boetzlaar, of 1000 tons burthen, mounting 26 guns, and moſt completely found, with copper in the hold ſufficient to ſheath her.

The ſhip Caſtor, and Star armed brig, late belonging to the Dutch Eaſt India company, were found at anchor in this bay; the latter being fit for his majeſty's ſervice and much wanted, I have alſo preſumed to commiſſion her.

Abſtract of Minutes of the Evidence taken before the Committee of Council appointed for the conſideration of all matters relating to Trade and Foreign Plantations, in reſpect to the Stock of Grain in this Country, and its Price ſubſequent to the Harveſt of 1794, *and reſpecting the Produce of the Harveſt of the preſent Year; the preſent and probable Price of Grain in this Country till the enſuing Harveſt; and the Means of procuring a Supply to make good the Deficiency in the Produce of this Country; with other Proceedings thereupon, from Jan.* 31, 1795, *to Aug.* 6, 1795; *and of the Evidence before the Lords of the Privy Council to the like effect, from April* 27, 1795, *to November* 5, 1795.

THE reſult of various enquiries was, an opinion that the crop of 1794 was very defective, and not likely to be ſufficient for the uſual conſumption; that a ſupply was purchaſed at Dantzig; and that private merchants would ſpeculate in purchaſes, which would depend on the relative prices in the markets abroad and in England in the ſpring, where thoſe purchaſes would be deſtined. The crops in America were too ſhort, and the price too high, to bring it to England, though the French orders were not limited to quality or price. The laſt crop in Canada was plentiful and good, and might be looked for in July, and from the Baltic in May. Spain and Portugal had ſcanty harveſts; the latter no grain to ſpare. In Sicily crops had failed, and exportation was prohibited. Nothing was to be had in time from Egypt or Turkey. The riſe of the price of wheat in London was gradual, owing to the exhauſted ſtocks of wheat and flour in the hands of the millers and dealers at harveſt-time, and additional buyers in London. The froſt raiſed flour 2*s.* a ſack, and, if it continued would cauſe a farther riſe, to enable the millers to ſupply London by land-carriage. Leaving more bran, &c. in the flour would increaſe the quantity of bread, but make it leſs nutritive. Mr. Arthur Young ſtated the laſt crop deficient, not full one-fifth below the average of ten years; ſo it was 1788; worſe 1789; yet the prices of that crop till harveſt 1790 did not amount, on an average throughout the kingdom, to more than 7*s.* a buſhel. He thought importation bore no proportion to the want; and that the Albion mills had reduced the price of flour. Mr. Sheredine, the king's baker and purveyor of bread, thought that the increaſe of one-penny on the quartern loaf of houſehold would give a profit to the baker, and make it preferred. By governor Pownall's bill the aſſize was ſet low, and there was no bread of the whole meal, it being intended to lay a check on both mealman and baker; but in this the bill failed. If only one ſort of flour was allowed to be made, the mealman would be obliged to make it, and could have no ſale for the finer. If the miller was forced by parliament to dreſs his flour coarſer, it would increaſe the quantity from a given quantity of wheat, as it would take in the finer pollards, which are now, in the common mode of manufacturing, entirely ſeparated from the flour, the expence of manufacturing would be cheaper, and the flour ſooner fit for uſe. The beſt and moſt wholeſome bread is made from flour that contained the whole of the meal, with the broad bran only taken out; and the fine pollards contain a ſweet oily ſubſtance, that prevents the bread from drying in ſo ſhort a time as bread made from fine flour only. Brown-bread flour, manufactured in the beſt manner from the whole of the wheat, with the broad bran only taken out, may be ground to-day, dreſſed to-morrow, and uſed next day. The poor will not buy the coarſer bread if they can buy better, nor be ſatisfied unleſs they give the higheſt price. No bread is now made in London for ſale but the fine wheaten. The parliamentary houſehold bread ſhould be made from the whole meal, the broad bran only being taken out; which may be aſcertained either by dreſſing it through a cloth, or wire, woven with a certain number of threads or wire in an inch. What is called a 14*s.* cloth is generally underſtood to be proper for uſe. This flour would bake into ſuch bread as is made in gentlemen's families, where the wheat has been ground in their own mill, and no tricks played with it. If parliament would give the ſame encouragement to the baker for making bread from the flour as here ſtated, as they now have for baking the fine houſhold flour, the millers would be willing to manufacture for that purpoſe. Flour from Indian corn mixed with wheat would give it a yellow caſt; but a ſmall quantity improves ordinary flour very much. White peas are ſometimes ground with it in ſmall quantities. If the Albion mills had ground to the hire it would not have been a profitable concern, which is the caſe with common millers: they are, therefore, all mealmen. The Albion mills cauſed a competition, which reduced the profit to the millers in general. No wheat is uſed in diſtilling, nor any objection thence to prohibit the uſe of wheat and wheat flour entirely, or carrying any kind of corn coaſtwiſe from one part of the united kingdom to another.

Mr. Stonard, ſtarch-maker, ſaid there was no law confining the making of ſtarch to wheat, which made it whiter. No profit on the trouble of making it of rice; and ſtarch merely for waſhing might be made of barley. The Eaſt India Company's ſcarlet cloths require ſtarch in dying; and it is uſeful to the paper trade for packing it.

Peas and beans might be uſed to make it; but potatoe ſtarch has no body, and is made with great waſte;

it can only be made of vegetable ſubſtances; and the number of hogs fed from the offal of it is a conſiderable object. The committee appointed by the lord-mayor and court of aldermen were of opinion, that the mode by which the prices of wheat and flour have been collected under the act of 31 Geo. II. c. 6, by which the aſſize of bread is regulated, is not efficient to the purpoſe of obtaining the true prices of all the wheat and flour within the juriſdiction of the city of London; and they propoſe that a proper perſon ſhould collect from the meters office an account of all wheat delivered for making bread, and demand of the different ſellers of wheat, the price at which each parcel was ſold, the average price of the quantity delivered in a week may become the return on which the aſſize of bread for the next week may be fixed, and that the price of all flour delivered to bakers within the Bills of Mortality in a week be the average whereon to fix the aſſize of bread for the ſubſequent week. This report was not attended to, becauſe the aſſize is regulated by the price of flour, not of wheat, and the efficacy of the meaſure was doubtful. In the month of June, the uſual quantity of wheat brought into the London market fell off full one-half, and flour as believed, in the ſame proportion. The whole quantity of wheat that could be exported from the Baltic was 200,000 quarters; of which our Government purchaſed 120,000; of the remaining 80,000, part would go to France direct, and part thither through Denmark. Very little expectation of importation from America from the old harveſt, and from the new none before November. The lords of the council met regularly every Wedneſday from that time, received amounts of wheat and other grain imported or taken on board neutral or other veſſels, and diſtributed it to the beſt of their judgment to the different parts of the country that wanted it, many places being reduced to three or four days' conſumption. The lord-mayor and the city members attended with their plan of relieving their juriſdiction by ſubſcription, as did the bakers company, to ſtate the difficulty in ſetting the aſſize of ſtandard wheaten bread, ſo as to make it anſwer to the bakers to ſell it. By July 8, there had arrived 22,000 quarters of foreign wheat; 6,000 were diſpoſed of to the millers near London from 82*s.* to 84*s.* per quarter, and one quarter at 86*s.* The diſuſe of hair-powder was deemed not of ſufficient conſequence; it is made of ſtarch, and ſometimes of ground rice; the quantity of ſtarch ſo applied is about one-third; very little ſtarch is made at preſent. The ſoldiers uſed flour for powder. In conſequence of a report from the attorney and ſolicitor general and ſerjeant Adair, the lords of the council ſtated, that many difficulties had preſented themſelves with reſpect to any meaſure for fixing the aſſize of ſtandard wheaten bread contrary to that ſettled by 13th of his preſent majeſty, ſo as to induce the baker to ſell it, ſo that they had come to no reſolution thereon. Subſcriptions were therefore ſubſtituted. The lords were, however, clearly of opinion, that the lord mayor and court of aldermen ſhould ſet the aſſize of ſtandard wheaten bread, and that it ſhould be publicly known that it is ſo ſet, agreeably to 31 Geo. II. § 3.

The whole quantity of wheat in hand, July 22, 64,340 quarters: flour, 12,055 barrels. There being a diſpoſition to ſtop corn and flour in their paſſage to different parts of the kingdom, the lords declare that there is reaſon to hope the ſtock, with the foreign ſupply, will laſt till harveſt; that exportation was prohibited; and that the magiſtrates muſt do their duty; and troops were ordered to protect the free circulation. 6,000 quarters were put up to ſale in the London market, and 7,000, Monday, July 27. The weekly conſumption of flour at Norwich is from 600 to 700 ſacks. Some places were ſupplied by prize-ſhips brought into the neareſt port; others from London.

Auguſt 5, the whole quantity of wheat in England undiſpoſed of was 24,760 quarters—Aug. 12, 18,450—Auguſt 19, 13,720.—Auguſt 26, 15,450.—Sept. 2, 22,430.—No return till Oct. 3, 33,200, and exported from the Baltic 46,000—Oct. 17, 22,600—Oct. 21, 31,000—Oct. 28, 9,330—Oct. 31, Canada wheat ſold from 72*s.* to 77*s.* per quarter.

At Workington and Whitehaven the people were perfectly ſatisfied with bread made of barley and rye. Fifty-ſix ſhips were ſent to Quebec, of which only 28 arrived at different ports in England, and the obtaining the farther quantity was very doubtful in conſequence of the immenſe demand for flour in Newfoundland, and for his majeſty's ſervice in Nova Scotia and the Weſt Indies. What arrived was the greateſt part heated, from being ſhipped in hot weather; but it would probably recover. The demand for foreign wheat increaſing, Mr. Claude Scott, the agent for government, was ordered, Oct. 1. to ſell in each week in that month, in the London market, 5,000 quarters, taking care to diminiſh in proportion to the quantity of Britiſh wheat brought in. A bill was preparing in October, to prohibit making ſtarch from wheat, and for permiting the importation of ſtarch at a duty not exceeding the inland duty now payable on ſtarch made within the kingdom. Free exportation of wheat permitted at Dantzic, and the price declining. Mr. Scott applied for a greater ſupply for the London market, the demand being ſo preſſing that country millers came 60 miles for it. "The price of wheat remained very high in Holland, as the purchaſers for that market did not enjoy the ſame degree of confidence for the preſent as the Engliſh. The French convention was making very liberal propoſals to contract for quantities to any extent, *to be delivered in France*; whence it was to be inferred, that the crops in France had not turned out ſo well as would appear from the accounts in the news-papers; but it was not to be ſuppoſed that any body would enter into a direct contract with the convention, as payment might be ſubject to ſuch delays and altercation," &c. Extract of a letter from Dantzic, Sept. 15, 1795. Meſſrs. Helicars, in a letter from Briſtol to Lord Hawkeſbury, Oct. 8, 1795, obſerve, that "the conſequence of the late ſcarcity would have been more ſerious had not the calamity been relieved by the foreign importation on government account; a ſpeculation truly juſtifiable, becauſe the principle, we preſume, aroſe from the conduct of that nation we are at war with; for it is a fair inference, that no individual merchant can or would riſk his property in a trade wherein he had to meet the agents of a nation, the ſupport of whoſe chimerical conſtitution depends on a ſupply of food; and, to attain which, no ſacrifice of property was an obſtacle; therefore, that nation, whoſe exigences were urgent, was compelled to embark at the national coſt, or render no relief. Thus, while we beg to pay our tribute of acknowledgment for that ſeaſonable precaution, allow us to expreſs our opinion that, when the cauſes of juſtification ceaſe, the ſcheme ſhould alſo; for, except in caſes ſo extraordinary, the ſupplies of grain will find their way to market through the merchant (under regular and permanent laws, adapted to relieve the manufacturer, as well as prudently encourage the farmer), with greater facility, more ſteadineſs, and leſs expence, than through the medium of any government.

"In the counties of Hereford, Monmouth, Worceſter, Glouceſter, Wilts, Somerſet, and Devon, the harveſt, in point of weather for ſaving it, has been univerſal, and the crop of ſpring-ſown grain never known to be more abundant; but one general opinion prevails of the defectiveneſs of the crop of wheat, which may be aſcribed to two cauſes; the deſtruction of the plant by ſevere froſts laſt winter, when the ground was not covered with ſnow, and the effect of a few froſty nights, when the wheat was in bloſſom, injuring the top of the ear from filling, and which now affects the yielding very materially. To exemplify it more clearly, the eſtimation prevails, that the ſtock of old and new Britiſh wheat, on Sept. 29, 1795, was one-third ſhort of the ſtock of old and new, Sept. 29, 1794; and it is a moſt lamentable circumſtance to look forward to, when we review the evils likely to reſult from the late dearth. A frugal uſe of wheat recommended, and introducing ſubſtitutes for it in the make of bread, will alleviate in a ſmall degree. The free circulation of corn inland ſhould have every attention and ſupport; for, the late diſtreſs was greater than the ſtock in the growers hands juſtified, had no interruption been given by mobs under the ſanction of men who ought to have known their duty better. In many diſtricts of only 20 miles, the difference in price was full 10*s.* to 20*s.* per quarter more than it ought to have been, comparatively ſpeaking. To theſe two objects, we moſt humbly ſuggeſt to your lordſhips, ſhould be united that of a timely foreign ſupply, either by bounty, to encourage the merchants, ſhould the markets be free and open; or, in caſe they were reſorted to as laſt year, we conceive the national purſe cannot be opened for a more laudable purpoſe than ſuch national neceſſities as the property of individuals is inadequate to. The average conſumption of Briſtol, and the places immediately dependent on it, is about 2,000 ſacks, or 250 tons of flour; and the effect of inland ſituations reſorting for relief cannot be more fully elucidated than by reference to the failure of 1774, when 60,000 quarters of wheat, and upwards of 50,000 barrels of flour were imported in twelve months, and circulated in all the adjacent counties."

Engliſh wheat ſold at the London market, Oct. 18, at 96*s.* to 98*s.* per quarter, 1,500 quarters, an advance of 6*s.* per quarter on the laſt market-day's price; government wheat from 60*s.* to 82*s.* per quarter, 5,000 quarters, and more could have been ſold had it been freſh and ſweet.

The different cornfactors ſtated, that the wheat of this year was, in Dorſet, in part blighted, which made it produce leſs; the general average defective, but the defect partial. About Yarmouth, the crops one quarter-meaſure per acre, and 2 lb. the buſhel heavier, than laſt year. In Kent very defective; and in the fens of Lincolnſhire a material deficiency: all owing to the blight. In Hertfordſhire, 15 buſhels per acre inſtead of 22 or 23. The ſmall ſupply brought to London ſince the laſt harveſt, owing to the deficiency in this year's crop, and the old ſtock being exhauſted, the difficulty of procuring a crop from the additional labour in threſhing, ariſing from the defective quality of the ſheaves, the demand for ſeed-wheat, which perhaps this year exceeds the demand of ordinary years, as the high price leads the farmer to ſow more ſeed. Wheat is generally one-tenth of the produce this year; it will be more; and the great part of the ſupply which uſed to come to London is drawn off in conſequence of the home demand, and the demand of other diſtricts where the crop has been ſhort. The ſupply will increaſe when the ſeed-time is over, which will be about the middle of November. No idea of the ſupply being withheld in conſequence of combinations, which are believed impoſſible. Barley generally underſtood to be abundant. Oats a good crop, but not ſo many ſown as before, but more wheat. Peas a good crop. In Dorſet, people reſort to barley bread, that grain being plentiful; but probably, while ſo applied, the price will not be ſo reaſonable as might be expected from the crop.

Another cornfactor ſtates the deficiency of ſupply ariſing from the ſeed-time to be not greater at preſent, as to Engliſh wheat, than it has been for the laſt 30 years, but the price and demand much greater than in any part of that period. This demand ariſes from the neighbouring counties being entirely without any ſtock of old wheat, and ſending for it to London. The defect is more in the want of flour, which is owing to the millers and mealmen being wholly without any ſtock of it; and that again is owing to the great want of wheat, and the high price of it for the laſt three months. The farmers in Eſſex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, are threſhing out barley, fearing the price of that grain will fall, and not that of wheat; and its produce was very abundant, not leſs than five quarters per acre. The poorer people rejected ſtandard wheaten bread, not ſo much becauſe they thought it unwholeſome, or did not like it, but becauſe it was not univerſal: if there was no other ſort, they would be content to eat it.

Another ſays, the wheat was in general thin on the ground, and yields ill; in conſequence of blight, the crop of cone wheat is particularly bad; aſcribes the want of ſupply to a ſickneſs among the labourers, reduced from five or ſix in a barn to one or two; and the late rains have rendered the ground favourable for ſowing, to which the farmers apply the corn as faſt as threſhed. The increaſe will probably be conſiderable, as the markets in October are generally thin; but it will not be great till the ſeed-time is over. The crop of wheat not ſo bad as to juſtify the preſent high price, though it will be probably higher than laſt year. He does not believe the poorer inhabitants of the kingdom will be induced to eat bread made of other ſorts of grain. The finer bread is uſed in the poorer parts of the town, ſuch as Spitalfields, &c. On the borders of Eſſex, the magiſtrates enforced the uſe of the ſtandard wheaten bread; but the poor did not like it, and thought it did not go ſo far, and the magiſtrates now ſuffer the finer wheaten to be made. He agrees with the poor in opinion that ſtandard wheaten bread does not go ſo far as the fine wheaten bread. If an inferior ſort of bread is to be made, it ſhould be univerſal; but if this bread was made wholly of Engliſh wheat, without any mixture of foreign, which is generally bad, it might be wholeſome.

Another ſtated the quantities of wheat ſold in the London market for the month of September, and firſt three weeks of October, in the laſt four years, as follows:

1792.		1793.	
Weeks.	Qrs.	Weeks.	Qrs.
Sept. 5.	21,204	4	12,987
Oct. 3.	15,223	3	13,827
1794.		1795.	
Weeks.	Qrs.	Weeks.	Qrs.
Sept. 4.	10,171	4	7,031
Oct. 3.	8,887	3	9,989

and that the price would be enormouſly high through the year, unleſs ſome ſubſtitute could be found for wheat, of which there is not enough to make bread till next harveſt.—Thinks bread of other grain would be liked, as it was by the poor at Rickmanſworth laſt year, when *given* to them.

All the reſpectable mealmen and cornfactors concurred in opinion as to the crops, price, and ſupply.

The crops in America 1793 and 1794 not good, and the price high on account of the quantities exported to France and the Weſt Indies, particularly the Havannah, and the advantageous ſpeculation it affords in Europe. The French miniſter purchaſed it in the two laſt and preſent years, and paid for it in gold coin, or by bullion, or by wine and brandy; the preſent contract is by certificates iſſued by the American government for part of the debts owing to France from the United States, which certificates amount to 800,000 dollars; but, as ſome of them do not bear ſo high an intereſt as 6 per cent. American ſtock, there will probably be a loſs on them of 20 per cent. The whole of the ſum paid by France in this mode may amount, including all deductions, to £.160,000. Moſt of the ſhips carrying wheat and flour to France, cleared out principally for Falmouth, and a market ſometimes to Hamburgh, and ſometimes to Spain and Portugal. The French government have ſuſtained great loſſes in this trade by captures of corn and money amounting to near £.200,000; and the American merchants made immenſe profits by the high price required for their flour exported on their own riſk. Even in the contracts now carried on, the loſſes are ſuppoſed, by well-informed perſons in America to be about £.60 per cent. A number of merchants in America, who conſidered the American debt owing to France as a collateral ſecurity, finding the debt is applied in the manner here ſtated, are diſcouraged from ſhipping proviſions on their own account; and the payments will not be ſo extenſive this year as the laſt; and ſome merchants at New York, who had made an agreement with M. Fauchet, the French miniſter, to ſend flour to France, and, in conſequence, had drawn bills to a large amount in England, on a ſuppoſition that the money would be paid in France, and brought to England in time to ſatisfy theſe bills, which has not been the caſe, are on this account in the greateſt diſtreſs. The quantity of wheat for exportation in the United States, is eſtimated at about a million of buſhels, of flour 1,100,000 barrels.

The diviſions and their weight were ſtated, alſo the price of flour made of wheat and barley in ſeveral proportions, and their produce per buſhel.

Mr. Wm. Malcolm, who drew up the reports of the counties of Surrey and Bucks, is the only perſon who ſuggeſts a combination of opulent farmers, who play with and feed the markets at their own prices; which demands the interference of parliament, to keep open the ports, offer bounties, prevent ſmuggling, compel the pitching of grain in the markets, enforce laws againſt engroſſing, foreſtalling, and regrating, and prevent combinations to raiſe the price of labour. He aſcribes the high price of grain to the great increaſe of population, the emigrants, the very great proportion of land converted from arable to paſture, increaſe of buildings and people in manufacturing towns, villages leſſened, and great towns, particularly London, increaſed nearly 1-8th.—The great quantity of potatoes grown this ſeaſon has leſſened the quantity of grain. He recommends numbering the people by the aſſeſſors of the taxes, to aſcertain the average produce ſufficient for them compared with the number of acres.

Mr. Malcolm ſuggeſts the following hints:—The immenſe quantity of meal uſed in the kitchens of large families, to ſupply a pint or two of ſoup for the table, muſt contribute to the great conſumption of wheat; and the vaſt number of ſmall pigs, weighing from 7 to 10lb. per quarter, called *delicates*, and ſold from 7d. to 8d. the lb. which would, if kept a few weeks longer, weigh from 15 to 20lb. the quarter, is another cauſe of the dearneſs of meat. In theſe times œconomy ſhould be ſet on foot in all families. The vaſt number of horſes kept for pleaſure and uſeleſs parade, muſt, by conſumption of oats and hay, prevent the growth of human food on the ſame ground. Houſe-lambs are another delicate that might be done without; and, if ſuffered to live a few months longer, would weigh more, and be of more uſe. We ſeem now to ſet in for a wet autumn, and of courſe a wet ſeed-time for wheat, which will be a cauſe of raiſing the price by men who ſpeculate in it. The difference in the price between the brown and white loaf is not ſufficient to tempt the poor to eat it. The brown ſhould be made of the whole produce of the wheat, with only a reduction of one-ninth of the weight for bran, &c.; and a buſhel of wheat, weighing, 63lb. ſhould ſend home to the owner 56lb. of meal, 6lb. of bran, and 1lb. loſt or waſte.

A bill was ordered to be prepared to prevent obſtructions to the free paſſage of grain and other proviſions throughout the kingdom. Nov. 2.

Recommended to the lord-mayor and aldermen, to take meaſures for preparing correcter aſſize-tables, to extend to bread made of white or houſehold wheaten flour, with one-third, one-fourth, or one-fifth of rye, barley, oats, and Indian-corn-flour, that the baker might have ſuch a profit as might encourage his making

ing it for ſale at ſuch a reduced price as ſhould encourage the purchaſer to take it.

Nov. 5. Mr. William Cramp, keeper of the houſe of correction at Lewes, Suſſex, gave an account of the mode of making ſtarch from horſe-cheſnuts. He put the cheſnuts firſt in water to ſwell them till they burſt, then took off the ſkin, and grated the kernel into freſh cold water. When that was done, he ſtrained it through a coarſe ſtrainer or cheeſe-cloth, rinſing the pulp well with freſh water, and then ſtrained it again through a very fine ſtrainer to take off the internal ſkin, or little thin red film next to the kernel. The ſtrainer cannot be too fine for this ſecond ſtraining; for, ſtarch will get through where water does. It was then left to ſettle five or ſix hours till the ſtarch was effectually ſettled at bottom. The water in which it was ſettled was poured off, and freſh water put on it, and all ſtirred up again, and left to ſettle a ſecond time, ſerving it in that manner two or three times till the ſtarch was bleached quite white; and, after it had again effectually ſettled, the laſt water was poured off, and it was put upon boards to dry. The whole proceſs in ſummer, when the weather is fine to dry it out of doors, may be finiſhed in four days, and the ſtarch will be fit to box up. It is better to dry it in the open air than on a ſtove, as the ſtove would probably dry it too faſt, and affect the colour, which was alſo the caſe unleſs the cheſnut was very clean of the inſide ſkin. The whole expence is in grating and breaking the kernels; and that of making 5lb. of ſtarch would not exceed 1*s.* 6*d.* One gallon of cheſnuts was enough for experiment. Mr. C. imagines that acorns would anſwer the ſame purpoſe, and might be ground along with the cheſnuts, but he had not tried. The proceſs of making ſtarch from cheſnuts and potatoes is exactly the ſame; and a buſhel of the latter, at 56lb. the buſhel, will make about 6lb. 4 oz. of ſtarch.

The Firſt Report from the Select Committee, appointed to take into conſideration the preſent high price of corn, printed Nov. 19, 1795, ſtates the firſt and moſt obvious mode of ſupplying the deficiency to be by the importation of grain from foreign ports, by the reſtoration of the trade in corn to its natural channel, with the additional encouragement of a bounty of 20*s.* per quarter on wheat, and a proportionate bounty per barrel of flour from Europe ſouth of Cape Finiſterre, or the ports in the Mediterranean or Africa, till the quantity of wheat and flour together ſhall equal 300,000 quarters, a bounty of 15*s.* per quarter on a certain quantity of wheat, and 10*s.* per quarter on all exceeding it from the other ports of Europe, and from America; and of 5*s.* per quarter, and in proportion on flour of Indian corn. A proclamation prohibiting the exportation and encouraging the importation from Feb. 13, 1795, until the expiration of ſix weeks from the commencement of the next ſeſſion of parliament. The Report on the aſſize of bread, Nov. 9, 1795, was that the old ſtandard bread made of flour the whole produce of the wheat, and weighing three quarters of the weight of wheat, would tend to prevent many inconveniencies which have ariſen in the aſſize and making of bread for ſale; and that the columns in the repealed act of 8 Anne would be the proper aſſize for the ſaid ſtandard wheat bread, a twelve-penny loaf of which would, on a medium, contain 1lb. of bread in eight more than the twelve-penny loaf of wheat made under 31. G. II.

The Report from the Committee of the Houſe of Commons 1774, to conſider the method practiſed in making flour from wheat, the prices thereof, and how far it may be expedient to put the ſame upon the regulations of an aſſize, was reprinted Nov. 9, 1795.

Account of the Experiments tried by the Board of Agriculture in the compoſition of various ſorts of Bread, November 10, 1795.

No. I.

Statement of the Weight, Price, &c. of the different articles made uſe of in the compoſition of Bread, exhibited before the Board of Agriculture, November 10, 1795.

	Price per Buſhel.	Total Price of each.	Weight of the Grain.	Weight per Buſhel.	Weight of the Flour.	Weight of the Bran.	Value of the Bran.	Value of the Flour per Pound.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	lbs.	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	Cwt. qrs. lbs.		
Three buſhels Wheat - -	— 13 —	1 19 —	1 2 8	58¾	1 1 14	0 0 19	—	—
Three buſhels Barley - -	— 5 6	— 16 6	1 0 26	46	1 0 4	0 0 17	—	—
Three buſhels Buck-Wheat	— 6 0	— 18 —	1 0 27	46¼	1 0 9	0 0 16	—	—
Three buſhels Indian Corn	— 7 6	1 2 6	1 1 18	53	1 0 20	0 0 26	—	—
Three buſhels Rye - -	— 6 6	— 19 6	1 1 22	54	1 0 17	0 1 0	—	—
Three buſhels Rice - -	1 3 —	3 9 —	1 2 16	61¼	1 2 13	—	—	—
Three buſhels Oats - -	— 4 —	— 12 —	1 0 3	38¼	0 2 14	0 1 13	—	—
Three buſhels Peaſe - -	— 5 6	— 16 6	1 2 5	57¾	1 0 18	0 1 8	—	—
Three buſhels boiling Peaſe	— 10 —	1 10 —	2 2 17	61¾	—	—	—	—
Three buſhels Potatoes - -	— 2 6	— 7 6	1 2 8	58½	—	—	—	—

No. II.

Liſt of the various Sorts of Bread exhibited before the Board of Agriculture November 10, 1795.

	Sort of Bread.			Price per Pound at the Rates ſpecified in Table No. I.
	Unmixed Bread.			
No. 1.	Beſt Wheaten Bread.			
2.	Standard Wheaten.			
3.	Houſehold.			
4.	Barley Bread.			
5.	Oat Bread.			
6.	Rye Bread.			
	Mixed Bread.			
	Wheat the Baſis.			
7.	One-third Wheat,	one-third Rice,	one-third Potatoes.	
8.	Ditto	one-third Beans,	Ditto.	
9.	Ditto	one-third Peaſe,	Ditto.	
10.	Ditto	one-third Maize,	Ditto.	
11.	Ditto	one third Rye,	Ditto.	
12.	Ditto	one-third Barley,	Ditto.	
13.	Ditto	one-third Buck,	Ditto.	
14.	Ditto	one-third Oats,	Ditto.	
15.	Ditto	two-thirds Rice.		
16.	Ditto	two-thirds Beans.		
17.	Ditto	two-thirds Peaſe.		
18.	Ditto	two-thirds Oats.		
19.	Ditto	two-thirds Barley.		
20.	Ditto	two-thirds Rye.		
21.	One-half Wheat,	one-half Rice.		
22.	Ditto	one-half Barley.		
23.	Ditto	one-half Rye.		
24.	Two-thirds Wheat,	one-third Rice.		
25.	Three-fourths ditto,	one-fourth Rice.		
26.	Two-thirds ditto,	one-third Barley.		
	Barley the Baſis.			
27.	One-third Barley,	one-third Rice,	one-third Potatoes.	
28.	Ditto	one third Beans,	Ditto.	
29.	Ditto	one-third Peaſe,	Ditto.	
30.	Ditto	one-third Maize;	Ditto.	
31.	Ditto	one-third Rye	Ditto.	
32.	Ditto	one-third Buck,	Ditto.	
33.	Ditto	one-third Oats;	Ditto.	
34.	Ditto	two-thirds Rice.		

SORT OF BREAD—*(continued).* *Mixed Bread*—(continued). Barley the Baſis—*(continued).*	Price per Pound at the Rates ſpecified in Table No. I.
35. One-third Barley, two-thirds Beans.	
36. Ditto two-thirds Peaſe.	
37. Ditto two-thirds Oats.	
38. Ditto two-thirds Rye.	
39. One-half Barley, one-half Rice.	
40. Ditto one-half Rye.	
41. Two-thirds ditto, one-third Rice.	
42. Three-fourths ditto, one-fourth Rice.	
Oats the Baſis.	
43. One-third Oats, one-third Rice, one-third Potatoes.	
44. Ditto one-third Beans, Ditto.	
45. Ditto one-third Peaſe, Ditto.	
46. Ditto one-third Maize, Ditto.	
47. Ditto one-third Rye, Ditto.	
48. Ditto one-third Buck, Ditto.	
49. Ditto two-thirds Rice.	
50. Ditto two-thirds Beans.	
51. Ditto two-thirds Peaſe.	
52. Ditto two-thirds Barley.	
53. Ditto two-thirds Rye.	
54. One-half Oats, one-half Rice.	
55. Ditto one-half Rye.	
56. Two-thirds Oats, one-third Rice.	
57. Three-fourths ditto, one-fourth Rice.	
58. Two-thirds ditto, one-third Barley.	
Rice the Baſis.	
59. One-third Rice, one-third Beans, one-third Potatoes.	
60. Ditto one-third Peaſe, Ditto.	
61. Ditto one-third Maize. Ditto.	
62. Ditto one-third Rye, Ditto.	
63. Ditto one-third Buck, Ditto.	
64. Ditto one-third Oats, Ditto.	
65. Ditto two-thirds Beans.	
66. Ditto two-thirds Peaſe.	
67. Ditto two-thirds Oats.	
68. Ditto two thirds Rye.	
69. One-half Rice, one-half Rye.	
70. Two-thirds Rice, one-third Barley.	

Ceremonial of the Preſentation of the Turkiſh Ambaſſador at the Court of St. James's.

St. James's, Jan. 29.—His majeſty having been pleaſed to appoint Thurſday the 29th of January for the ceremony of the public entry and public audience of his excellency Yuſſuf Adjiah Effendi, ambaſſador from the Sublime Porte, the earl of Jerſey (the conducting earl appointed by his majeſty), and ſir Clement Cottrell Dormer, knt. maſter of the ceremonies, proceeded in one of his majeſty's coaches, with ſix horſes, attended by ſix gentlemen of the privy-chamber in others of the royal coaches, to the royal college at Chelſea, the place whence his majeſty had thought fit that the proceſſion ſhould begin, where field-marſhal ſir George Howard, K. B. the governor, not only allotted the grand apartment for the uſe of the ambaſſador, on this occaſion, and provided an elegant cold collation for his entertainment, but, in farther compliment to the ambaſſador, repaired to the college early in the morning, to be ready to receive the ambaſſador in perſon. About ten o'clock, the ambaſſador and his ſuite arrived at the royal college at Chelſea, in his excellency's own coaches, where the royal ſtandard was diſplayed, and his excellency was received with all military honours. Alighting from his carriage, his excellency was met by William Bulkeley, eſq. major of the royal college, and others the military officers belonging to the eſtabliſhment, and conducted to the grand apartment, where field-marſhal ſir George Howard, K. B. the governor, made a ſhort ſpeech to his excellency ſuitable to the occaſion. At a quarter after ten o'clock the conducting earl and the maſter of the ceremonies arrived at the college, when the earl of Jerſey made his majeſty's compliment to the ambaſſador, and the company ſat down to breakfaſt; and about eleven the proceſſion to St. James's begun in the following order:

Six of the knight marſhal's men on horſeback to clear the way.

The maſter of the ceremonies' coach, with ſix horſes.

The conducting earl's coach, with ſix horſes, in which went the marſhal of the ceremonies.

One of the ambaſſador's equerries, on horſeback, followed by ſome fine Turkiſh horſes, brought over by the ambaſſador as a preſent to his majeſty from the grand ſeignior, very richly capariſoned, and led by Turkiſh grooms.

A ſtate coach of his majeſty, in which went the ambaſſador, the conducting earl, the maſter of the ceremonies, and ſignior Perſianni, firſt interpreter to the Ottoman embaſſy: eight of the ambaſſador's footmen walking, four on each ſide the carriage.

A leading coach of his majeſty, with ſix horſes, in which went Mahmoud Raif Effendi, ſecretary to the embaſſy, bearing the ambaſſador's letter of credence, in a rich bag; and Mr. Luſignan, his majeſty's interpreter: four of the ambaſſador's footmen, walking, two on each ſide of the carriage.

A leading coach of her majeſty, with ſix horſes, in which went three of the gentlemen of the privy chamber, appointed to attend the audience.

A leading coach of his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, with ſix horſes,

horſes in which went the three other gentlemen of the privy-chamber.

A leading coach of his royal highneſs the duke of York, with ſix horſes.

A leading coach of his royal highneſs the duke of Clarence, with ſix horſes.

A leading coach of his royal highneſs the duke of Glouceſter, with ſix horſes.

The ambaſſador's coach with ſix horſes, in which went three of the principal perſons belonging to his excellency's ſuite.

Several coaches of the nobility, each drawn by ſix horſes, cloſed the proceſſion.

In this order the proceſſion moved on from Chelſea college to the gate of St. James's Park adjoining to the Queen's Houſe, and proceeded up Conſtitution-hill, along Piccadilly and St. James's-ſtreet, to the palace, where his excellency arrived at half-paſt twelve, and, alighting at the palace-gate, was received by Hugh Boſcawen, eſq. the knight marſhal, (having his batoon of office in his hand,) and the marſhal of the ceremonies.

The foot-guards on duty were drawn up in the court-yard, and their officers ſaluted the ambaſſador as he paſſed on to the little council-chamber; where notice being given by one of his majeſty's gentlemen uſhers that his majeſty was ready, the proceſſion moved forward to the audience in the great council-chamber (where, on each ſide, were ranged the band of gentlemen penſioners, the gentlemen of the privy-chamber going before the conducting earl, and the principal perſons of the ambaſſador's ſuite before his excellency, the conducting earl being on the ambaſſador's right hand, and the maſter of the ceremonies on the left. His excellency was received at the door of the guard-chamber, in the abſence of the earl of Aylesford, captain of the yeoman of the guard, by James Roberts, eſq. lieutenant of the yeoman of the guards, who conducted the ambaſſador to the door of the privy-chamber, where his excellency was received by viſcount Falmouth, captain of the band of gentlemen penſioners, who conducted his excellency to the door of the great council-chamber.

At the door of the great council-chamber, his excellency was received by the marquis of Saliſbury, lord chamberlain of his majeſty's houſehold, who taking the right hand of the ambaſſador, and the earl of Jerſey, with ſir Clement Cottrell Dormer, taking the left, his excellency dreſſed in his habit of ceremony, and wearing the turban called *Choraſſaui* (which is only worn by the miniſters of the Sublime Porte), was conducted up to the throne, making three profound reverences, which his majeſty was pleaſed to return in the uſual manner.

The ambaſſador then made a ſhort ſpeech to his majeſty, which was interpreted to his majeſty by ſignor Perſianni; and his majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer the ſame in Engliſh, his majeſty's anſwer being interpreted in the Turkiſh language, by Mr. Luſignan, his majeſty's interpreter.

The ambaſſador, in the courſe of his harangue to his majeſty, took from the ſecretary of the embaſſy his letter of credence, and kiſſing the ſame, preſented it to his majeſty, who immediately delivered it to lord Grenville; and after his majeſty's reply to the ambaſſador, he preſented to his majeſty the ſecretary of the embaſſy, and the principal perſons of his ſuite, all of whom were received moſt graciouſly by his majeſty.

The ambaſſador then retired, making again three reverences to his majeſty as he withdrew from the audience, and was re-conducted with the ſame ceremony to the little council-chamber, to reſt himſelf till her majeſty was ready to receive him; of which notice being given by one of her majeſty's gentlemen uſhers, the ambaſſador proceeded to the queen's apartments, and was received at the door of her majeſty's guard-chamber, by William Price, eſq. her majeſty's vice-chamberlain; and at the door of the room of audience, by the earl of Morton, lord chamberlain to her majeſty, and ſo conducted up to her majeſty by the earl of Morton, William Price, eſq. and ſir Clement Cottrell Dormer.

The ambaſſador, after this audience of the queen, went to the drawing-room, to pay his court to their majeſties; and, having previouſly deſired that the royal coaches might not be kept waiting to carry him back to his own houſe, returned home after the drawing-room, in his own coach.

The following preſents were delivered at St. James's by the ambaſſador:—To the king, a pair of piſtols, the ſtocks and barrels ſolid gold; three Arabian horſes, with gold bridles, the ſaddles trimmed with gold; and a gold dagger, with a belt ornamented with pearls and diamonds.—To the queen and princeſſes, a cheſt of ſilks, embroidered with gold; a plume of feathers for the head-dreſs, ſupported by a hand of ſolid gold, and the top of the feathers entwined with diamonds. To the prince of Wales, duke of Portland, and lord Grenville, cheſts of ſilk.

Correſpondence between his Poliſh Majeſty and the Britiſh Envoy.

Letter from the King of Poland to the Britiſh Envoy at Warſaw, S. Gardiner, eſq.

Grodno, Jan. 26, 1795.

THE part you have acted near my perſon, which is verging toward the grave, and no hope being left of ever ſeeing you again, there remains for me at leaſt one important concern, from the very bottom of my ſoul to bid you eternal farewel. To the laſt moment of my life, I ſhall bear you in my heart; and I hope we ſhall meet again in a place where honeſt minds and righteous ſouls will be united for ever. All that belongs to the etiquette of courts has been ſo much deranged by my unfortunate fate, that probably neither I nor you will be able to obſerve its uſual forms. But my heart ſhall ever remain true. I love and revere your king, and your nation. You will be ſo good as to inform them of it. Ever ſhall it remain a certain truth, that I wiſh you to preſerve your affection for your friend. Unable to converſe with you myſelf, my picture muſt ſupply its place.

(Signed)

STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS REX.

Anſwer from Mr. Gardiner, the Britiſh Envoy, to his Poliſh Majeſty.

SIRE,

The letter which your majeſty did me the honour of writing to me from Grodno, and which I received yeſterday, has moved me to tears, and will conſtantly cauſe emotions within me, whenever I ſhall think on it. I moſt gratefully thank your majeſty for the miniature you did me the honour to ſend to me. It is doubly dear to me for coming from your hands, and from preſenting me with the idea of your perſon. The image of your majeſty, the excellence of your character, your diſtinguiſhed kindneſs toward me, and your misfortunes, ſhall always be engraven in my heart, and never be effaced from my mind. May juſt heaven in future grant to your majeſty the fate which your virtues deſerve; and may He reſtore that calm within your ſoul, which is ſo neceſſary, after ſo many ſtorms. I ſhall always pray for the welfare of your majeſty; and I entreat your majeſty, occaſionally, to think on a perſon, who always felt the moſt profound reſpect, and the moſt perfect eſteem for your majeſty.—Pleaſe to accept of the aſſurance of my true ſubmiſſion to your future commands. I have the honour to be, ſire, &c.

S. Gardiner.

Particular detail of Damages by the late Floods.

FROM every part of the kingdom, accounts have been received of the dreadful ravages occaſioned by the ſudden thaw. Scarcely a river but what has loſt ſome of its bridges, overflowed the adjacent country, and impeded for a time all communication between different places. Houſes have been thrown down, canal banks deſtroyed; ſtacks of provender of all ſorts ſwept away, great quantities of cattle have been drowned, and the ſheep that are loſt are innumerable.

The fen countries exhibited ſheets of water like a ſea for miles in extent: the bank of Sleaford navigable canal gave way, in Ewerby Fen, upwards of ten yards in length, which continued running with near ten feet fall of water for the ſpace of four days before the breach could be ſtopped, by which accident ſeveral hundred acres of land were ſix feet under water, and a prodigious quantity lodged in Howell, Heckington, and the adjacent fens.

Horncaſtle, Feb. 10. This day there was the higheſt flood ever remembered here:—Many of the inhabitants who ſlept on the ground-floor were awakened early in the morning by the water coming into their beds; the current ran with ſuch rapidity in the Far-ſtreet, that it tore up the pavement for a conſiderable ſpace; many houſes were conſiderably damaged, as was alſo the bridge leading to Boſton, Spilſby, &c. In the market-place the water was three feet deep; and great damage has been done to the banks and bridges on the canal.

The flood in the neighbourhood of Peterborough was ſo immenſe as to threaten the deſtruction of ſeveral villages. The ice had formed a complete bank acroſs the coaſt, from the South bank to the North bank, and conſequently ſtopped the current of water. A gentleman there, however, at the riſk of his life, contrived to diſpel the ice by gunpowder, contained in oilſkin bags; in the execution of which he was aſſiſted by two barges; but he had the misfortune to be left upon a large ſhoal of ice; the barges being driven away, it was impoſſible for any perſon to render him aſſiſtance, and in this dangerous ſituation, with the momentary apprehenſion of the ice ſeparating, he floated down to Whittleſea-bridge, and then jumped to one of the pillars, which was expected every minute to give way. From this ſituation he was releaſed by ſome men who put off in a boat to ſave him. Soon after this, the South bank gave way: and ſo terrific was the effect, the ſhrieks of the multitude near it, and the exploſion was ſo tremendous, that the noiſe was heard by perſons ſtationed four miles below the ſpot. The number of lives loſt has not been aſcertained; the damage is thought to be incalculable. The third regiment of dragoons aſſiſted very eſſentially, and too much praiſe cannot be given them for their ſteady and tractable conduct. Stacks of hay, containing at leaſt ten loads, floated down the ſtream. This convulſion of nature has diſtreſſed, if not abſolutely ruined, thouſands of families on the ſouth ſide of the bank; for, if they have not proviſions in ſtore, they muſt periſh, as no aſſiſtance can be afforded them. The bridge which entered Peterborough is gone. Oundle, Wansford, Hilford, and Thrapſtone bridges, upon the Nene, are all gone.

The river Thames roſe to an height not known for theſe twenty years paſt. The flood was nearly as great as the remarkable one in 1774. Great part of Kingſton looked like a Dutch town, and punts plied about the ſtreets. The inhabitants of all the houſes near the river were driven up ſtairs, and ſupplied by means of boats in at the windows; but the flood ſubſided as rapidly as it roſe. Hampton, Sunbury, and all the adjacent country, was inundated. For two days all communication between Sandgate and Chertſey was entirely ſtopt, except by a boat, which plyed in Chertſey; the communication between which town and Windſor was ſtopt for a full month by the badneſs of the roads.

Near Baſildon, Hart's Lock, by the rapidity of the current, was bulged, and, with the bucks adjoining, entirely ſwept away.

The whole village of Pangbourn was laid under water, and the new ground at Whitchurch bridge waſhed away, ſo as to render the bridge impaſſable.

Part of the bridge on the Caverſham road, and an arch of the wooden bridge adjoining Sunning bridge, were thrown down.

At Maidenhead, the overflow was ſo great as to render travelling exceedingly dangerous; the road was under water for near two miles, and in ſome places it was ſo deep as to be over the fore-wheels of the coaches, and travellers were punted over while men rode the horſes through. The valuable premiſes of ſir Iſaac Pococke have received very great damage, and many inhabitants of that town and neighbourhood will be very conſiderable ſufferers.

The town and neighbourhood of Newbury ſuffered ſeverely; boats were plying in the principal ſtreets to relieve families that were confined in their upper apartments. Part of the mills of Meſſrs. Wickwar, paper-makers, were carried away; Mr. Townſend, the brewer, had a great quantity of hay ſpoiled; and the garden-wall of Mr. Townſend, attorney, waſhed down, and his premiſes were otherwiſe greatly damaged. The road between the Pelican inn and the bridge was twice rendered impaſſable by the depth of water in the market, people were boated over, and the houſes on the ſide of the ſtreet had their doors and windows covered with dung, to keep out the water.

Feb. 11. The waters roſe to ſuch a height in the Lee-bridge-road as to aſcend ſome way up hill, and carry off the ſtock of bees, frames, tools, and plants, from Mr. Syburn's nurſery grounds and other places.

From Ware to Limehouſe was one continued ſheet of water.

The bridge at Hilliard's ferry, between Tottenham and Walthamſtow, was ſo much damaged as to be now ſcarcely equal to the weight of a loaded waggon.

At Newmarket, the ſecond ſtories of ſome of the houſes were under water.

A waggon and ſeven horſes were loſt in the water collected on Diſs Common.

The bridge entering into Stow, leading to Hembden, was rendered impaſſable; and the water roſe up to a great height at the entrance of the town.

Gainſborough, Feb. 12. This day, this town was alarmed by a ſudden and unuſual riſe of water, over the banks of the river Trent. Half the town under water preſented ſuch a picture of diſtreſs as beggars all deſcription. Figure to yourſelves the fall of three houſes by the violence of the water; people, old and young, floating on its ſurface; large boats plying about the ſtreets, taking the ſufferers out of their chamber-windows, and ſaving a remnant of their broken furniture; ſome hogs and horned cattle got up into chambers, and others drowned. Turn your eyes to the wharfs and warehouſes, diſmal to relate! ſugar, ſalt, hops, cheeſe, and various ſorts of merchandiſe, to the amount of thouſands, all, all deſtroyed! Night coming on, and the water having riſen more than 12 inches higher than the oldeſt man living ever remembered, a general deſpondency pervaded the ſufferers: yet in the midſt of judgments we met with mercy:—At Morton, a mile below us, the river-bank broke, making a chaſm of a hundred yards, taking a prodigious quantity of water over the carrs, towards the Trent-fall, which gave us ſeaſonable relief; and now the face of the country preſents an entire ſheet of water, ſuppoſed for more than ſixty miles. Great are the ſufferings of many, not only in live ſtock, but many eſculents alſo, particularly potatoes, which is cuſtomary to ſtock near the Trent-bank, ready for exportation.

Leiceſter, Feb. 13. The extenſive rivers and rivulets which interſect every part of the country have been ſurpriſingly extended beyond their uſual bounds; and in their deſcent into each other, and thence into the ſea, the torrent has been powerful and tremenduous beyond example. The water ſpread itſelf over all the adjoining meadows, and, in conjunction with heavy pieces of ice, carried in its courſe every thing before it; bridges, trees, houſes, cattle, all were united in the common wreck. The Trent, at Cavendiſh-bridge, extended over a breadth of nearly three miles, reaching to Hemington fields. At Nottingham it was equally impaſſable. The overflowing of the Soar flooded all the meadows between Diſhley and Cotes; and at Leiceſter, its riſe exceeded any thing of the kind hitherto known by a foot and a half, the perpendicular increaſe being not leſs than ſeven feet above the uſual level of the river. All the houſes in the Braunſton, Abbey, and Wood Gates, part of Leonard's church-yard, and many houſes in the North-Gate-ſtreet, were inundated on the ground-floor, and ſome of them to the depth of four feet. Several poor families were involved in the greateſt diſtreſs, being in want of proviſions and firing, and having only a ground-floor in their habitations. The North Bridge has been ſo much damaged as to render the paſſage of carriages unſafe, and it muſt, of neceſſity, either be rebuilt or repaired at great expence. A barge on the Navigation was broken in two; the Navigation itſelf, it is feared, has received ſome injury, and other damage has been done, to a conſiderable amount, along the whole line of the river.

At Derby, the water from the brooks which ran through the town roſe five or ſix inches higher than was ever known by the oldeſt perſon, and almoſt reached the chambers of ſome of the poor people; it was three inches high in St. Werburgh's church; and ran over St. James's and St. Peter's bridges, and was near paſſing over Sadlergate bridge. Part of Morledge bridge, and the battlements of St. James's bridge, are waſhed away; and the pavement in ſome of the ſtreets is very much injured. Several horſes, pigs, &c. were carried down the current. The Derwent, Trent, and Dove, have been all ſwelled beyond what was ever remembered. The Trent, in the neighbourhood of Shardlow, has done conſiderable damage to the Grand Trunk Canal; and the bridge at Swarkſton has been waſhed away. Among other devaſtations, we are ſorry to mention the partial, or total deſtruction of the following bridges viz. Woolſeley bridge, Whichnor bridge, Fazeley, Hopwas, and Tamworth bridges; at the time the latter gave way, there were ſix men upon it, four of whom were unfortunately drowned.

The Canal Aqueduct over the river Tame has been much damaged; and an arch of the bridge on the road between Alceſter and Stratford ſuddenly fell in, at the very inſtant the Stourbridge and London ſtage-waggon had paſſed it.

At Shrewſbury, the water roſe on the night of the 10th, and next morning, ten feet above its accuſtomed level. On the evening of the 12th it fell three feet, and next day fell rapidly. At Frankwell, Coleham, Cotton-hill, and the Abbey Foregate, ſome houſes were carried away. At Bridgenorth, the waters were much out.

Oxford, Feb. 14. We have not experienced ſo great a flood at this place and in its neighbourhood for 22 years. The waters both in the Iſis and the Cherwell were ſwelled to an alarming height; many of the roads were ſo much inundated as to render them in many places dangerous, and in ſome impaſſable. In St. Thomas's pariſh in this city, in particular, a great many houſes were mid-leg deep in water, and in ſome much higher; ſo that they paſſed from houſe to houſe in boats, and inhabited the upper rooms.

Reading, Feb. 14. The floods here are greater than have been known for many years paſt. The water in the ſtreets of this town was as high as it was in the remarkable flood 21 years ago; and the damage ſuſtained by it, we are ſorry to ſay, is much more conſiderable than what was experienced at that time; the violence of the current of the Kennet having undermined the bank of that river, near the Seven bridges, on which ſtood a long range of workſhops belonging to Mr. Billing, builder, at ſix o'clock on Wedneſday morning nearly the whole of the building, with every thing contained therein, fell into the ſtream; providentially the men were not at work, or they muſt all have periſhed: there being a great quantity of valuable work on the premiſes, all of which is either loſt or ſpoiled, Mr. Billing's loſs is eſtimated at near 400l. Yeſterday morning at one o'clock, a tenement, that ſtood by the ſide of the back brook in the yard of Mr. Jackſon, ſtone-maſon, fell into that ſtream from the bank giving way: the inhabitants, an induſtrious man of the name of Jones, with his wife and two children, were fortunately alarmed, by hearing a crack, juſt in time to ſave themſelves, but nearly the whole of their furniture, cloaths, &c. were loſt. A breach was waſhed by the ſide of the bridge over the Kennet, which rendered the road impaſſable for carriages, and a wooden bridge over the mill-ſtream was carried away. All the cellars of the houſes bordering on the Kennet were filled with water, and the ground floors of many uninhabitable for ſome days.

Moffat, Feb. 14. "My letter of two days ago is ſtill here; for, though I have made an effort twice, I have been obliged to return, not having reached half the firſt ſtage.—Two mails are due from London, three from Glaſgow, and four from Edinburgh. Neither the laſt guard that went hence for Glaſgow on Thurſday, nor he that went on Wedneſday, have ſince been heard of; this country was never ſo completely blocked up in the memory of the oldeſt perſon or that they ever heard of. I underſtand the road is ten feet deep with ſnow from this to Hamilton. I have had it cut through once, but this third fall makes an attempt impoſſible.—Heaven only knows when the road will be open, nothing but a thaw can do it—it is now an intenſe froſt."—Another perſon writes in the ſame way from Berwick, with the addition, that he was three winters in North America, but never ſaw ſo much ſnow.

Birmingham, Feb. 16. The Severn, in the neighbourhood of Worceſter, overflowed its banks to a wide extent, and covered the country for a great number of miles with water: which, when viewed from an eminence, formed an immenſe ſheet, bounded only by the horizon. The cellars and lower apartments of all the houſes in Worceſter adjacent to the river were filled with water, and the inhabitants compelled to retire to their upper rooms to avoid the deluge, where they could only receive neceſſaries by means of boats. Some hundreds of porter-barrels have floated down the river from the different breweries ſituated on the banks: a great number of which, no doubt, will be loſt; and it is much to be feared that moſt of the cattle and ſheep grazing in the meadows near the river are deſtroyed. The water roſe on Thurſday afternoon to within ſeven inches and a half of the braſs plate near College-green, affixed in commemoration of the great flood in November, 1770. The bridges down the river have moſtly been damaged; that at Stourport has given way, and

Bewdley-bridge has been much injured; Long-bridge and Cound have both been forced down. At Shrewſbury, an arch of Coleham-bridge has been carried away; and the inhabitants of Frankwell, Coleham, Cotton-hill, and the Abbey Foregate, in that town, have ſuffered as much as thoſe near the river in the city of Worceſter; not being able, except by boats, to leave their habitations. Indeed, on Wedneſday, the town was entirely ſurrounded by the water, and looked like an iſland, not a carriage that day being able to enter or go out of it. The damage done to the mills and works in and near the town, and the quantity of timber carried off by the violence of the current, is calculated at a great amount.

The Abbey church in Shrewſbury is ſo much injured by the flood, that it will be a long time before divine ſervice can be performed in it. The graves within the church are ſunk ſo much, that the graveſtones are all thrown out of their places, the ends of many of them being fallen in, and the other ends ſtand above the ground.

At Syke Houſe and Fiſhlake, near Thorne, in Yorkſhire, the bank which confined the river having given way, ſuch an immenſe body of water ruſhed forth as to inundate the country for ſeveral miles: and ſo ſudden and unexpected was the diſaſter, that much property was ſwept away, and many cattle drowned before any aſſiſtance could be given. The unfortunate inhabitants, unable to eſcape from the depth of the ſurrounding waters, were obliged to fly to their garrets, which ſerved as a temporary retreat from the deſtructive element. In this deplorable ſituation, without food (every thing of the kind being totally deſtroyed) did the diſtreſſed inhabitants remain, until aſſiſted by the philanthropic exertions of ſome gentlemen of Thorne, who may be truly ſaid to have ſaved thoſe from inevitable deſtruction whoſe habitations were low, by ſending boats with proviſions, &c. over the high banks, to relieve and bring away the diſtreſſed.

In various roads throughout England, it is inconceivable what quickſands have been formed by the floods, or by the thawing of the froſt, which has penetrated deeper into the earth than was ever remembered.

In the ſtreets of London, a nearly ſimilar effect has been produced, from the ſame cauſe.

March 13. The principal proprietors and farmers in the middle and South Levels of the fens, met at Ely, this day, to conſider of the preſent calamitous ſituation of the Fen-country, from the late inundations, when they reſolved to apply to Parliament.—500,000l. will not compenſate their loſs.

An Account of the Journey, Voyage, and Arrival of the Princeſs Caroline of Brunſwick, and of the Marriage Ceremony between her Serene Highneſs and the Prince of Wales.

ON Tueſday the 24th March, at ſeven o'clock in the morning, her ſerene highneſs the princeſs Caroline of Brunſwick (accompanied by her royal and ſerene highneſs, Auguſta ducheſs of Brunſwick, her mother, and by the hon. Mrs. Harcourt) left Hanover, where ſhe had reſided, ſome time, after her departure from Brunſwick, and proceeded on her route to England. She was eſcorted out of Hanover by a troop of Hanoverian guards, under a ſalute of the cannon of the garriſon. The ducheſs proceeded no farther than Mullendorf, where ſhe was joined by the duke of Brunſwick, who came thither on purpoſe to take a final leave of his daughter. The parting ſcene was a very affecting one, the princeſs having long endeared herſelf to her auguſt parents by the moſt amiable temper and conduct. The duke and ducheſs returned to Brunſwick; and the princeſs proceeded to a place called Weltzrode, where ſhe ſlept that evening.

The proceſſion conſiſted of ſix coaches and ſix, with four outriders, two courier carriages with four horſes, two baggage waggons containing proviſions for the journey, with ſix horſes. In the firſt carriage were two chamberlains belonging to the court of Brunſwick; in the ſecond, were the princeſs and Mrs. Harcourt; in the third were lord Malmeſbury and major Heſlop; and, in the other carriages, were different attendants.

On Wedneſday night, her ſerene highneſs ſlept at Cloſterſeven, about twenty-ſix miles from Stade; and on Thurſday afternoon, at three o'clock, arrived at Stade to dinner. During the route, her ſerene highneſs and ſuite were entertained at each place where they ſtopped at the houſe of ſome nobleman or gentleman, as had been previouſly ſettled. Count Wangenheim, ſteward of the houſehold at the palace of Hanover, went on before to provide the neceſſary accommodations.

On entering Stade, her ſerene highneſs was received in the moſt reſpectful manner. The garriſon turned out, and welcomed her with the royal ſalute from the batteries. On being conducted to the houſe of the commandant, ſhe was waited on by the mayor and burghers, who congratulated her on her arrival. Thouſands of perſons had come to Stade from Hamburgh and other parts of the country, to ſee her. Her ſerene highneſs dined, both on that and the following day, in public, where every perſon had an opportunity of ſeeing her. She ſtaid the whole of Friday at Stade, and walked on the ramparts and about the town, in order to gratify the public curioſity.

On Saturday morning, at nine o'clock, her ſerene highneſs embarked on board the Princeſs Royal, one of his majeſty's cutters, under a ſalute of the guns from the batteries, and was received by commodore Payne. In the ſame cutter went Mrs. Harcourt and lord Malmeſbury; the reſt of the retinue who came to England with the princeſs having embarked on board another cutter. At three in the afternoon, they reached Cruxhaven, where her ſerene highneſs was received on board the Jupiter of fifty guns, captain Lechmere. Commodore Payne, Mrs. Harcourt, and lord Malmeſbury, embarked in the ſame ſhip; major Heſlop, colonel Richardſon, and Mr. Roſs, in the Phaeton frigate, captain Stopford.

On Sunday morning, at eight o'clock, the ſhips weighed anchor from Cruxhaven, with a fair wind at E.N.E. which continued till Wedneſday, when a thick fog came on. They were then only ſix leagues from Yarmouth, but as it was dangerous to draw nearer the coaſt, the ſhips dropped anchor, and fired fog guns every hour. In this ſituation they lay through the whole of Thurſday. The princeſs had hitherto been extremely well, had walked the quarter-deck every day, and was uncommonly cheerful; but, what with the fog, and the motion of the veſſel at anchor, ſhe became a little incommoded. The morning on Friday was uncommonly fine; and, at four o'clock, the Jupiter made the ſignal to get under weigh. The fleet went under an eaſy ſail, came off Harwich about noon, and paſſed through the Swin, to enter the Thames. About two, a very thick fog came on, which obliged the commodore to drop anchor. At four the fog diſperſed, and the ſignal being made to unmoor, the fleet again got under weigh, and about ſix o'clock dropped anchor at the Nore; being ſaluted from the Sandwich guard-ſhip ſtationed off there.

At nine o'clock on Saturday morning, the 4th of April, the ſhips got under weigh, the tide ſerving, and about noon the Jupiter anchored off Graveſend. The princeſs ſlept on board that night.

On Sunday morning, as ſoon as the tide ſerved, her ſerene highneſs, accompanied by Mrs. Harcourt, lord Malmeſbury, and commodore Payne diſembarked from the Jupiter, and went on board one of the royal yachts; and after twelve o'clock, landed at Greenwich hoſpital. The princeſs was received, on her landing, by ſir Hugh Palliſer, the governor, and other officers, who conducted her to the governor's houſe, where ſhe took tea and coffee. Lady Jerſey did not arrive at the governor's till an hour after the princeſs had landed: and ſoon after, they both retired into an adjoining room, and the dreſs of the princeſs was changed, from a muſlin gown and blue ſatin petticoat, with a black beaver hat, and blue and black feathers, for a white ſatin gown, and very elegant turban cap of ſatin, trimmed with crape, and ornamented with white feathers, which were brought from town by lady Jerſey.

A little after two o'clock, her ſerene highneſs left the governor's houſe, and got into one of the king's coaches, drawn by ſix horſes. In this coach were alſo Mrs. Harcourt and lady Jerſey. Another of his majeſty's coaches and ſix preceded it, in which were ſeated Mrs. Hervey Aſton, lord Malmeſbury, lord Clermont, and colonel Greville. In a third coach with four horſes, were two women ſervants, whom the princeſs brought from Germany, and are her only German attendants from thence. The princeſs's carriage was eſcorted on each ſide by a party of the prince of Wales's own regiment of light dragoons, commanded by lord Edward Somerſet. Beſide this eſcort, the road was lined at ſmall diſtances by troops of the heavy dragoons, who were ſtationed from Greenwich all the way to the horſe-guards. In her way through the crowds of people that lined the whole way, her ſerene highneſs bowed and ſmiled in a moſt affable manner.

Before three o'clock, her ſerene highneſs alighted at St. James's, and was introduced into the apartments prepared for her reception, which look into Cleveland-row.

After a ſhort time, the princeſs appeared at the windows, which were thrown up, that the people might have a ſight of her. They huzzaed her, and ſhe curtſeyed; and this continued ſome minutes, until the prince arrived from Carlton-houſe. His royal highneſs, on entering the palace, appeared extremely agitated. He was introduced to the princeſs by lord Malmeſbury, and immediately ſaluted her. Mrs. Harcourt had, in the meantime, gone to the queen's houſe, to announce the princeſs's arrival.

The head-dreſs of the princeſs, was the ſame as that in which ſhe is painted in the picture ſent by the duke of Brunſwick to the prince; and his royal highneſs was dreſſed in a full ſuit of the huſſar uniform of his regiment, the ſame as the dreſs of his picture, painted by Coſway, and ſent to the princeſs.

A little before five, the prince and princeſs ſat down to dinner. At the ſame table were lady Jerſey, Mrs. Hervey Aſton, Mrs. Harcourt, lord Malmeſbury, lord Clermont, colonel Greville, and major Heſlop.

The people continued to huzza before the palace, his royal highneſs, after dinner, appeared at the window, and thanked them for this mark of their attention; but he hoped that they would excuſe her appearance then, as it might give her cold. This completely ſatisfied the crowd, who gave the prince three cheers, and diſperſed.

About eight, the king, queen, and all the princeſſes, the duke andducheſs of York, the duke of Clarence, the duke of Glouceſter, prince William, and the princeſs Sophia, were introduced to her ſerene highneſs; and it was eleven o'clock before they retired. The princeſs was then left under the care of Mrs. Harvey Aſton, who ſlept in the royal apartments.

The princeſs is rather below the middling ſtature; a pleaſing figure; has a look of great good-nature and affability, expreſſive eyes, flaxen hair, teeth as white as ivory, a good complexion; a beautiful hand and arm, and may certainly be deemed a very pretty woman. She has ſomething of his majeſty's reſemblance, particularly in her upper lip, which rather projects. Her manners are uncommonly engaging.

St. James's,
Wedneſday, April 8, 1795.

This evening the ſolemnity of the marriage of his royal highneſs the prince of Wales with her highneſs the princeſs Caroline of Brunſwick was performed in the chapel royal by the archbiſhop of Canterbury. The proceſſions, to and from the chapel, were in the following order:

The Proceſſion of the Bride.

Drums and Trumpets.
Kettle Drums.
Serjeant Trumpeter.
Maſter of the Ceremonies.
The Bride's Gentleman Uſher between the Two Senior Heralds.
His Majeſty's Vice Chamberlain.—His Majeſty's Lord Chamberlain.

The Bride,

In her nuptial habit, with a coronet, led by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Clarence, her train borne by four unmarried daughters of dukes and earls, viz.

Lady Mary Oſborne, Lady Carol. Villiers,
Lady Charl. Spencer, Lady Charl. Legge:

And her highneſs was attended by the ladies of her houſehold.

On entering the chapel, her highneſs was conducted to the ſeat prepared for her, near her majeſty's chair of ſtate. The maſter of the ceremonies, with the gentleman uſher, retired to the places aſſigned them.

The lord chamberlain and vice chamberlain, with a herald, returned to attend the bridegroom; the ſenior herald remaining in the chapel, to conduct the ſeveral perſons to their reſpective places.

The

The BRIDEGROOM'S Proceſſion.

In the ſame order as that of the bride, with the addition of the officers of his royal highneſs's houſehold.

His Royal Highneſs
THE PRINCE OF WALES,
In his collar of the order of the Garter, ſupported by two unmarried dukes, viz.
Duke of Bedford. Duke of Roxburgh.

And his royal highneſs being conducted to his ſeat in the chapel, the lord chamberlain, vice chamberlain, and two heralds, returned to attend his majeſty.

THEIR MAJESTIES' Proceſſion.

Drums and Trumpets as before.
Knight Marſhal.
Purſuivants.
Heralds.
Treaſurer of the Houſehold.
Maſter of the Horſe.
Two married Dukes, viz.
Duke of Leeds. Duke of Beaufort.
Lord Steward of the Houſehold.
Provincial Kings of Arms.

Serjeants at Arms.	Lord Privy Seal. Lord Preſident of the Council.	Serjeants at Arms.

Archbiſhop of York.
Lord High Chancellor.
Archbiſhop of Canterbury.
Garter Principal King of Arms, with his Sceptre, between two Gentlemen Uſhers.
The Earl Marſhal with his Staff.
PRINCES of the BLOOD ROYAL, viz.
Prince William.
His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Glouceſter.
His Royal Highneſs the Duke of York.
Sword of State,
borne by the Duke of Portland,
between the Lord Chamberlain and Vice Chamberlain of the Houſehold.

HIS MAJESTY,

In the Collar of the Order of the Garter.

Captain of the Yeoman of the Guard.	Colonel of the Life Guards in Waiting.	Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Penſioners.

The Lord of the Bedchamber in Waiting.
Maſter of the Robes.
Groom of the Bedchamber.
Vice Chamberlain to the Queen.

HER MAJESTY.

between the Queen's Lord Chamberlain and the Queen's Maſter of the Horſe.
Their Royal Highneſſes, The Princeſs Royal
Princeſs Auguſta Sophia,
Princeſs Elizabeth,
Princeſs Mary,
Princeſs Sophia,
Princeſs Amelia,
Her Royal Highneſs the Ducheſs of York,
Princeſs Sophia of Glouceſter.
ſupported ſeverally by their Gentlemen Uſhers.
The Ladies of her Majeſty's Bedchamber.
Maids of Honour.
Women of her Majeſty's Bedchamber.

Upon entering the chapel, the ſeveral perſons in the proceſſion were conducted to the places appointed for them. Their majeſties went to their chairs on the haut-pas, the bridegroom and the bride to their ſeats, and the reſt of the royal family to thoſe prepared for them.

At the concluſion of the marriage ſervice their majeſties retired to their chairs of ſtate under the canopy, while the anthem was performing. The proceſſion afterwards returned in the following order:

Drums and Trumpets, as before.
Maſter of the Ceremonies.
The Princeſs's Gentleman Uſher, between Two Heralds.
Officers of the Prince's Houſehold.
His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales leading the Bride,
and ſupported by two married dukes, viz.
Duke of Beaufort. Duke of Leeds.
The Ladies of her Royal Highneſs's Houſehold.

The king was attended by the great officers, in the ſame manner in which his majeſty went to the chapel; and her majeſty and the princeſſes in the order before mentioned.

The proceſſion, at the return, filed off in the privy-chamber. Their majeſties, the bridegroom and bride, with the reſt of the royal family, and the great officers, proceeded into the levee chamber, where the regiſtry of the marriage was atteſted with the uſual formalities; after which the proceſſion continued into the leſſer drawing-room; and their majeſties with the bridegroom and bride, and the reſt of the royal family, paſſed into the great council-chamber; where the great officers, nobility, foreign miniſters, and other perſons of diſtinction, paid their compliments on the occaſion.

The evening concluded with very ſplendid illuminations, and other public demonſtrations of joy throughout London and Weſtminſter.

The following addreſſes were preſented to their majeſties, on Friday the 17th, by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The humble Addreſs of the Lord-mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common-Council aſſembled.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

We, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council aſſembled, requeſt permiſſion to approach the throne with our warmeſt congratulations on the auſpicious nuptials of his royal highneſs the prince of Wales with her ſerene highneſs the princeſs of Brunſwick.

We cannot but feel the moſt lively ſentiments of affection for a princeſs, bleſſed with every endowment to adorn her exalted ſtation; and form the happieſt preſage, that the endearing qualities of her mind will be matured by the benign influence of our moſt gracious queen, whoſe eminent example will be acknowledged and admired, as long as virtue can charm, or tranſcendent worth command imitation and reſpect.

Your majeſty's faithful citizens of London confeſs, with the moſt grateful emotions, the uniform and ſteady regard which your majeſty has evinced for the future intereſt of your people, by this happy alliance of the illuſtrious houſe of Brunſwick, devoted to the proteſtant cauſe, and anxious for the maintenance of thoſe its ſacred pillars—ſocial order and rational freedom.

At the ſame time that we look forward with ſolicitude and delight to the deareſt intereſts of our poſterity, we cannot be unmindful of our own immediate joy upon this feſtive occaſion, becauſe we have happily reſtored to us the fair repreſentative of a princeſs nearly related to your majeſty, and thereby inheriting a claim to that national regard and eſteem, which manifeſted itſelf in regret at the departure of her amiable mother from theſe kingdoms.

Permit us, ſire, earneſtly to hope that your majeſty, under whoſe mild and gracious government we have enjoyed the privileges of our fathers inviolate and ſecure, may have the felicity to ſee their royal highneſſes experience every bleſſing conſequent upon this moſt propitious event, and that your majeſty will believe the warm aſſurances of the citizens of London, uniformly and zealouſly to ſupport your majeſty's perſon, crown, and family, againſt all your enemies.

To the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The humble Addreſs of the Lord-mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common-Council aſſembled.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

We, his majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council aſſembled, beg leave to congratulate your majeſty on the recent nuptials of his royal highneſs the prince of Wales with her ſerene highneſs the princeſs of Brunſwick.

We felicitate ourſelves ſincerely on an alliance which muſt form ſo intimate a part of your majeſty's happineſs, more eſpecially becauſe your majeſty's virtues will, we truſt, be perpetuated to ages yet unborn, in the perſon of an illuſtrious princeſs, whoſe native goodneſs cannot but admire them, and whoſe exalted ſtation can find no model ſo perfect for emulation.

The loyal citizens of London, madam, therefore feel it their intereſt, as it is their gratification, to indulge themſelves in the ſanguine hope that her royal highneſs's moſt aimable endowments may long contribute to your majeſty's domeſtic felicity, and that the endearing qualities of her mind may long have the reciprocal pleaſure of contemplating your majeſty's example.

So ſhall this happy nation, long accuſtomed to behold its higheſt graces moſt conſpicuous on the throne, enjoy the hope of this ſolid advantage in reverſion for poſterity, that an equal pattern of royal goodneſs is reſerved for them to admire, and that they will regard with gratitude this very happy event.

On Thurſday, April 23, the lord-mayor, &c. waited on their royal highneſſes the prince and princeſs of Wales, at Carlton-houſe, with the following addreſſes.

To his royal highneſs the prince of Wales.

May it pleaſe your royal highneſs,

The lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council aſſembled, beg leave to congratulate your royal highneſs on your recent marriage with her ſerene highneſs the princeſs Caroline of Brunſwick.

It is with extreme pleaſure and gratification that we behold your royal highneſs ſo impreſſed with affection towards his majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, as to form the preſent happy alliance with a princeſs, illuſtrious in rank, and poſſeſſing every engaging quality of the heart ſuited to the important ſtation which ſhe fills, and calculated to remunerate with conjugal felicity the high honour of your royal highneſs's affection and choice.

The proſpect by this illuſtrious event of perpetuating the virtues of your royal houſe to poſterity, who ſhall know, equally with ourſelves, how to value the mild monarchy ſo admirably interwoven with our moſt excellent conſtitution, forms a material part of our happineſs.

Depending, as good ſubjects ever muſt, on the virtues of the royal breaſt, as eſſential to the ſplendour of a throne and the proſperity of a people, it is matter of great conſolation to us to reflect upon the invaluable example of your royal father, which, confirming the many graceful and amiable qualifications of your own mind, cannot but complete the royal character, and, in the fulneſs of time, muſt make your future people happy.

May your illuſtrious conſort long enjoy her exalted ſituation, and may a numerous progeny, from this auſpicious union, tranſmit the bleſſings under which we live to the end of time.

To which addreſs his royal highneſs was pleaſed to return the following anſwer.

My lord-mayor and gentlemen,

I am truly ſenſible of this mark of attention in the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council aſſembled: I return them my ſincere thanks for their congratulations on the occaſion of my marriage; and it gives me peculiar ſatisfaction that they take ſo warm an intereſt in this event. I am much gratified by the expreſſions of their affectionate attachment, which convey ſo ſtrong a proof of their loyalty to the king, and of their zealous regard for my happineſs.

To her royal highneſs the Princeſs of Wales.

May it pleaſe your royal highneſs,

We, his majeſty's dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council aſſembled, take the earlieſt opportunity to congratulate your royal highneſs on the happy occaſion of your marriage with his royal highneſs the prince of Wales.

Added to the intrinſic virtues of your royal highneſs, the high ſtation you are ſo well qualified to adorn, and your alliance with ſo diſtinguiſhed a prince, the heir apparent of theſe happy realms, your royal highneſs has alſo powerful claims to the affection of a grateful people, nearly related as you are to our moſt gracious ſovereign, the father of his ſubjects.

Permit, then, madam, the faithful ſubjects of the beſt of kings to aſſure your royal highneſs of their moſt ſincere veneration and eſteem, and to believe that as your intereſt is now united with that of our amiable prince, your happineſs will be by them conſidered and conſulted as one.

Long may your royal highneſs ſhare the joy of ſo ſplendid an union, and may our lateſt poſterity receive from you a continuation of thoſe bleſſings which only can be experienced under the government of a beloved and virtuous king.

To which addreſs her royal highneſs was pleaſed to return the following anſwer.

My lord-mayor and gentlemen,

I return you many thanks for your congratulations upon an event ſo intereſting to my happineſs, and ſo grateful to my feelings. My ſentiments will ever be the ſame with thoſe of the prince, and they have been already better expreſſed to you by him.

They were all received very graciouſly, and had the honour to kiſs their royal highneſſes's hands.

Ceremony of the Acquittal of Warren Haſtings, Eſq. (late Governor General of Bengal) before the High Court of Parliament, for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors.

ON Thurſday, April 23, this celebrated trial, which began on the

12th of February 1788, came to a deciſion. The hall was as much crowded as on the firſt day. The ſplendour of the aſſembly, from the number of ladies, it is impoſſible to deſcribe. Mr. Fox and the reſt of the managers came into their box at twelve o'clock. The peers entered the hall half an hour afterwards.

Proclamation being made in the uſual way, Warren Haſtings, eſq. with his bail, came into the court, and was directed to withdraw.

The lord chancellor then ſtood up, and ſaid, that the lords had upon Friday laſt reſolved, that judgment ſhould be given this day on the charges of high crimes and miſdemeanors brought by the houſe of commons againſt Warren Haſtings, eſq.

The following are the reſolutions which they entered into, and the queſtions to be put to the lords ſeverally:

Reſolved by the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, that the following queſtions be put to the lords in Weſtminſter-hall; viz.

1. Is Warren Haſtings, eſq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and miſdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the firſt article of charge?

2. Is Warren Haſtings, eſq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and miſdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the ſecond article of charge?

3. Is Warren Haſtings, eſq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and miſdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the ſixth article of charge, in ſo far as relates to the ſaid Warren Haſtings having in the years 1772, 1773, and 1774, corruptly taken the ſeveral ſums of money charged to have been taken by him in the ſaid years, from the ſeveral perſons in the ſaid Article particularly mentioned?

4. Is Warren Haſtings, eſq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and miſdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the ſixth article of charge, in ſo far as relates to his having, on or before the 26th of June 1780, corruptly received and taken from Sadanund, the Buxey of the Rajah Cheit Sing, the ſum of two lacks of rupees as a preſent or a gift?

5. Is Warren Haſtings, eſq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and miſdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the ſixth article of charge, in ſo far as relates to his having, in October 1780, taken and received from Kelleram, on behalf of himſelf and a certain perſon called Cullian Sing, a ſum of money amounting to four lacks of rupees, in conſideration of letting to them certain lands in the province of Bahar in perpetuity contrary to his duty, and to the injury of the Eaſt India company?

6. Is Warren Haſtings, eſq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and miſdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the ſixth article of charge, in ſo far as relates to his having, in the year 1781, received and taken as a preſent from Nundoolol, the ſum of fifty-eight thouſand rupees?

7. Is Warren Haſtings, eſq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and miſdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the ſixth article of charge, in ſo far as re-

lates to his having, on or about the month of September, 1781, at Chunar, in the province of Oude, contrary to his duty, taken and received as a preſent from the vizier the ſum of ten lacks of rupees?

8. Is Warren Haſtings, eſq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and miſdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the ſixth article of charge, in ſo far as relates to his having firſt fraudulently ſolicited as a loan, and of his having afterwards corruptly and illegally taken and retained as a preſent or gift, from rajah Nobkiſſen, a ſum of money amounting to 34,000l. ſterling: and of his having, without any allowance from the directors, or any perſon authorized to grant ſuch allowance, applied the ſame to his own uſe, under pretence of diſcharging certain expences ſaid to be incurred by the ſaid Warren Haſtings in his public capacity?

9. Is Warren Haſtings, eſq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and miſdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the fourth article of charge, in ſo far as relates to his having, in the year 1781, granted a contract for the proviſion of opium for four years, to Stephen Sullivan, eſq. without advertiſing for the ſame, and upon terms glaringly extravagant and wantonly profuſe, for the purpoſe of creating an inſtant fortune to the ſaid Stephen Sullivan?

10. Is Warren Haſtings, eſq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and miſdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the fourth article of charge, in ſo far as relates to his having borrowed money at a large intereſt, for the purpoſe of advancing the ſame to the contractor for opium, and engaging the Eaſt India company in a ſmuggling adventure to China?

11. Is Warren Haſtings, eſq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and miſdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the fourth article of charge, in ſo far as relates to the contract for bullocks granted to Charles Croft, eſq.

12. Is Warren Haſtings, eſq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and miſdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the fourth article of charge, in ſo far as relates to his having granted the proviſion of bullocks to ſir Charles Blunt by the mode of agency?

13. Is Warren Haſtings, eſq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and miſdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the fourth article of charge, in ſo far as relates to the ſeveral allowances charged to have been made to ſir Eyre Coote, and directed to be paid by the vizier for the uſe of the ſaid ſir Eyre Coote?

14. Is Warren Haſtings, eſq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and miſdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the fourth article of charge, in ſo far as relates to the appointment of James Peter Auriol, eſq. to be agent for the purchaſe of ſupplies for the relief of the preſidency of Madras, and all the other preſidencies in India, with a commiſſion of fifteen per cent.

15. Is Warren Haſtings, eſq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and miſdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the fourth article of charge, in ſo far as relates to the appointment of John Belli, eſq. to be agent for the ſupply of

ſtores and proviſions for the garriſon of Fort William in Bengal, with a commiſſion of thirty per cent.

16. Is Warren Haſtings, eſq. guilty, or not guilty, of the reſidue of the high crimes and miſdemeanors, or any of them, charged upon him by the impeachment of the Commons?

Reſolved, by the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, that the ſaid queſtions ſhall be ſeverally put in Weſtminſter-hall to each of the lords, beginning with the junior baron; and that the only anſwer ſhall be given by each lord in theſe words:—"Guilty, upon my honour;" or, "Not guilty, upon my honour;" laying his right hand on his breaſt.

The lord chancellor held in his hand a liſt of the peers preſent, and who had taken their ſeats in their robes before the throne. Thoſe peers who did not mean to vote retired behind the throne.

The noble lord then began with the junior peer preſent, in the following manner:

George lord Douglas, is Warren Haſtings, eſq. guilty, or not guilty, of the high crimes and miſdemeanors charged upon him by the commons in the firſt article of charge? Lord Douglas ſtood up, took off his hat, and laying his right hand on his heart, pronounced—Not guilty, upon my honour.

James lord Fife, how ſay you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Charles lord Somers, how ſay you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Francis lord Rawdon, how ſay you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Thomas lord Walſingham, how ſay you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Edward lord Thurlow, how ſay you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Martin lord Hawke, how ſay you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Frederic lord Boſton, how ſay you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Edwin lord Sandys, how ſay you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Henry lord Middleton, how ſay you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Samuel lord biſhop of Rocheſter, how ſay you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

John lord biſhop of Bangor, how ſay you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Thomas lord viſcount Sydney, how ſay you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

George lord viſcount Falmouth, how ſay you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Henry earl of Caernarvon, how ſay you?—Guilty, upon my honour.

Joſeph earl of Dorcheſter, how ſay you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Algernon earl of Beverley, how ſay you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Jacob earl of Radnor, how ſay you?—Guilty, upon my honour.

William earl Fitzwilliam, how ſay you?—Guilty, upon my honour.

George earl of Warwick, how ſay you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

George William earl of Coventry, how ſay you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

John earl of Suffolk, how ſay you?—Guilty, upon my honour.

George marquis Townſhend, how ſay you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Francis duke of Bridgewater, how ſays your grace?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Francis duke of Leeds, how ſays your grace?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Charles duke of Norfolk, how ſays your grace?—Guilty, upon my honour.

David earl of Mansfield, how ſay you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

William lord Archbiſhop of York, how ſays your grace?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Alexander lord Loughborough, the lord chancellor, pronounced—Guilty, upon my honour.

Thus, on the firſt queſtion, twenty-three peers pronounced Mr. Haſtings not guilty. Six pronounced him guilty.

On the 2d queſtion the numbers were the ſame.

On the 3d queſtion he was unanimouſly declared not guilty. The duke of Norfolk then retired behind the throne, and did not vote any more.

On the 4th queſtion, four peers pronounced him guilty—the earl of Caernarvon, earl Fitzwilliam, earl of Suffolk, and the lord chancellor; all the reſt not guilty. Lord Suffolk then withdrew.

On the 5th, 6th, and 7th, lord Caernarvon, lord Fitzwilliam, and the lord chancellor, guilty—all the reſt not guilty.

On the 8th, lord Caernarvon, lord Fitzwilliam, lord Mansfield, and the lord chancellor, guilty—all the reſt not guilty.

On the 9th, lord Walſingham, lord Caernarvon, lord Radnor, lord Fitzwilliam, and the lord chancellor, guilty—all the reſt not guilty.

On the 10th he was unanimouſly acquitted.

On the 11th and 12th, lord Caernarvon, lord Fitzwilliam, and the chancellor, guilty—all the reſt not guilty.

On the 13th and 14th, lord Caernarvon, lord Radnor, lord Fitzwilliam, and the chancellor, guilty—all the reſt not guilty.

On the 15th and 16th, lord Caernarvon, lord Fitzwilliam, and the lord chancellor, guilty—all the reſt not guilty.

The following will ſhew the whole in one point of view.

The figures anſwer to the 16 queſtions. N. G. ſtands for not guilty. G. ſtands for guilty.

Lord

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.
Lord Douglas, (E. of Morton)	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Lord Fife - - - - - - -	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Lord Somers - - - - -	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Lord Rawdon, (E. Moira) -	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Lord Walſingham - - - -	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Lord Thurlow - - - - -	N.G	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Lord Hawke - - - - -	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Lord Bolton - - - - - -	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Lord Sandys - - - - -	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Lord Middleton - - - -	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Biſhop of Rocheſter - - -	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Biſhop of Bangor - - - -	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Lord Viſcount Sydney - - -	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Lord Viſcount Falmouth - -	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Earl of Caernarvon - - - -	G.	G.	N.G.	G.	G.	G.	G.	G.	G.	N.G.	G.	G.	G.	G.	G.	G.
Earl of Dorcheſter - - - -	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Earl of Beverley - - - -	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Earl of Radnor - - - - -	G.	G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	G.	G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	G.	G.	N.G.	N.G.
Earl Fitzwilliam - - - - -	G.	G.	N.G.	G.	G.	G.	G.	G.	G.	N.G.	G.	G.	G.	G.	G.	G.
Earl of Warwick - - - -	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Earl of Coventry - - - -	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Earl of Suffolk - - - - -	G.	G.	N.G.	G.												
Marquis Townſhend - - -	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Duke of Bridgewater - - -	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Duke of Leeds - - - - -	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Duke of Norfolk - - - -	G.	G.														
E. of Mansfield, (L. Preſident)	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Lord Archbiſhop of York -	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
L. Loughborough, (L. Chan.)	G.	G.	N.G.	G.	G.	G.	G.	G.	G.	N.G.	G.	G.	G.	G.	G.	G.
Total, Not Guilty - -	23	23	28	24	24	24	24	22	22	27	24	24	23	23	24	24
Guilty - - - - -	6	6	—	4	3	3	3	5	5	—	3	3	4	4	3	3

As ſoon as they had gone through all the 16 queſtions,

The lord chancellor ſaid, it appears that there is a great majority for the acquittal of the priſoner on each of the articles; I am therefore, purſuant to your lordſhips' directions, to declare that Warren Haſtings, eſq. is acquitted of all the charges of impeachment brought againſt him by the commons, and of all the matter contained therein.

Mr. Haſtings was then called to come into court: he came into his box, and knelt in the uſual way; the chancellor deſired him to riſe, and addreſſed him in theſe words:

"Warren Haſtings, you are acquitted of all the charges of impeachment brought againſt you by the commons, and of all the matter contained therein; you and your bail, therefore, are diſcharged."

Mr. Haſtings bowed to the houſe.

The lord chancellor moved that their lordſhips do adjourn to the chamber of parliament.

Letter from Earl Fitzwilliam, recently retired from the Government of Ireland, to the Earl of Carliſle; explaining the cauſes of that event.

My dear Carliſle,

I thank you for your letter, and for the motives that induced you to write it; I know the warmth and truth of your friendſhip for me, and feel the ſincerity of it, when you appriſe me of all the calumnies, all the aſperſions, all the falſe charges and inſinuations that are levelled againſt my devoted head; but, ſtanding as I find I do, ſingle, naked, and unſupported, I tremble not:—I am not diſmayed, I feel the inward conſciouſneſs that, againſt whatever part of my conduct, whether as to meaſures or arrangements, the attack is principally to be levelled, I am able to defend its juſtice, wiſdom, and propriety. As yet, my dear Carliſle, but one ſide of the queſtion has been heard:—It has been heard only through the medium of inſinuations and ſuſpicions:—through that of calumny and aſperſion; under the maſk of pretended regret, and of friendly concern for me and my character. Perhaps you yourſelf may have received your information, and taken your opinions from the very perſons who have groſsly betrayed, and unfeelingly abandoned me; whoſe counſels, maxims, and meaſures, I have been purſuing; and for having purſued, I am now given up to every ſort of obloquy, and every extent of diſgrace.

You tell me, you have heard of the liſt of my diſmiſſals with ſurpriſe and diſmay. I long to know what diſmiſſals they are, that have produced this wonderful effect.

I removed two clerks from office, placed in ſituations that required a certain degree of confidence, but perfectly ſubordinate, and of no oſtenſibility: it might be ſufficient for me to ſay, that neither I nor my chief ſecretary, with whom they were in hourly intercourſe, felt inclined to give them that confidence; or to ſuffer the buſineſs of their reſpective offices to be conducted on the ſyſtem which we found had been lately introduced there.

In your days they were clerks, in mine I found them miniſters. Other governments might have been managed upon ſuch a ſyſtem; mine could not. One of my objects, and that a principal one, was to bring back conſequence and dignity to Engliſh government, and reſtore the caſtle its proper miniſters;—to have, in every ſubordinate office, perſons content to manage it as ſuch; and to ſhew that the government, as well in its patronage, as in all its various official details, was in no other hands but mine and Lord Milton's. Whether I left theſe perſons the pens and ink of their office, with their uſual ſalaries, or removing them, made compenſation adequate to their ſervices and pretenſions, can never appear to me matter of ſuch magnitude, as to ſpread diſmay through the Britiſh Cabinet. In this light it is really too ridiculous.—But to take care of them was an act not only of propriety, but of juſtice. The thanks of one of them conveyed in writing, and expreſſed in perſonal conferences with myſelf, within theſe two days, juſtify my intention to him. Mr. Cooke indeed, whoſe tone and ſtyle rendered his approach to a ſuperior not to be ſupported, rejects my propoſals in his favour, and thinks a retreat upon 1,200l. a year an inadequate recompence for the magnitude and importance of his ſervices.

I made propoſals to the Britiſh Miniſter for the removal of the attorney and ſolicitor generals; are theſe propoſals, and with the terms and ſtipulations on which I ſuggeſted the adoption of them, among the cauſes that have ſpread this conſternation? Mr. Pitt and the duke of Portland know perfectly well, that the men whom I found poſſeſſed of theſe miniſterial offices, were not the men in whom I meant to confide, in the arduous meaſures I had to undertake. Was I then to have two ſets of men, one poſſeſſing confidence without office, the other office without confidence? The abſurdity muſt ſtrike you and every body; and the delay of perfecting in England, the arrangements I propoſed, in order to avoid the abſurdity, expoſed lord Milton to a ſituation perfectly awkward, and which might have been highly embarraſſing. But I can take my ground on the fact itſelf, independent of every other conſideration: without meaning to depreciate the character of thoſe gentlemen ſtill in thoſe offices, with reſpect to their profeſſional merits, indiſputably they were not men of parliamentary abilities: and you know it is principally upon the perſons in thoſe offices that government relies both for the defence and the diſplay of their meaſures. I had a right, therefore, to look for parliamentary abilities in the perſons who filled thoſe offices, and were to ſit upon the treaſury bench; in them I did not find that qualification; in Mr. Ponſonby I found it in an eminent degree, his appointment the duke of Portland at all times conſidered as a thing to be done: it was the ſituation he always deſigned him, as that for which he was moſt peculiarly qualified, as well by his profeſſional knowledge and talents, as by his parliamentary eloquence, and it was the only one in which he could ſerve me confidentially, and oſtenſibly: that he ſhould do ſo was as much the duke of Portland's recommendation, as it was my deſire. If it had not been ſo, why did the duke of Portland deſire me to ſend for him to England, to conſult upon the arrangement and plan of my government? why did Mr. Pitt admit him to conſultations upon our arrangements to meaſures? The only objections that I ever remembered Mr. Pitt to have ſuggeſted, was, that he wiſhed him firſt to be ſolicitor general, in order that he might not jump at once into the elevated ſtation

tion of attorney general, but riſe by a regular gradation; but I never once concurred in this objection, becauſe I knew Mr. Ponſonby had always fairly ſtated, both to the duke of Portland and to me, that he had another perſon in view for ſolicitor general, to whom he and all his political connections were under an abſolute engagement,—the only one to which they were pledged. The great queſtion then was, to make an eaſy and honourable retreat for the perſon who actually poſſeſſed the office of attorney general: that retreat was ſecured to him in the full meaning and intent of theſe expreſſions; unleſs it can be ſaid, that a reverſion for himſelf and his ſon of 2,300l. per annum, (and that daily augmenting,) a peerage for his family, and an aſſurance on my part, that although removed from the immediate pretenſions of his office, he ſtill remained the perſon in my contemplation to fill the firſt vacancy of a chief's ſeat on the bench, was not an eaſy and honourable retreat, "but a puniſhment for ſins not "committed againſt my adminiſtra-"tion."

With reſpect to the ſolicitor general: conſidering his pretenſions, I conceive, that, had my propoſals been carried into effect, I ſhould have done equally well by him. The world think ſo, and judging from his manner towards Lord Milton and me, I have every reaſon to believe that he joins in the common opinion.

And now for the grand queſtion about Mr. Beresford. In a letter of mine to Mr. Pitt on this ſubject, I reminded him of a converſation, in which I had expreſſed to him (in anſwer to the queſtion put to him by me) my apprehenſions, that it would be neceſſary to remove that gentleman, and that he did not offer the ſlighteſt objection, or ſay a ſingle word in favour of Mr. Beresford. This alone would have made me ſuppoſe, that I ſhould be exempt from every imputation of breach of agreement, if I determined to remove him; but when, on my arrival here, I found all thoſe apprehenſions of his dangerous power, which Mr. Pitt admits I had often repreſented to him, were fully juſtified; when he was filling a ſituation greater than that of the lord lieutenant, and when I clearly ſaw, that if I had connected myſelf with him, it would have been connecting myſelf with a perſon under univerſal heavy ſuſpicions, and ſubjecting my government to all the opprobrium and unpopularity attendant upon his mal-adminiſtration. What was then to be my choice—what the deciſion I had to form? I could not heſitate a moment:—I decided at once, not to cloud the dawn of my adminiſtration, by leaving in ſuch power and authority, ſo much imputed malverſation: but in doing this, I determined, while I meant to curtail him of his power, and to ſhew to the nation that he did not belong to my adminiſtration, to let him remain in point of income, as well, to the full, as he had ever been: I did not touch, and he knew I had determined not to touch, a hair of the head of any one of his family or friends; and they are ſtill left in the full enjoyment of more emolument than ever was accumulated in any country upon any one family. To the odium of doing ſo I ſubmitted, rather than incur the riſque of diſpleaſing my colleagues, by infringing the emolument of a perſon profeſſing great attachment to them;

though indeed, at the ſame time, I had no ſlight ground of doubting the ſincerity of thoſe profeſſions. This, then, is the liſt of my diſmiſſions; by theſe I have puniſhed ſins not committed againſt me; and by theſe I have drawn down upon my head the cenſure of my ſovereign, even at the riſque of the peace of this kingdom, and have deſerved to be abandoned by thoſe, in whom I moſt truſted, and to whoſe ſupport I had every right that the moſt ſincere affection, the moſt implicit confidence, unbounded reliance, and invariable attachment could give, to depend on. But one more ſhort word on this part of the ſubject—the diſmiſſals. When were thoſe diſmiſſals made, and when announced to the Britiſh cabinet?—Before the meeting of parliament. When did their criminality, and the enormity of their offence, firſt commence?—It was when, under the credit of my adminiſtration, perhaps derived from thoſe very cauſes, the parliament had ſubmitted to unparalleled burdens, not ſolely for the purpoſe of providing for the internal ſecurity of this kingdom, by the moſt ample and formidable military eſtabliſhments, but likewiſe by lending its aſſiſtance to the empire at large, in the hour of its greateſt diſtreſs, by aids great and munificent beyond all example; then commenced the breach of all faith and agreement on my part;—then, and not till then, did theſe diſmiſſals aſſume the character of "heinous unpardonable "criminality;"—then did my adminiſtration become miſchievous and ruinous to this kingdom, dangerous to his majeſty's ſervice, and ſubverſive of the ſupremacy of Engliſh government in Ireland.

But it appears that not only my arrangements, but my meaſures alſo, have created the moſt univerſal ſurpriſe and diſmay. "Perſons, it "ſeems, the moſt connected with me, "have precipitately opened mea"ſures, which cannot be contemplat"ed without terror;" and all this I have permitted to be done, "before I "had time to judge with my own un"derſtanding." Am I, then, that light, weak, and eaſy man, that in matters of the higheſt import to the ſervice with which I have been entruſted, I ſhould have abandoned my judgment, and committed my deciſions to others, without conſulting my own underſtanding? If ſo, it were much to be wiſhed that the diſcovery had been made before laſt July;—before I had been compelled by inceſſant ſolicitations, and the moſt urgent importunities, to undertake the arduous taſk for which I and mine have relinquiſhed all our comforts. Egregiouſly muſt you have been miſled, my dear Carliſle, if ſuch has been the light in which my proceedings on the Catholic queſtion have been repreſented to you; my correſpondence with the ſecretary of ſtate for this department will give you very different impreſſions; and, as my friend, I deſire you will apply to ſee it. I will not enter with you into the policy of this great queſtion, as I have referred you to a correſpondence, where, I truſt, you will find the reaſons on which I grounded the meaſures which I propoſed to be adopted in the progreſs of it. The chief cauſe of diſcontent with me on this head, you repreſent to be—the precipitancy with which thoſe meaſures were opened; and to that I ſhall confine myſelf in anſwer to it.

You will recollect, that the meaſure of emancipation to the catholics

lics was originally the meaſure of Mr. Pitt, and the Weſtmoreland adminiſtration. The moſt ſtrenuous and zealous friends of my predeceſſor claimed the credit of it for their patron, in terms of the higheſt compliment. They did it in the houſe of commons; they did it in the houſe of lords laſt night. The perſons whom lord Weſtmoreland then principally conſulted, oppoſed it; but the open interference of Lord Hobart, and the avowed determination of the Britiſh cabinet, communicated as well to the catholic agents on the ſpot, as through the medium of confidential perſons ſent over to England for that purpoſe, bore down their oppoſition. The declarations both of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas on the occaſion, are well known in this country, and are often quoted: "They would not riſque a rebel-"lion in Ireland on ſuch a queſtion." But what they would not riſque under lord Weſtmoreland's adminiſtration, they are not afraid to riſque under mine, when the jealouſy and alarm, which certainly at the firſt period pervaded the minds of the proteſtant body, exiſt no longer; when not one proteſtant corporation, ſcarcely an individual, has come forward to deprecate and oppoſe the indulgence claimed by the higher orders of catholics; when even ſome of thoſe who were moſt alarmed in 1793, and were then the moſt violent oppoſers, declare the indulgences now aſked, to be only the neceſſary conſequences of thoſe granted at that time, and poſitively eſſential to ſecure the well being of the two countries.

But after all, why did not Mr. Pitt warn me of thoſe horrid conſequences, previous to my departure for Ireland, if he really felt them? Why was the ſubject left open for my judgment and diſcretion? It was becauſe he himſelf approved the principle, and he knew that I would not have undertaken the miſſion, unleſs I had been left ſo unreſtrained. —How then ſtands the queſtion? Doubtleſs, if I had not found, on my arrival, that the ſubject was in actual agitation, and that there was a certainty of its being brought immediately forward before Parliament, I ſhould not at this critical moment have ſtirred it. There was a poſſibility that it might provoke ſome proteſtant diſcontent, and this I conceived to be a circumſtance that ought moſt cautiouſly to be avoided, provided the conſiderations, that had been diſcuſſed between my colleagues and me in England, did not appear to me to outweigh it.

The points then to be conſidered are theſe—If the *general principle* of conceding to the catholics was only taken up by me on my arrival here, without previous agreement on the part of the Britiſh miniſters, and without my having reaſon to expect their ſubſequent concurrence—if the only point reſerved for conſideration was, the time and manner of bringing forward the meaſure, and if it was not implicitly left to my diſcretion to judge of that manner and time—if I did not take every proper precaution to exerciſe that diſcretion, and to obtain information by every means within my reach—if I yielded to the neceſſity of giving way to the meaſure, before I had thoroughly examined the practicability and policy of puting it off——If theſe things are ſo, then I ſtand convicted; then I muſt be content to have laid at my door the ferment and diſtraction which reſiſtance to the catholic pretenſions, and my recall from the Government, have raiſed. But if the converſe of this be true, then the verdict muſt be given in my favour; and to the events that may hereafter confirm that verdict, I too look forward with as much terror and diſmay as you or any perſon whatever; perhaps with more, becauſe I am at hand to ſee how great and imminent the danger is;—but perhaps it will be better to ſtate the tranſaction. I arrived here with the recommendations of the Britiſh cabinet, and the point committed by them to my deciſion, ſtrongly impreſſed upon my mind; I had converſations with moſt reſpectable perſons upon this important ſubject, and at firſt I entertained hopes that the queſtion might lie dormant for the preſent ſeſſion, as my firſt letters will evince; but a few days ſhewed me that theſe hopes would prove nugatory. I found that the matter was already on foot; and I have the beſt grounds for believing that on the day of the Duke of Portland's kiſſing hands, it was determined to bring it forward this ſeſſion. All the old friends with whom he had acted, when he was here as lord lieutenant, and whom it was concluded he would again call to his councils, on taking to himſelf the government, of which there was at that time a general expectation, were known, from their public declarations, and from their proceedings in parliament, to intend a full and complete emancipation; his own opinions were univerſally believed to coincide with his Iriſh friends: as to my knowledge, they certainly did. Immediately meaſures were therefore taken by the catholics, preparatory to the expected change of adminiſtration here; and by the time of my arrival, the petitions which have been ſince laid before the Houſe of Commons, were in complete readineſs. When I had fully ſatisfied myſelf, by every information that I could gain, that this was the real ſtate of the affair; and when I found that any attempt of mine to ſtop it for the preſent would be uſeleſs; it gave me great ſatisfaction to find that the buſineſs had been put into the hands of my friend, Mr. Grattan, by the catholics, as it gave me an opportunity of knowing every thing that was intended, and of conſulting upon it with the cabinet in London, previous to its being publicly known. When once the catholics had poſitively decided to bring forward this queſtion, even if I had not had previous conſultation with my colleagues on the buſineſs, under ſuch circumſtances I ſhould have thought it right and expedient to gain credit and ſtrength to the adminiſtration, by yielding to the general wiſh; but the fact is, that while I was following my own opinions and inclinations, I was following their directions; and I ſtrictly complied with them; when finding that the general diſpoſition was not to be reſiſted, I reſolved to give the meaſure a handſome and cordial ſupport on the part of government. The happy effects of this determination I fully experienced. You have been told, I perceive, that the bill was brought in precipitately; this is not the fact. Leave to bring in the bill has certainly been moved for by Mr. Grattan; but not a line of the bill itſelf ever produced. There appeared a riſing impatience among the catholics after the delivery of their petitions, which made me apprehend that the meaſure might be transferred from the hands of Mr. Grattan to thoſe of another, with whom I might have no connection, and conſequently over whom I could have no hopes of control, or to have communication, however much I might wiſh it. There was no want of candidates for this honour; there were enough greedy to ſeize upon it. I therefore deſired Mr. Grattan to take poſſeſſion of the buſineſs, that I might be ſure of myſelf having control over the management of the bill.——By this means, the plan and extent of the meaſure is now known only to the Britiſh cabinet, to whom I have ſubmitted it; and it remains a profound ſecret to every Roman catholic, and to every proteſtant, except to the very few of the latter deſcription, to whom I have thought proper to confide it. Of theſe the Primate was the firſt; and miniſters are already poſſeſſed of his opinions on the ſubject; they are equally in poſſeſſion of every information reſpecting men's minds and tempers, which I am able to give; with reſpect to the merits of the caſe, abſtracted from the local circumſtances, ſurely it would be preſumption in me to dictate to them; I have repreſented clearly and diſtinctly my own opinions, but they are capable of deciding and judging for themſelves; in the way I have managed, they have an opportunity of doing it before the bill is introduced; ſo that if they do not agree with Mr. Grattan's, (in which I heartily concur) and if they do not come up to the extent claimed and expected by the catholics, they have had time, previous to the introduction of the bill, to ſuggeſt any expedients, modifications, or limitations, they may think proper to introduce; thus, by my management, government will do this without incurring the odium of narrowing an original propoſition, and defeating hopes once realized. Thus then I made myſelf maſter, as well of the time of bringing the meaſure forward, as for conſulting on the points to be conceded; for, as to reſiſting altogether, I ſhould have belied my own conviction, and betrayed my ſituation, if I did not repreſent, as I have repeatedly done, that it would not only defeat every hope I had formed for the general ſecurity and defence of the country, but be attended with a certainty of the moſt alarming and fatal conſequences. Of this, as I have already obſerved to you, every day preſented me with additional, indiſputable proofs. The alarm that has been univerſally ſpread by the rumour of the meaſures being to be reſiſted, the language of every perſon with whom I converſe, even of the boldeſt of its former oppoſers, the reſolutions and addreſſes from the city, echoed already from the cities of Cork, Londonderry, and the county of Kildare, and actually adopted through every part of the kingdom; the debates of theſe laſt days in the Houſe of Commons, all theſe muſt prove to you that my repreſentations were at leaſt nothing ſhort of the truth. I truſt that the evil genius of England will not ſo far infatuate its miniſters, as to induce them to wait for more deciſive corroborations of the faithfulneſs and honeſty with which I warned them of the danger of perſiſting in their fatal change of opinion on this momentous queſtion. I truſt they will perceive, before it be too late, that the meaſures which I thought it my duty to ſuggeſt, are the only meaſures that can ſecure the good underſtanding between the two countries; which, as you may obſerve, it was our plan to obtain, by the beſt means we could; and without which, the moſt ſerious calamities may ariſe to both nations. The proſpect of having this plan defeated may, and will plunge you, and every well-wiſher to his country, in that "affliction and conſternation in "which," you ſay, "you are loſt." But let thoſe be anſwerable, to whoſe counſels alone that misfortune muſt be attributed;—to thoſe who, though raſhly and precipitately taking their opinions from ſecret, unavowed, inſiduous informations, and in direct and open contempt of the official communications of the perſon intruſted by his majeſty with the government of this kingdom, in the very midſt of a critical ſeſſion of parliament, and while the meaſures were yet pending, which were to provide for the ſafety, and, perhaps, for the very exiſtence of the country, formed the deſperate reſolution to change the whole of their ſyſtem, on a queſtion which, they knew and admit, would involve in its deciſion —that ſafety and that exiſtence; and then, while in fact the whole proceeding is to be traced to the miniſter, who, impoſing on his colleagues, riſks all, rather than not extend his protection to thoſe whom he conſiders as his excluſive friends, ſcreen themſelves by endeavouring to throw on me the cenſure of having "changed the decided points on "which I had taken my deciſion to "embark, and of having been hur"ried into the adoption of meaſures "here, which could not have had "the previous approbation of "miniſters in England, or ſubſe"quently obtained their concur"rence." You have already ſeen how falſe and how groundleſs that accuſation is with reſpect to the catholic queſtion. It is equally ſo in every other reſpect. The meaſure of arranging the Treaſury bench, the bare outline, or rather the principle, of which has been ſtated in the Houſe, preparatory to its introduction, was fully agreed on between ſir John Parnel and Mr. Pitt. Nothing was left unſettled but the detail, and this would have been ſubmitted to the Britiſh cabinet, as the detail of the catholic buſineſs has been ſubmitted to them, previous to its diſcuſſion in the Houſe. Theſe are the only meaſures I have attempted in parliament, except the ſupplies, and the defence of the country. Are theſe the meaſures on which I am to be accuſed? Am I to expect to be arraigned, from a general opinion—that I had not obtained the previous concurrence of miniſters? when on the faith of my government, the reputations of the perſons whom I had called to my councils, and principally becauſe I was known to ſtand unconnected with thoſe for whom my government is now ſubverted; the Houſe of Commons of Ireland had unanimouſly granted me the largeſt ſupplies that have ever been demanded. When I had procured an army, infinitely ſuperior in numbers to whatever had been voted before in this kingdom—when I laid a foundation for increaſing the eſtabliſhed force of the country, and procured a vote of two hundred thouſand pounds towards the general defence of the empire; will my friends inquire why, in all the correſpondence of the Britiſh miniſtry, I have never received a line to expreſs the leaſt ſatisfaction, the leaſt approbation of theſe my ſucceſsful exertions in his majeſty's ſervice? Why, to the eve of my recal, they never deigned even to notice, or to give a word of anſwer, while I repeatedly called for inſtructions how I ſhould proceed, in giving theſe meaſures their beſt effect towards the general ſervice? and why, at the very moment when I was going on with the united confidence and ſupport of parliament and people, in rapidly promoting internal tranquillity, and ſucceſsfully providing for foreign defence, the miniſtry of England, inſtead of cooperating with my zeal, or forwarding my intentions, were through one channel caviling with me on petty arrangements, and the jobs of intriguing individuals; and through another (the channel of my friends) abandoning and betraying me?

You expreſs an earneſt wiſh that I may yet be able to reſide: I certainly cannot. But I am certainly prepared to meet, confute, and retort that criminating opinion, however general you may repreſent it to be on your ſide of the water, that I and my adviſers have been haſty and precipitate. There is indeed another opinion, which you ſay is equally general, that I ſhall be moſt anxious to confirm. Whatever it may coſt my feelings, I ſhall not forget the duty I owe to his majeſty, or neglect the truſt he has been graciouſly pleaſed to repoſe in me: a ſenſe of my own honour, and what I owe to myſelf, will unite with whatever my country has a right to expect from me. In impoſing upon me this taſk, I ſhall omit no "perſonal "ſacrifice that may attend to the "eaſe of his majeſty's government, "or the advancement of his ſervice," as far as depends on my influence during the ſhort period of my retaining the authority with which he ſo lately condeſcended to inveſt me. If in the hands of thoſe, to whom I have been directed to tranſmit that authority, his majeſty's government ſhall feel embarraſſments that may affect the general adminiſtration, I have the unanimous teſtimony of both his Houſes of Parliament here, I have their unanimous proceedings to prove, that no ſuch embarraſſments exiſted in my days, and that I had no ſuch to fear.

I had reſolved never to enter in the moſt diſtant degree on any defence of my conduct, until I ſhould be admitted into his majeſty's cloſet, where alone I ſhould deign to anſwer the unjuſt charges that are urged againſt me. The deſire of ſatisfying a friend, who, I know, is intereſted in my reputation and happineſs, has imperceptibly led me into this rapid ſketch of all my proceedings, ſince my arrival here; as I have done it, I not only have no objection but I even wiſh, that you will ſhew it to as many perſons as you ſhall think proper.

Believe me, &c. &c.
WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM.

Earl Fitzwilliam's Second Letter to the Earl of Carliſle.

My dear Carliſle,

AS I find that the ſeveral ſubjects of crimination that have been urged againſt me, are ſettling all into one point, and that if I am to judge from the declarations and proceedings of Mr. Pitt's friends here, or from the Engliſh newſpapers, generally known to ſpeak the language of government, the grand head of attack is to be the miſchief I have cauſed, by agitating the catholic queſtion, I think it eſſential to trouble you once more, and to ſubmit ſome obſervations on the ſubject, which did not appear ſo eſſential to me at the time I was writing to you laſt. I then contented myſelf with referring you to my correſpondence with the cabinet of England on the catholic meaſure. I ſhall now, myſelf, enter into a review of that correſpondence. It contains a full and adequate vindication of my conduct, and will prove two things: Firſt, That the catholic queſtion entered for nothing into the real cauſe of my recall; and ſecondly, that from the very beginning, as well as through the whole progreſs of that fatal buſineſs, for fatal, I fear, I muſt call it, I acted in perfect conformity with the original outline ſettled between me and his majeſty's miniſters, previous to my departure from London. From a full conſideration of the real merits of the caſe, as well as from every information I had been able to collect of the ſtate and temper of Ireland, from the year 1793, I was decidedly of opinion, that not only ſound policy, but juſtice, required, on the part of Great Britain, that the work, which was left imperfect at that period, ought to be completed, and the catholics relieved from every remaining diſqualification. In this opinion the duke of Portland uniformly concurred with me, and when this queſtion came under diſcuſſion, previous to my departure for Ireland I found the cabinet, with Mr. Pitt at their head, ſtrongly impreſſed with the ſame conviction. Had I found it otherwiſe, I never would have undertaken the government. I at firſt propoſed that the additional indulgences ſhould be offered from the throne; the very beſt effects would be ſecured by this act of unſolicited graciouſneſs; and the embarraſſing conſequences, which it was natural to foreſee muſt reſult from the meaſures being left open for any volunteer to bring forward, would be timely and happily avoided. But to this propoſal objections were ſtarted, that appeared of ſufficient weight to induce the adoption of another plan. I conſented not to bring the queſtion forward on the part of government, but rather to endeavour to keep it back, until a period of more general tranquillity, when ſo many material objects might not preſs upon the government; but as the principle was agreed on, and the neceſſity of its being brought into full effect was univerſally allowed, it was at the ſame time reſolved, that if the catholics ſhould appear determined to ſtir the buſineſs, and bring it before parliament, I was to give it a handſome ſupport on the part of government.

I was no ſooner landed, and informed of the real ſtate of things here, than I found that queſtion would force itſelf upon my immediate conſideration. Faithful to the ſyſtem that had been agreed on, and anxious to attain the object that had been committed to my diſcretion, I loſt not a moment in gaining every neceſſary information, or in tranſmitting the reſult to the Britiſh cabinet. As early as the 8th of January, I wrote to the ſecretary of ſtate on the ſubject; I told him that I trembled about the roman catholics; that I had great fears about keeping them quiet for the ſeſſion; that I found the queſtion already in agitation; that a committee was appointed to bring forward a petition to parliament, praying for a repeal of all remaining diſqualifications. I mentioned my intentions of immediately uſing what efforts I could to ſtop the progreſs of it, and to bring the catholics back to a confidence in government. I ſtated the ſubſtance of ſome converſations I had on the ſubject with ſome of the principal perſons of the country. It was the opinion of one of theſe, *that if the poſtponing of the queſtion could be negociated on grounds of expediency, it ought not to be reſiſted by government.* That it ſhould be put off for ſome time, was allowed by another to be a deſirable thing; but the principle of extenſion was at the ſame time ſtrongly inſiſted on, and forcibly inculcated, as a matter not only wiſe, but neceſſary to the public tranquillity.

From the day of the date of this letter, I unremittingly applied myſelf to the collecting of farther information. I had heard that the committee had prepared an addreſs for me; before I ſhould receive it, I wiſhed to know the opinions of thoſe whom the committee called the ſeceders—the noblemen and principal landed gentlemen of that perſuaſion.

In a letter of the 15th of January, I acquainted the ſecretary of ſtate of the reſult of theſe inquiries, and of the progreſs of the buſineſs ſubſequent to my former letters. I told him, that, in the abſence of the nobleman who was conſidered as the head of the ſeceders, I had ſent for a perſon of the moſt tried and acknowledged moderation amongſt them, and of the firſt conſequence and property. I found by him, (what the nobleman above alluded to afterwards confirmed) that he, and every perſon of his deſcription, were in perfect uniſon with the committee: that they all decidedly looked to the ſame object; that they were determined never to loſe ſight of it; that provided it ſhould be attained, they had no objection that Mr. Byrne, or any other member of the committee, ſhould have the honour of taking the lead in it. I mentioned my having, after this converſation, received the addreſs; that, in my anſwer, which I tranſmitted, I had endeavoured to keep clear of all ſpecific engagements whatever, though at the ſame time I had avoided every thing that could be conſtrued into a rejection of what they were *all* looking to—the repeal of the remaining reſtrictions: and (what comes immediately to the point) I concluded by declaring, that I ſhould not do my duty, if I did not diſtinctly relate it as my opinion, that not to grant cheerfully on the part of government, *all* the catholics wiſhed for, would not only be exceedingly impolitic, but perhaps dangerous—that in doing this, *no time was to be loſt*; that the buſineſs would be *preſently* at hand; and that the firſt ſtep I took would be of infinite importance; that if *I received no very peremptory* directions to the contrary, I ſhould acquieſce—acquieſce, I meant, *in the time*, in the mode of proceeding, and in the extent of the demands. For, as to the *meaſure*, conſidered generally, I could conceive no neceſſity to wait for any new directions, on which to decide.—Of this I reminded the ſecretary of ſtate. "Convinced (I ſaid) as we all are, of the "neceſſity, as well as fitneſs, of the "meaſure taking place, at no diſtant period, I was decidedly of "opinion, that to attempt to defer "it, would be uſeleſs, if not dange-

"rous." The ſtate of the country required this, and the diſpoſitions of the catholics, among whom "the "appearance of heſitation on the "part of government, might pro- "duce miſchief to a degree beyond "calculation." You will not forget that all this paſſed within the firſt fortnight after my arrival, and before the meeting of parliament. Thus early were miniſters in poſſeſſion of the opinions and determinations, which, in the exerciſe of my diſcretionary power, I had formed on the ſubject; they knew that the queſtion was in agitation; that a petition to parliament had been determined on, and was to be immediately preſented; they were acquainted with the extent of the catholic demands; they knew that it could not be kept back; that no time was to be loſt; and that if I did not receive their directions to the contrary, I ſhould, in the ſpirit of the ſyſtem that had been agreed on, immediately acquieſce to the full extent of the catholic expectations.

This, then, was the time for his majeſty's miniſters to come forward with their fears and their alarms. If they had ſo ſuddenly changed their minds on the ſubject, and if they had at length *diſcovered* that this which was to be, both with their knowledge and conſent, a leading meaſure of my adminiſtration, led to conſequences "that could not "be contemplated without horror "and diſmay," this was the time for them to warn me of this change. They knew that it was my opinion, that not a moment was to be loſt, and conſequently that if I did not receive peremptory directions to the contrary, I was prepared to conſent, without an appearance of heſitation, that the meaſure ſhould go forward. Did they ſend me thoſe peremptory directions? Did they ſtate to me, as they afterwards did ſtate, that it was the *unanimous opinion* of the cabinet that I ſhould ſtop ſhort: that I ſhould *abſtain from all engagements*, or even *encouraging language*, on the queſtion, until I ſhould receive their farther directions? Not a word of the kind. My regular correſpondence went on; I received frequent letters from the ſecretary of ſtate, and not even a hint was thrown out on the ſubject.

In a letter of the 7th of January, I propoſed the removal of Mr. Wolfe, on certain terms of accommodation, in order to make room for Mr. George Ponſonby, to act as my attorney general. This letter went by the ſame mail with my letter of the 8th, to which I have alluded above. On the 13th of January, the ſecretary of ſtate writes me an anſwer to this very letter. He informs me that the king had conſented to Mr. Wolfe's peerage, which was one of the terms I had there propoſed, and touches lightly upon an objection againſt another, (that of holding out to Mr. Wolfe the promiſe of ſucceeding to a chief juſtice's place) on the ſuppoſition that he was to quit his practice at the bar—a ſuppoſition, by the way, that never had the ſmalleſt foundation.—But not a word on the catholic queſtion, not a ſingle obſervation on what I ſtated ſo ſtrongly reſpecting my fears of not being able to keep it quiet during the ſeſſion.

The 2d of February came, and of that date I find a ſecond, and more detailed letter from the ſecretary of ſtate on the ſubject of Mr. Wolfe; but here again he confined himſelf to that ſubject alone; and in my letter of the 15th January, which muſt have been ſo many days in his hands, was not even noticed. That letter, in which I ſo earneſtly preſſed, and which in itſelf called for an explicit, an immediate, and peremptory anſwer; that letter, from which he knew, that if not *timely* inſtructed, and *timely* checked, the catholic queſtion would *preſently* receive from me a cheerful acquieſcence; yet, in the interval from the receipt of it till the 2d of February, although he wrote twice on other ſubjects, he ſays not a word of the precipitancy with which I was plunging into a matter ſo big with danger to the empire; not even a hint that I ſhould proceed with more caution or circumſpection in a meaſure that was to ſubvert the conſtitution and eſtabliſhment in this kingdom. The fact was, that neither he nor the cabinet entertained at that time any ſuch fears; they then apprehended no ſuch danger. It was another buſineſs that opened their eyes to all the miſchiefs of my counſels: a buſineſs that ſoon rung ſuch an alarm, as brought down upon me that tempeſt of fears, and terrors, and remonſtrances, under which I have ſunk.

At the cloſe of the letter of the 15th of January, alluded to above, I had mentioned the diſmiſſal of Mr. Beresford. This intelligence does not ſeem to have cauſed the ſmalleſt degree of alarm in the breaſt of the ſecretary of ſtate.

In his letter of the 2d of February when it appears that he muſt have received the information for ſeveral days, he takes not the leaſt notice of it: and it farther appears, from a letter of Mr. Windham's to lord Milton, that his grace was equally unacquainted with the alarm which the intelligence of the tranſaction, conveyed indirectly to Mr. Pitt by Mr. Beresford himſelf, had cauſed in that quarter. However this may have been, the attack upon me was, in the mean time, meditating, although perhaps unknown to his grace.

This letter of Mr. Windham's was the firſt intimation I received of the leaſt diſcontent among my colleagues in England at my conduct ſince my arrival. The duke of Portland had, indeed, in one letter, ſtated ſome objections about the terms of Mr. Wolfe's removal, and in another about Mr. George Ponſonby's appointment, but nothing that could indicate diſcontent. But Mr. Windham's letter of the 26th of January, was followed by one from Mr. Pitt. On the 9th of February, and not before, that gentleman wrote to me to expoſtulate on the diſmiſſal of Mr. Beresford, and on the negociations with Mr. Wolfe and Mr. Toler. This formed the whole matter of his letter, and to this alone he confined his remonſtrances; yet he had a fair opportunity of touching on the meaſures of my government; for he concluded his letter by making an apology "for interrupting my attention from the many important "conſiderations of a different nature, "to which all our minds ought to "be directed."

The taſk of bringing forward the catholic queſtion he had, it ſeems, committed to another. By the ſame mail, and in a letter, dated the 8th, the very day before Mr. Pitt had written to me, came a letter from the ſecretary of ſtate, touching *at length* on this important ſubject, and bringing it for the *firſt time* into play, as a queſtion of any doubt or difficulty with the Britiſh cabinet. Then, as if the queſtion had been ſtarted for the firſt moment between us, as if it never had been the ſubject of any former conſultation, plan, or arrangement whatever, he writes of enabling the king's miniſters to form their judgment as to the *policy*, *expediency*, *ſafety*, and *neceſſity* of that meaſure. Then, as if he had never before heard from me on the ſubject, he cautions me againſt committing myſelf by *engagements*, or even by encouraging language, (ſo minute is his grace) to give my countenance to the immediate adoption of this meaſure; then, for the firſt time, it appears to have been diſcovered, that the deferring it would be not an *expediency*, or *a thing to be deſired* for the preſent, but, "the means "of doing a greater ſervice to the "Britiſh empire, than it has been "capable of receiving ſince the re"volution, or at leaſt ſince the "union." All former opinions, all former diſcuſſions, all former agreements, the leading principle "of "our being all convinced of the ne"ceſſity, as well as fitneſs, of the "meaſure taking place at no diſtant "period," of which I reminded the miniſters, in my letter of the 15th of January, all were forgotten, and the ſecretary feels it his duty, *for the firſt time*, in conſequence of the diſcuſſion of the queſtion in the cabinet *the day before*, to exhort me to uſe thoſe efforts, which I had expreſſed an intention of trying—Efforts, of the efficacy of which I had expreſſed the ſtrongeſt doubts on the 8th of January, when I firſt mentioned my intentions of trying them—Efforts, every hope from which I had relinquiſhed on the 15th, when I warned them of the neceſſity of immediately giving way; when I earneſtly called upon them for peremptory directions, which if I ſhould not receive, I ſhould acquieſce—Efforts which they knew from the whole ſeries of my correſpondence, it was impoſſible even to attempt, without evident and certain danger.

From this period, every thing went on rapidly towards my removal.—From my knowledge of the perſon I had to deal with, I was reſolved myſelf to bring the buſineſs to the real point at iſſue between us, and to leave him no ſubterfuge. Cruelly as the duke of Portland has treated me, I feel no difficulty to ſay, that his judgment was deceived before he abandoned me. On whatever ground he has ſuffered himſelf to be induced to change his former opinions reſpecting the politics of this country, and the characters and views of its principal perſonages; he did change thoſe opinions; and in conſequence of that change alone, he has been driven to conſent to the meaſure of my inſtant recall. But *I* was not ſo deceived. I combined all the circumſtances which I have detailed to you in this letter. I perceived immediately the ſcheme that was laid againſt me, and I reſolved on the only means I ſaw left to bring the matter to ſo ſpeedy an iſſue, as ſhould preſerve my honour and vindicate my public character. In my anſwer to Mr. Pitt, a copy of which I ſend you, and which I wrote the very night I received his letter, I entered fully into the ſubject of my diſmiſſals. I ſtated, as you will ſee, my reaſons for having determined on them, as well as for adhering to them when once reſolved on—Reaſons, of which, from your knowledge of this country, you will, I am ſure, admit the juſtice. I then put it to himſelf to determine for me, and for the efficacy of my government—I left it to him to make his choice between Mr. Beresford and me.

The ſame night I wrote to the duke of Portland. I teſtified my ſurprize to him, that, after ſuch an interval of time, and after the various details, which I had tranſmitted to him, adviſing him of the hourly increaſing neceſſity of bringing forward the catholic queſtion, and the impolicy and danger of reſiſting, or even heſitating about it, I ſhould now be preſſed, *for the firſt time*, to defer the queſtion till ſome future occaſion. I refuſed to be the perſon to run the riſk of ſuch a determination; I refuſed to be the perſon to raiſe a flame in the country, that nothing ſhort of arms would be able to keep down. I then alluded to Mr. Pitt's letter; appealed to his knowledge of the ſituation of a Lord Lieutenant in this kingdom; and left him to determine, whether, if he was not to be ſupported, he ought not to be removed. Theſe letters I wrote on the 14th of February.—Shortly after came two official letters from the duke of Portland, dated the 16th, in which he enters into a long detail of the various points of view in which the cabinet wiſh to have the queſtion of the catholics conſidered; on the ſame day with theſe came a private letter of his own, dated the 18th. In this his grace dwells moſt particularly on the neceſſity of the cabinet having information ſubmitted to them on all theſe points of view and a detailed plan of all the additional advantages intended to be conceded to the catholics. He obſerves, that *if* the conſideration of this great queſtion could be deferred till peace was re-eſtabliſhed, he ſhould not have a doubt but that it would be attended with advantages, which, perhaps, are not to be hoped for in any other ſuppoſable caſe: But he added, (I beg you will attend to this,) "that "*it was ſurely going too far, to in*-"*fer from any thing that he had* "*ſaid, that I was deſired to under*-"*take the taſk of deferring it to that* "*period.* If the cabinet were to "accede, what they deſired was, to "be juſtified in that acceſſion, by a "free and impartial inveſtigation "of *facts*, of *circumſtances*, and of "*opinions*, in which, as of reaſon, "MINE *would have the moſt* DECI-"SIVE WEIGHT; and as I had ex-"preſſed a wiſh to have the mode "conſidered in England, whilſt it "was ſtill within my reach, to have "it limited or modified before the "bill was introduced, and before "the plan was known to the catho-"lics, he wiſhed to have that plan, "and the heads of the bill, tranſ-"mitted for conſideration."

If any thing was wanting to confirm me in my opinion, that the duke of Portland had ſuffered himſelf to be completely duped and deceived in this buſineſs, a compariſon of this letter with what immediately followed, would be alone ſufficient to eſtabliſh that conviction. At the moment of writing this letter, there was not "a fact," "a cir-"cumſtance," or "an opinion," that could have been tranſmitted to him, of which he was not in poſſeſſion. He acknowledges himſelf, and frequently refers to my letter of the 10th of February, in which he had the plan, the oath on which the whole depended, on which every thing that regarded the conſtitution, the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, and the ſettlement of property reſted. He had the primate's opinion,

nion, and ſome ideas that his grace had ſuggeſted. In a letter of mine, dated the 20th, he had ſtill more ample details on theſe various heads; but for theſe details, "which were "of reaſon to have ſuch deciſive "weight," he was not ſuffered to wait. The deciſion had been already formed before he had called for them. The *very day* after he had written that letter, in which he had preſſed me for more information, he aſſiſted at the *denouement* of the piece. He aſſiſted at the cabinet meeting that unanimouſly concurred in the neceſſity of recalling me; and in a letter of the 21ſt, ſums up all the reaſons, why that meaſure was deemed neceſſary, without one diſſenting voice, for the very preſervation of the empire. Can any thing be more ſelf-evident, or, in order to account for the real cauſes of my recall, did it require that this letter ſhould be accompanied, as it was, by one from Mr. Pitt of the ſame date, accepting, in fact, the alternative I propoſed to him, and declaring himſelf fully prepared for the event, however he might lament it. It is true, indeed, that, for the very firſt time, he mentions the catholic buſineſs, and declares his concurrence in the general deſire of the cabinet to prevent any farther progreſs being made in Mr. Grattan's bill, *till they ſhould receive and conſider the information, which they thought it their duty to call for.* Would you not have ſuppoſed from this, that to decide on my government, Mr. Pitt meant to wait till he received farther information from me, reſpecting the important queſtion of the catholics? No ſuch thing. By the dereliction of all my friends, and by the proſpect of my falling alone, he was prepared to throw out this as a matter on which to amuſe his colleagues at the moment, and the public at a future period: while to myſelf, without allowing a moment's farther deliberation, he boldly and peremptorily pronounces on what I had determined to be the point to decide on my government. "On the ſubject "of arrangements, he felt bound to "adhere to his ſentiments, not only "with reſpect to Mr. Beresford, but "to the line of conduct adopted in "ſo many inſtances towards the "former ſupporters of government. "By theſe ſentiments, he muſt at "*all events* be guided, from a regard "to the king's ſervice, and to his "own honour, however ſincerely he "might lament the conſequences "which muſt ariſe from the preſent "ſituation."

Need I add any comment on this letter? Need I obſerve to you, that the meaſure of the roman catholics, on which it is now aſſerted my adminiſtration was determined, is here reſerved for future conſideration, whilſt the ſubject of arrangements is finally and peremptorily decided? At all events, and independent of every other conſideration, his own honour obliges him not to give way on that ſubject, and however he laments it, he acquieſces in what I had ſtated to him muſt be the conſequence of ſuch a deciſion on his part.

Let my friends therefore, my dear Carliſle, no longer ſuffer the catholic queſtion to be mentioned, as entering, in the moſt diſtant degree, into the cauſes of my recall. Let them liſten no longer to that terrifying enumeration of evils and miſeries to reſult to the empire from a meaſure, which my enemies aſſert to have conſidered either as originating with myſelf excluſively, or as hurried on by me raſhly and precipitately, or without conſent or conſultation. You have ſeen when the dread of theſe miſeries was firſt conceived, and when the complaint of this want of conſultation was firſt brought forward. Had Mr. Beresford never been diſmiſſed, we never ſhould have heard of them, and I ſhould have remained. But ſo remaining, I ſhould have been diſgraced. Indeed, diſgraced by the failure of all the meaſures which I had planned for the public welfare, and loaded with all the odium which that gentleman, and his connections, have entailed upon the government to which I had ſucceeded. But it will be ſaid, that in proving this point ſo ſtrongly, I ſtill leave myſelf open to other accuſations, which affect my character, when I avow the earneſtneſs with which I had determined to pull down the power of the Beresfords; I ſubmit to the imputation of wiſhing to raiſe the Ponſonbys. It was only one family acquiring conſequence, and another family loſing it, according to an inſinuation of a letter from one of the cabinet. Am I then ſo little known to my friends? Is it my character in the world, that while I pretend the public good, and the king's ſervice, I am inſidiouſly conſulting my own private intereſts; and inſtead of my country, have only my own connections in view? I think, my dear Carliſle, you would be ſorry to ſee me condeſcend to enter into the merits of ſuch an accuſation. But by diſmiſſing Mr. Beresford I broke my engagements with Mr. Pitt; ſo he himſelf ſtates it. I acted, as he pretends in his letter, inconſiſtently with that principle, by which alone the full advantage of the union which had taken place in England could be extended to Ireland. What does he mean by this laſt aſſertion? Would he inſinuate, that the union which took place in England, precluded every idea of removal? Was there no removal in the War-Office in England? None in the Poſt-Office? None in the Cabinet? Has there been no removal of his own friends at the Admiralty? Or did lord Spencer, on his ſucceeding lord Chatham, act inconſiſtently with the ſpirit of the union, when he required ſuch changes, and the conſtitution of ſuch a board, as, judging for himſelf, ſhould command his confidence? What was right and conſiſtent in him, in ſo many inſtances, muſt it be blameable and inconſiſtent in me? Charged with the government of a diſtracted and diſcontented country, am I alone to be fettered and reſtrained in the choice of the perſons by whom I am to be aſſiſted, and rather than indulge me in that ſingle point (even conſidering it in the light of indulgence) muſt the miniſters of England boldly face the certainty of raiſing alarming diſcontents in this kingdom, and, perhaps, of opening another breach for ruin and deſtruction to break upon us? Muſt I be interrupted in the courſe of the moſt unanimous ſeſſion of parliament the country had ever ſeen, commanding, by my influence, and on the credit of the perſons whom I had employed, and I muſt add, on the ſatisfaction I had given by one diſmiſſal, ſupplies and forces beyond every former example, and cauſing a ſpirit of union and harmony to ſucceed to that general diſcontent and diſaffection, as well againſt the ſyſtem of the former government in general, as againſt the war itſelf, which, at the time of my arrival, manifeſtly and avowedly pervaded the bulk of the nation? And now, I think, I have ſufficiently proved, that the catholic queſtion entered for nothing into the cauſes of my diſmiſſal; and have ſhewn, that as far as my conduct in Ireland had any thing to do with it, I have traced it to the diſmiſſal of Mr. Beresford. What a cauſe to throw terror and diſmay over the Britiſh empire! What a ground for the abrupt and ſudden removal of a firm, well ſupported, and popular adminiſtration, in a moſt critical and momentous period! A meaſure, indeed, that by its raſhneſs and violence, has really caſt terror and diſmay over the whole kingdom of Ireland, and added in their train ſullen diſcontent, dangerous diſaffection, and univerſal diſſatisfaction. But, after all, why are we looking for the cauſe of my removal in the acts of my adminiſtration here? We are ſeeking in vain—It is labour loſt. The true cauſe is not to be found in the acts and meaſures of the Iriſh adminiſtration, but in the principles, views, and character of an Engliſh miniſter. We muſt caſt back to a more diſtant period, when we ſhall diſcover the true cauſe in the complexion of paſt events. When the duke of Portland and his friends were to be entered into a coalition with Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration, it was neceſſary to hold out ſuch allures, as would make the coalition palatable, or even poſſible for them to accede to. If the general management and ſuperintendance of Ireland had not been offered to his grace, that coalition could never have taken place; the ſentiments that he entertained, and the language he had held ſo publicly, for years back, on the ſubject, rendered the ſuperintendance of Iriſh affairs a point that could not be diſpenſed with by him. It was become of abſolute neceſſity that it ſhould be transferred to his management; and accordingly, it was offered from the beginning of the negociation, as was alſo the home department of ſecretary of ſtate. Aſk the duke of Portland, when he engaged to accept that department, if he doubted that the office offered to him was to be entire, and ſuch as his predeceſſor had held it? Aſk him if he was forewarned by Mr. Pitt, that it was to be diveſted of half its duties, half its importance, and *all* its character? Aſk him, if he was apprized that another ſecretary of ſtate was to be cut out of the department, and that he was to be left but as a joint poſſeſſor with an inmate? Aſk him, when he accepted the management of Ireland, if he did it under any reſtrictions whatever? Aſk him, if he preſſed it upon me under any, and if he did not propoſe and recommend to me to lay out immediately for making ſuch arrangements in the government, as would enable me to reſtore peace, tranquillity, and order in the country; and as would reconcile the general maſs of the people to its government.

But, my dear Carliſle, the inſtant we had proclaimed our acceptance of office, then the ſcene began to open—then it was firſt diſcovered that the object of all this mighty work, was not to ſtrengthen adminiſtration by an acceſſion of character, but to debaſe, degrade, and diſgrace that character. When the junction was irrevocably avowed and declared, then the pretenſions of Mr. Dundas to the continued management of the war, were brought forward, and a new office was to be cabbaged out of the duke of Portland's, and an obvious diminution of his credit and authority was to be proclaimed. No ſooner had I declared my acceptance of the lieutenancy of Ireland, than delay interpoſed, and ſoon doubts and difficulties aroſe. It is a matter of public notoriety in this country, that Mr. Pitt aſſured lord Weſtmoreland, as early as Auguſt, that he ſhould not be removed; and I know that I could bring evidence to prove, that in the courſe of the autumn, he pointed out lord Camden as the perſon whom he intended ſhould ſucceed my predeceſſor. No, Mr. Pitt did not wiſh for our aſſiſtance; but knowing the importance we gave to the ſyſtem then purſuing relative to France, he conceived it an opportunity, and determined to make that the means of diſgracing our characters, and of rendering us, by repeated ſlights and affronts, fit for no other ſervice hereafter, but to be his vile tools and inſtruments, flattering himſelf that this his firſt and laſt object, the only end of our admiſſion into his adminiſtration, was done and effected, he has not cared how ſoon he began to turn ſome of us adrift to all the diſgrace and contempt it was his expectation and wiſh ſhould attach upon our characters, in conſequence of his contemptuous and ignominious treatment. Here, then, is the clue to the myſtery; here you ſee unravelled the real ground of my depoſition and attempted diſgrace. To my meaſures Mr. Pitt has no objection.—I predict that he will adopt them by the medium of my ſucceſſor; I am not ſure that he will not even court the connections I have formed for government. For the perſon, for whom he has pretended to contend ſo ſtrenuouſly, he has no regard; and I doubt whether he will even permit him to reſume his ſtation at the revenue board, though he is entitled to do it even without a re-appointment, for, in fact, he has never been out of office. To get, then, rid of me perſonally, and thereby to conſign me over to immediate diſgrace, has been the motive to every thing that has happened relative to Ireland. I have, then, the glory of being the object of Mr. Pitt's diſlike. I feel it ſuch, becauſe I know it is a proof I have maintained, in the great and important ſituation which I have filled, dignity of character, and have not been found ſubmiſſive, vile and ſubſervient. For this he has depoſed me; but by it, I have the arrogance to ſay, he has depoſed a faithful ſervant of the crown, a beneficial governor for the people of Ireland, and a ſtedfaſt friend to the unity and connection of the two nations.

As I feel myſelf unſhaken, and my character above the reach of calumny and aſperſion, truſt me, my friend, I will not be the murderer of my own fame; I will not put the ſeal to my own diſgrace, by accepting the inſidious offer of a compromiſing compliment. By my conduct, ſuch as it has been, I will ſtand or fall; and I will never give to the good people of Ireland, to whom I owe ſo large a debt of gratitude for their unexampled ſupport, implicit confidence, and manifeſt attachment, ground to reproach me with being a party in a fraud upon them; ground to reproach me with having eſtabliſhed an adminiſtration, to which they looked up with reverence, confidence, and affection, in order that, favoured and unſuſpected, I might dive deep into their pockets, and having gained my point upon their ingenuous credulity, that I might redeliver them up to the perſecuting and unforgiving ſpirit of that harſh, oppreſſive, and obnoxious government, from the fangs of which they were fancying they had juſt purchaſed an eſcape, at the price of ſo large a tribute.

Believe me, &c. &c.
W. FITZWILLIAM.

An Account of the Trial of the Rev. William Jackſon, for High Treaſon, April 23, at the Bar of the Court of King's Bench, Dublin, and of his ſubſequent Death, on the 30th of the ſame month.

THE indictment charged the priſoner with two ſpecies of treaſon, namely, compaſſing the king's death, and adhering to his enemies, and ſtated 14 overt acts.

The attorney-general opened the proſecution on the part of the crown, and proceeded to ſubſtantiate the charges laid in the indictment; for which purpoſe he called

Mr. Cockayne, an attorney of London, who depoſed, that he had been for years the law-agent and intimate friend of Mr. Jackſon, who, a few years ago, went to France (as the witneſs underſtood, to tranſact ſome private buſineſs for Mr. Pitt) where he reſided a conſiderable time. Soon after his return, Mr. Cockayne ſaid he called on him, and told him, in confidence, that he had formed a deſign of going to Ireland to ſound the people for the purpoſe of procuring a ſupply of proviſions, &c. for the French, and requeſted him (the witneſs) to accompany him. Having accepted the invitation, he immediately waited on Mr. Pitt, and diſcovered to him the whole of Mr. Jackſon's plans. The miniſter thanked him for the information, and hinted, that as the matter was to become a ſubject of legal inveſtigation, it would be neceſſary for him to ſubſtantiate the allegations; but this Mr. Cockayne wiſhed to decline, on the principle that, if the priſoner ſhould be convicted of high treaſon, he ſhould loſe by it 300l. in which ſum he was then indebted to him. This objection was ſoon removed by Mr. Pitt agreeing to pay him the money, provided he would proſecute to conviction; and the witneſs accompanied Mr. Jackſon to Ireland for the purpoſe of making himſelf acquainted with his proceedings. Shortly after their arrival in Dublin, where they lived together, the priſoner expreſſed a wiſh to be introduced to Mr. Hamilton Rowan, who was then confined in Newgate, and, at length through the interference of a friend, he obtained an interview, at which Mr. Cockayne was preſent. In the courſe of converſation, the priſoner delivered two papers to Mr. Rowan, for the purpoſe of convincing him that he was a perſon in whom he might confide. From that time an intimacy took place between them; the witneſs always accompanied Mr. Jackſon in his viſits to Mr. Rowan, and conſtantly took a part in their converſation. They agreed, he ſaid, that a perſon ſhould be ſent to France to procure a force to make a deſcent on Ireland, and counſellor Wolfe Tone was mentioned as a fit perſon for that purpoſe, who at firſt appeared to acquieſce, but afterward declined the office. Dr. Reynolds was then propoſed by Mr. Rowan, but objected to by the priſoner, as he did not underſtand the French language. It was, however, at length agreed, that the doctor ſhould undertake the embaſſy; but in a ſhort time he alſo refuſed to enter on the buſineſs. On this it was agreed that Mr. Jackſon ſhould write ſeveral letters, which were directed for a Mr. Stone, of the firm of Lawrence and Co. London. Theſe contained incloſures for houſes at Hamburgh and Amſterdam; and ſome of them to the French agents, deſcribed the ſituation of Ireland at the time, invited an invaſion, and pointed out the proper places to land. Theſe letters having been ſent to the poſt-office, the witneſs went to the ſecretary, and informed him of the ſubject of them, on which they were detained. The plot, matured thus far, having been diſcovered, the priſoner was taken into cuſtody.

Such is the ſubſtance of the examination and croſs-examination of Mr. Cockayne, which, together with the documentary proofs alluded to, were the only evidence adduced. He appeared very much agitated and confuſed throughout the whole of the inveſtigation.

Mr. Curran and Mr. Ponſonby exerted their well-known abilities in behalf of the priſoner. The former treated the conduct of Mr. Cockayne as extremely ſuſpicious; and ſuggeſted to the jury, that his evidence was entitled to very little credit.

The prime-ſerjeant replied; and lord-chief-juſtice Clonmel delivered a very impartial charge to the jury, who retired at forty-five minutes after three in the morning, and at half paſt four brought in a verdict of Guilty, but recommended the priſoner to mercy.

The chief juſtice enquired of the jury, if they had any doubts on their minds that led them to ſuch recommendation?—The foreman anſwered immediately, 'No, my lord.'

The judges Clonmel, Boyd, and Chamberlain, conſulted for a few minutes. The chief juſtice then addreſſed the jury, 'Gentlemen, you have acquitted yourſelves with honour, and a conſcientious regard for juſtice. It is more than a century ſince this land has been curſed with ſuch a crime, and we truſt your verdict will operate in preventing a repetition of it. Your recommendation ſhall be laid before government.'

Mr. Jackſon heard the verdict with much apparent compoſure, and was remanded to priſon.

On the 30th of April, at eleven in the morning, Mr. Jackſon was brought up to the Court of King's Bench, where an arreſt of judgment was to have been argued by his counſel.

A few minutes after Mr. Ponſonby had commenced a moſt ingenious plea, the priſoner, who was ſtanding in the dock, was ſeized with violent emotions, ſuch as the drawing up of his ſhoulders, frothing at the mouth, &c. and ſhortly afterward fell down and expired on the ſpot.

The next day, the coroner's inqueſt ſat on the body, when Mr. Gregg, the keeper of Newgate, depoſed, That he had ſeen Mr. Jackſon at a late hour on Wedneſday night, when he was apparently well, and between nine and ten the following morning, when his appearance was much altered. No perſon was with him during the night but an old woman, who had attended him during his confinement. Mrs. Jackſon (his wife) breakfaſted with him in the morning. He complained of ſickneſs in his ſtomach, which he accounted for by his having taken tea for his breakfaſt, which he ſaid always diſagreed with him. He informed the witneſs that he roſe at three o'clock, from miſtaking the time, and fearing to delay the court.

The witneſs accompanied him in a carriage from Newgate to the four courts. He vomited ſeveral times, and a frothy fluid iſſued from his mouth, which he removed with his handkerchief. He expreſſed great uneaſineſs at the curioſity of the populace to ſee him in the carriage.

Surgeons Hume and Adrian having opened the body in the preſence of the jury, and inſpected the interior coats of the ſtomach, were next examined; they depoſed, that an inflammation of the ſtomach, occaſioned by the irritation of ſome acrid matter, was the cauſe of his death.

Counſellor Powell, who attended on the part of the heir at law, ſtated to the jury two points for their conſideration:—Firſt, whether it had been fully aſcertained that Mr. Jackſon had been poiſoned? In his opinion it had not; but if the jury held a contrary opinion, they were then to determine how, or by whom the poiſon had been adminiſtered? He had heard it rumoured, that Mr. Jackſon intended to give information of high crimes and miſdemeanors againſt perſons in the city of Dublin; ſuch perſons might be ſuſpected of adminiſtering the poiſon (if it was adminiſtered) for their own ſafety; but there was not the leaſt cauſe of ſuſpicion, that a man of his fortitude would be guilty of an act of ſuicide.

The jury withdrew, and after a ſhort deliberation returned the following verdict:—'We find that the Rev. William Jackſon died on the 30th of April, of ſome acrid and mortal ſubſtance taken into his ſtomach, but how or by whom adminiſtered, is to us unknown.'

On the 2d of May, his remains were carried from the undertaker's in May-lane, in a hearſe, accompanied by twelve coaches, to the cemetery of St. Michah's, and there interred.

By the death of Mr. Jackſon, before ſentence was pronounced, his property, which it was ſaid amounted to about 200l. a year, will be preſerved to his family, and not eſcheat to the crown, as it would otherwiſe have done.

Decree paſſed by the National Convention for the alteration of Weights and Meaſures.

THE National Convention, deſirous of ſecuring to the French people the benefit of uniform and invariable weights and meaſures, and of taking the moſt effectual ſteps for facilitating the uſe of them throughout the whole republic, decrees as follows:

1. The æra already fixed for the adoption of new weights and meaſures by the law of the firſt of Auguſt is poſtponed till further order; meanwhile, the citizens are invited from this time forward to give a proof of their attachment to the unity and indiviſibility of the republic, by introducing into the tranſactions and calculations of commerce the new meaſures.

2. There ſhall be but one ſtandard of weight and meaſure for the whole republic. This ſhall be a ſcale of platina, on which ſhall be delineated the *metre* adopted as the fundamental unit of the ſyſtem of menſuration.

This ſtandard ſhall be executed with the greateſt preciſion, conformably to the experiments and obſervations of the commiſſioners intruſted to determine it. It ſhall be depoſited in the archives of the legiſlative body, together with the ſtatement of the operations ſerving to aſcertain it, in order that at all times hereafter they may eaſily be verified.

3. Into the chief town of each diſtrict ſhall be ſent a model conformably to the primary ſtandard, and a model of the weight deriving from the new ſyſtem of meaſure.—Theſe models ſhall be the prototypes of all others uſed by the citizens.

4. The extreme nicety intended to be given to the ſtandard of platina not being eſſential to the common meaſures, they may continue to be fabricated after the manner now practiſed, and of the length deſcribed in the former decree.

5. The new meaſures ſhall be called *the republican*, and their ſeveral nomenclature is adopted as follows:

Metre, is to be the meaſure of length equal to the ten-millionth part of the arc of the terreſtrial meridian comprehended between the north pole and the equator.

Are, the ſquare meaſure for the ſurface of land, each ſide to conſiſt of ten metres.

Stere, the cubic meaſure for fuel; its height, breadth, and length, each one metre.

Litre, the liquid meaſure, the contents of which ſhall be equivalent to the cube of the tenth part of a metre.

Gramme, the abſolute weight of a cube of pure water at the freezing point, the ſide of which meaſures the hundredth part of a metre.

The fundamental monetary unit ſhall be called *Franc* and not livre as heretofore.

6. The tenth part of the metre ſhall be called a *decimetre*, and the hundredth part a *centimetre*.

Ten metres ſhall be called a *decametre*, one hundred metres an *hectometre*, one thouſand metres a *kilometre*, and ten thouſand metres a *myriametre*.

The decametre will be a convenient length for the meaſuring of land; the kilometre and myriametre for itinerary diſtance.

7. The denominations of all other ſorts of meaſure ſhall follow the ſame analogy: the tenth part of the litre being called a *decilitre*, the hundredth part of the gramme, a *centigramme*. Ten litres ſhall be called a *decalitre*, and one hundred litres, an *hectolitre*. A *kilogramme*, a *myriagramme*, ſhall be weights of one thouſand and ten thouſand grammes.

In ſpeaking, however, of monetary diviſions, *decime* and *centime* ſhall continue in uſe for the tenth and hundredth part of the franc.

8. In weights and meaſures of capacity, each of the decimal meaſures ſhall have its double and its half; in order to give the neceſſary variety which convenience requires: thus there ſhall be a *double-litre* and *demi-litre*, a *double hectogramme* and *demi-hectogramme*, and ſo forth.

9. In order to render the diſuſe of the ancient meaſures leſs troubleſome, it ſhall be executed piecemeal, and at periods to be decreed by the Convention, whenever the republican meaſures ſhall be manufactured in ſufficient quantity, and the other preliminary diſpoſitions for the change adopted.

The new ſyſtem ſhall firſt be applied to monies and aſſignats, next to meaſures of length, and progreſſively to ſuperficial and ſolid meaſures.

10. The operations relative to the determination of the fundamental unit to be deduced from the ſize of the earth, begun by the academy of ſciences, and purſued by the board of meaſures, ſhall be continued by farther commiſſioners, ſelected principally from among the mathematicians, who have hitherto applied to this object, to be nominated by the Committee of Public Inſtruction; in virtue of which regulation the aforeſaid board of meaſures is ſuppreſſed.

11. A temporary agency, to conſiſt of three members, ſhall be formed, in order to ſuperintend, under the authority of the Committee of Public Inſtruction, whatever relates to the renovation of weights and meaſures. Theſe three members are to be named by the Convention, at the ſuggeſtion of the Committee: which ſhall fix their ſalary, in concert with the Committee of Finance.

12. The buſineſs of this temporary agency ſhall be: 1. to inquire into and facilitate the fabrication of accurate new weights and meaſures for general uſe: 2. to provide and diſtribute the ſeveral prototype ſtandards among the diſtricts: 3. to draw up and diſſeminate the inſtructions neceſſary to facilitate a clear underſtanding of the new meaſures, and of their relation to the old: 4. to ſuggeſt to the Committee of Public Inſtruction, and through it to the Convention, any farther regulations which may be neceſſary to the introduction to the new meaſure: 5. to aſcertain and account for the ſeveral expences incurred in the determination and eſtabliſhment of the new meaſure: 6. to correſpond with the conſtituted authorities and the citizens relative to what concerns the new meaſure.

13. The fabrication of the republican meaſures ſhall be managed as much as poſſible by mechaniſm, as well to ſecure uniformity, accuracy, and celerity of proceeding, as to facilitate the ſale of them at low prices.

14. The temporary agency may patronize the neceſſary machinery, either by ordering it from able artiſts, or by granting premiums to the moſt ſucceſsful. It may make advances of money, or materials, or machinery, ſo purchaſed, to the undertakers of the new meaſures and weights:—but, in each caſe, it ſhall obtain the authority of the Committee of Public Inſtruction.

15. The agency ſhall regulate, as far as may be neceſſary, the form to be given to each meaſure, and the material to be uſed in the fabrication of them.

16. On each meaſure ſhall be graven its name; and each ſhall be warranted by a ſtamp of the republic.

17. In each diſtrict an officer ſhall be appointed to affix this ſtamp after the proper compariſon.

18. The choice of meaſures appropriated to each ſpecies of mer-

chandize ſhall be ſo managed that fractions leſs than one hundredth be not neceſſary. The agency is to purſue this object with the leaſt poſſible diſturbance of the uſages of buſineſs.

19. To the tables of the relation between the old and new meaſure ordered by the decree of the 8th May, the agency are at liberty to ſubſtitute graphic ſcales, which define it without an intermediate calculation.

20. To facilitate the external relations of France with other countries, the agency ſhall compoſe a work ſtating the relation of the new meaſure to each of the meaſures uſed in the large commercial towns of other countries.

21. Proviſionally, the national treaſury may advance for theſe ſeveral objects 500,000 francs.

22. The law of the 4 Frimaire, which orders the decimal diviſion of the day, is indefinitely ſuſpended.

23. The preceding articles of decrees on this ſubject, which may be contrary to the preſent arrangement, are abrogated.

24. From the publication of the preſent decree, all farther manufacture of the old meaſure is prohibited under pain of confiſcation, and of a fine double in value to ſuch meaſure: alſo the importation of ſuch meaſures from foreign parts. The civil adminiſtrations are ſeverally charged to ſuperintend the execution of this article.

25. As ſoon as the prototype ſtandard of platina ſhall be completed and preſented to the legiſlative body, a public monument ſhall be erected, in which it may be preſerved from injury. The agency ſhall produce a plan for this monument, deſtined to conſecrate, in the moſt durable manner, the creation of the republic, the triumphs of the French, and the ſtate of advancement which ſcience has attained under its protection.

26. The Committee of Public Inſtruction ſhall take, without delay, the ſeveral ſteps above particularized for the entire renovation of the meaſures of the republic, and ſhall progreſſively propoſe to the Convention the neceſſary legiſlative diſpoſitions.

27. The temporary agency ſhall give an account of its operations progreſſively to the Committee of Public Inſtruction.

28. All the conſtituted authorities are enjoined, as alſo all the public functionaries, to concur with all their power in the important operation of the renewal of meaſures and weights.

Procès Verbal of the opening of the Body of Lewis the XVIIth.

The Tower of the Temple, this 21ſt Prairial (9th June,) in the third year of the French republic, one and indiviſible. Half paſt eleven o'clock in the morning.

WE the underſigned, Jean Baptiſte Eugene Dumaugin, phyſician in chief of the hoſpital of Unity, and Philippe Jean Pelletan, ſurgeon in chief of the great hoſpital of humanity, accompanied by the citizens, Nicolas Jeanroy, formerly profeſſor in the ſchools of phyſic of Paris, and Pierre Laſſus, profeſſor of phyſic in the ſchool of health at Paris, declare, that we aſſembled in conſequence of an arret of the committee of general ſafety of the national convention, dated yeſterday, and ſigned Bergoing, preſident, Courtois, Gautier, Pierre Guyomar, directing us to aſſiſt together in the opening of the body of the ſon of the deceaſed Louis Capet, and to declare the condition in which we have found it, have acted as follows:

We arrived at eleven in the morning at the outward gate of the Temple, and were received by commiſſaries, who introduced us into the tower; we were conveyed to the ſecond ſtory, and were ſhewn into an apartment where we found lying on a bed the dead body of an infant, who appeared to us to have been about ten years of age, which body the commiſſaries declared to be the body of the ſon of the deceaſed Capet, and which two of us knew to be that of the infant who had been ill for ſeveral days.

The ſaid commiſſaries declared to us, that the infant died on the preceding evening at three o'clock, upon which we proceeded to verify the ſigns of death, which we found characterized by an univerſal paleneſs, a coldneſs of the whole body, a ſtiffneſs of the members, a dulneſs of the eyes, violet coloured ſpots on the ſkin of the body, and particularly by a putrefaction, which had begun at the belly, the ſcrotum, and within ſide the thighs.

We remarked, before we proceeded to the opening of the body, a general leanneſs, which proceeds from a maraſmus; the belly was ſwelled; in the inſide of the right knee we remarked a ſwelling, which had not changed the colour of the ſkin, and another ſwelling not ſo large, on the *os radius*, near the right wriſt.—The ſwelling of the knee contained about two ounces of a greyiſh coloured matter, pure and clean, ſituated between the perioſteum and the muſcles; the ſwelling of the wriſt contained matter of the ſame kind, but thinner.

On opening the body, a pint of purulent ſerum flowed out, yellow and extremely fetid; the inteſtines were pale, and adhered together, as well as to the partitions of that cavity; they were ſprinkled with a great quantity of pimples of different ſizes, each of which contained the ſame matter that was found in the ſwellings of the knees and feet.—The inteſtines, which we opened, were internally very ſound, and contained a very ſmall quantity of bilious matter. The ſtomach was in the ſame ſtate; it adhered to all the ſurrounding parts, was pale on the outſide, and ſprinkled with lymphatic pimples ſimilar to thoſe on the ſurface of the inteſtines. The internal membrane was ſound, as well as the pylorus or lower orifice of the ſtomach, and the œſophagus, or wind-pipe; the liver adhered by its convexity to the diaphragma, and by its concavity to the viſcera which it covered.

Its ſubſtance was ſound; its ſize not larger than common. The gall-bladder was moderately filled with a bile of a greeniſh colour. The ſpleen, the pancreas, the reins, and the bladder were ſound. The epiploon and the meſentery, not fat, were covered with lymphatic pimples, like thoſe of which we have already ſpoken. Similar tumours were diſperſed over the *peritonæum*, and the interior of the *diaphragma:* this muſcle was ſound.

The lungs adhered to the pleura, to the diaphragma, and to the pericardium, ſound in ſubſtance, and without any pimples: there were a few only near the trachean artery and the œſophagus; the pericardium contained the uſual quanity of ſerum; the heart was pale, but in its natural ſtate. The brain, and its dependent parts, were in a perfectly good condition.

All the diſorders, of which we have given a detail, are evidently the effect of a ſcrophulous habit of a long ſtanding, to which we decidedly attribute the death of the infant.

The preſent *procès verbal* has been drawn up at Paris by the underſigned, at half paſt four o'clock, on the day above-mentioned.

Signed by us,
P. J. Pelletan.
P. Lassus.
N. Jeanroy.
J. B. E. Dumangin.

An Account of the Wicklow Gold Mine.

Dublin, October 11, 1795. I ſit down with pleaſure, and under the influence of a good deal of agreeable ſurpriſe, to give you ſome information upon which you may poſitively rely, touching a ſubject which has here excited much converſation, and which, near as we are to the ſource of the fact (38 miles) has been treated very generally as a fable, or an impoſture. I was, myſelf, one of the moſt obdurate of the unbelievers; but convinced by ſight and touch, ſupported by an authority I cannot in the moſt diſtant ſenſe doubt, it would be ridiculous to perſevere in my infidelity.

You have no doubt read, in ſome of our newſpapers, an account of a Gold Mine diſcovered in the county of Wicklow mountains, and of conſiderable quantities of gold found there being ſold in Dublin by the country people. The account I give you is not from vague report, but from the lips of a very particular friend of mine, a goldſmith and jeweller of this city, who has been the laſt week at the mine, whence he returned late laſt night, and from which he has brought a ſample of this precious metal, ſix ounces weight, and for which he poſitively paid, in the ſtate it came from the earth, without melting or refining, four pounds ſterling per ounce; ſuch is the extraordinary purity and fineneſs of the gold, and ſo well are the country people who find it acquainted with its value. This ſpecimen, at the moment I write, lies before me; it is in lumps from an ounce and a half to half an ounce and a penny-weight; it is in the ſtate in which nature formed it amongſt the ſand and pebbles, which are waſhed from it; it is totally free from quartz, or any other mixtures.

The ſtream, from the banks and bed of which the gold is got, is about two feet wide, and runs in a ſharp valley between two ſteep mountains, the one called Ball-an-valley, and the other Bally-na-ſullogne, about four miles from Arklow, on the Wicklow ſide: this ſtream, guſhing from the ſide of a hill, runs a courſe of about three miles between thoſe two mountains, which aſcend ſteeply on each ſide from its brink, and terminates in a little bay or moor, where its waters mix with thoſe of the ſwamp; and in this bog, and along the bed of this ſtreamlet the ſearch for gold has for ſome weeks paſt been directed with aſtoniſhing ſucceſs. The miners who ſeek it are but very ill ſkilled in the ſcience of mineralogy; they are the ſimple peaſantry of the neighbourhood, and either purſue their ſearch by ſcrambling in the ſand or mud, or by digging holes at random from the ſides of the ſtream into the baſe of the mountains, of various depths, from two to five feet, where they find the metal in its rude ſtate in the fiſſures of the broken rock, or attached to lumps of quartz or petrified water. While the men purſue this laborious part of the work, the women carefully waſh the bog-mud, ſand, and exfoliated clay, in large wooden platters, and find the gold in ſmall flat grains like battered ſhot, but quite pure. In this wild manner only has the ſearch hitherto gone forward; and my friend aſſures me that a quantity worth twelve or fourteen thouſand pounds has thus been procured within a very few weeks. Before he went to the country, a country fellow came into his ſhop, and offered him for ſale a quantity of about ten pounds weight in grains and lumps, and demanded for it 4l. per ounce; but he did not then think fit to purchaſe it. A vaſt quantity has, however, been ſold in various weights.

In the laſt three weeks there has been an irregular encampment of the Mountain Tartars at the place, to the number of near four thouſand, interſperſed with plenty of ale and whiſkey tents. The gold finders work day and night, and ſuch is the avidity, that the labourers have quitted their harveſt, and conſigned it to rot on the ſurface of the earth, in order to ſeek a golden harveſt in its bowels. Even the ſervant maids of all the ſurrounding farmers, and even of Arklow town, have quitted their places, and betaken themſelves to the adventurous reſearches of their new Peru.

My friend ſaw in the hand of a Mr. Atkinſon, agent to lord Carysfort, on whoſe eſtate part of this mine is ſituated, a lump of quartz, with an incruſtation of pure gold attached to it, for which he offered him 80 guineas, but the ſum was refuſed. A weaver in the neighbourhood has had in uſe for the laſt ten years, a lump of rich gold ore, which he uſed as a two pound weight, and from which he had broken ſeveral pieces with an hammer, in order to adjuſt it to that weight; believing it to be nothing better than a lump of rich copper ore, with which the mountains in the neighbourhood abound. The two pound weight, however, has been conſigned to the crucible, and turned out a treaſure.

The diſcovery of this gold mine there is not new, though it has been a ſecret in the family of the Roſils thereabouts, upwards of thirteen years, who found and ſold conſiderable quantities of the metal from time to time; but a junior branch of the family being in company with an older friend, when he found a large lump of gold, claimed half, but was refuſed; and on threatening to diſcloſe the family ſecret received a deſperate beating, which prompted him to fulfil his threats, and thus the matter got wind.

The bowels of the adjacent mountains may be, as they are conjectured to be, full of gold, from thoſe unuſually rich ſpecimens that have been ſo abundantly found. The owners of the ſoil, and to whom the royalties belong, are lord Carysfort, the earl of Arran, and the earl of Ormond.

I feel that while I relate to you theſe circumſtances, you will ſtill feel ſome qualms of incredulity; but you may ſafely reſt ſatisfied of the facts I ſtate, which can be atteſted by a thouſand affidavits, if neceſſary.

A GENERAL

A GENERAL BILL OF CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 9, 1794, to DECEMBER 8, 1795.

Chriſtened { Males 9344, Females 9017 } 18,361. ‖ Buried { Males 10,778, Females 10,401 } 21,179.

Increaſed in the Burials this Year, 1938.

Died under Two Years	6466
Between Two and Five	1982
—Five and Ten	768
—Ten and Twenty	764
Betw. Twenty & Thirty	1443
—Thirty and Forty	1901
—Fifty and Sixty	2920
—Sixty and Seventy	1816
Betw. Seventy & Eighty	1321
—Eighty and Ninety	579
—Ninety and a Hundred	65
A Hundred	1

DISEASES.	
ABORTIVE and Stillborn	738
Abſceſs	38
Aged	1637
Ague	10
Apoplexy	100
Aſthma and Phthiſic	936
Bed-ridden	15
Bleeding	17
Burſten and Rupture	16
Cancer	78
Canker	1
Chicken Pox	1
Childbed	142
Cold	56
Cholic, Gripes, Twiſting of the Guts	8
Conſumption	5733
Convulſions	4758
Cough and Hooping-Cough	311
Croup	17
Diabetes	1
Dropſy	979
Evil	2
Fever, Malignant Fever, Scarlet Fever, Spotted Fever, and Purples	1947
Fiſtula	5
Flux	12
French Pox	22
Gout	116
Gravel, Strangury, and Stone	26
Grief	6
Head-Ach	1
Headmouldſhot, Horſhoehead, and Water in the Head	81
Jaundice	56
Jaw-locked	1
Impoſthume	4
Inflammation	466
Leproſy	1
Lethargy	2
Livergrown	3
Lunatick	91
Meaſles	328
Miſcarriage	6
Mortification	262
Palpitation of Heart	1
Palſy	76
Pleuriſy	11
Quinſy	2
Rheumatiſm	3
Riſing of the Lights	2
Rickets	2
Scurvy	4
Small Pox	1040
Sore Throat	23
Sores and Ulcers	5
Spaſm	6
St. Anthony's Fire	1
Stoppage in the Stomach	14
Suddenly	120
Surfeit	1
Swine Pox	1
Teeth	495
Thruſh	61
Worms	18

CASUALTIES.	
Bit by a Mad Dog	1
Broken Limbs	3
Bruiſed	2
Burnt	15
By a Corn	1
Choaked	1
Dropped down dead	3
Drowned	99
Exceſſive Drinking	5
Executed *	6
Found Dead	4
Fractured	4
Frighted	1
Killed by Falls and other Accidents	60
Killed by Fighting	1
Killed themſelves	26
Murdered	1
Scalded	5
Shot	1
Strangled	2
Suffocated	3
Total	244

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* There have been executed, in Middleſex and Surrey, 28; of which number 6 only have been reported to be buried (as ſuch) within the Bills of Mortality.

THE following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Regiſter, are taken from Accounts collected from the Cuſtom-Houſe Books, and delivered to John James Catherwood, Eſq. Receiver of Corn Returns, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into, England *and* Scotland, *with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for the Year ended the* 5*th* January 1796.

EXPORTED.

1795. ENGLAND.	BRITISH. Quarters.	FOREIGN. Quarters.	£. s. d.
Wheat	- - -	677	24 15 0 Bounties. — Drawbacks.
Rye	15	100	
Barley	1,715	—	
Malt	4,627	—	
Oats	4,539	—	
Beans	2,957	—	
Peaſe	1,258	—	
Indian Corn	- - -	465	
Callivances	- - -	165	
	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	Cwt.	
Wheat Flour	58,587 3 11	4,225 0 0	
Biſcuit	10,411 2 10	—	
Rye Meal	116 1 0	487 0 0	
Groats	140 3 0	—	
Oatmeal	1,577 0 24	—	
	Bolls.		
Oatmeal	289 0 16		
SCOTLAND.	Quarters.		
Barley	73	—	Bounties Nil.
D° hulled	14		
Beans	278		
Peaſe	57		
Oats	880		
Groats	2		
	Cwt. qrs. lbs.		
Wheat Flour	754 1 11		
Biſcuit	3,888 0 7		
Oatmeal	335 1 11		

IMPORTED.

IMPORTED.

ENGLAND.	Quarters.	£. s. d.
Wheat	276,146	966 17 11 Duties.
Rye	11,471	
Barley	17,753	
Oats	418,117	
Beans	15,803	
Peaſe	20,167	
Indian Corn	20,586	
	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	
Wheat Flour	89,680 0 3	
Rye Meal	37,595 1 26	
Indian Meal	14,247 3 0	
	Bolls. lbs.	
Oatmeal	16,425 27	

SCOTLAND.	Quarters.	£. s. d.
Wheat	11,747	99 15 1¾ Duties.
Barley	200	
Oats	22,128	
Peaſe	74	
	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	
Wheat Flour	767 1 19	
	Bolls. lbs.	
Oatmeal	7,825 14	

The following is an Account of the Average Prices of Corn in England and Wales, by the Standard Wincheſter Buſhel, for the Year 1795.

	Wheat.		Rye.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.		Peaſe.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Per Buſhel	9	3¼	6	0½	4	8½	3	1	5	10	6	8

PRICES

PRICES OF STOCKS, FOR THE YEAR 1795.

N. B. The higheſt and loweſt Prices of each Stock, in the courſe of any Month, are put down in that Month.

	Bank Stock.	3 per Ct. Reduc.	3 per Ct. Conſol.	4 per Ct. Conſol.	5 per Cent.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Exch. Bills.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	155¾	65⅛	65	80¾	100	18 15/16	8 15/16	189¼	10 pre.	69½	65	63¼	3⅛	11 pre.	20 9 0
	150¾	62½	61	78½	95½	18 1/16	8¼	180¼	Par.	65	63¼	61⅜	2¼	3	19 17 0
Feb.	153⅜	64⅜	63¼	79¾	96⅞	18½	9	184¼	11 pre.	66	62¾	—	2⅞	10 pre	20 0 0
	151	62¼	61¾	79	94½	18¼	8 13/16	180½	3 do.	—	—	—	2⅛	3	18 3 0
Mar.	154⅜	64½	63	79½	95⅝	18⅜	8 15/16	182½	7 pre.	66⅜	—	62½	4	10 pre.	
	153¼	63⅝	61¾	78⅛	94¼	18¼	8⅞	181¼	6 dif.	66¼	—	—	2¾	10 dif.	
Apr.	162	67	66	80	99⅝	18⅞	8½	193	Par.	—	65	—	3⅝	1 pre.	
	152⅛	65¼	61⅞	77¼	94⅞	18⅜	8⅜	180¼	6 dif.	—	63½	—	2⅛	6 dif.	
May	164¾	67	66½	80	99⅝	18⅝	8½	195½	Par.	—	66⅜	65¾	3¼	3 pre.	
	158½	64¾	64¼	78⅝	97¼	18⅜	8¼	190	4 dif.	—	64⅞	65	2⅛	3 dif.	
June	168½	68½	68¼	81⅞	98½	18⅞	8½	200¾	1 pre	—	66⅞	—	4	4 pre.	
	162½	66	66	79⅜	97¼	18¼	8⅜	194	8 dif.	—	66¼	—	2⅞	5 dif.	
July	171¼	70¾	70¾	83½	100	19⅛	8¾	204¼	5 pre.	—	69	—	3½	4 pre.	
	165½	67⅝	66¼	81⅛	96⅞	18½	8½	196¼	3 dif.	—	—	—	2⅜	3 dif.	
Auguſt	174½	71¼	70	85⅛	100¼	20⅛	9 1/16	203	10 pre.	70	70¾	69½	2⅝	6 pre.	
	166¾	68⅜	66⅞	82¼	97⅛	19	8¾	196	5 pre.	72½	68⅞	68¼	1¾	2	
Sept.	171¼	70½	69⅝	86	101¾	20⅛	9	201¼	15 pre.	73	70¼	68⅝	2½	14 pre.	14 6 0
	168¼	68¼	67¾	84¼	99	19⅝	8 15/16	198¾	4 pre.	72¾	—	68¼	1¾	3	14 3 0
Oct.	170	70½	69⅛	85⅞	102¾	19⅞	9	200	10 pre.	72½	68⅜	69	3	8 pre.	14 3 0
	166	67½	67	82¾	99⅞	18 15/16	8⅜	196¾	3 pre.	71½	67⅞	—	2⅛	2	13 18 0
Nov.	168¼	68⅝	69¼	86	103	19¼	8⅜	204	6 pre.	72½	67½	68¼	3⅞	3 pre.	14 7 0
	162	66	67¼	82½	101¼	18⅝	8⅛	199½	2 dif.	72	67⅛	—	2⅝	5 dif.	13 19 0
Dec.	180	71	72	87¼	104¼	19 15/16	8½	219	5 dif.	—	68½	—	4½	13 dif.	14 18 0
	165½	66¼	67¼	82¾	101¼	18⅝	8⅛	200	11	—	68⅜	—	3¼	4	14 2 0

STATE of the BAROMETER, THERMOMETER, and HYGROMETER, for the Year 1795.

1795.	Thermometer without.			Thermometer within.			Barometer.			Hygrometer.			Rain.
	Greateſt height.	Leaſt height.	Mean height.	Greateſt height.	Leaſt height.	Mean height.	Greateſt height.	Leaſt height.	Mean height.	Greateſt height.	Leaſt height.	Mean height.	
	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.
January - -	46	8	26	49	36	43,4	30 47	29,16	30,01	92	66	71,2	0,476
February -	51	25	36,4	55	42	47,9	30,68	29,04	29,60	91	64	77	1,255
March - -	54,5	25	41,1	59	47	52,7	30,35	29,02	29,80	85	56	72,6	1,744
April - - -	58,5	37	48	61,5	53	57,5	30,22	29,34	29,79	80	54	69,7	0,497
May - - -	81	43	55,8	68	57	61,1	30,49	29,73	30,17	79	47	61,1	0,276
June - - -	76	41	57,2	66	56	61,1	30,14	29,50	29,86	90	56	71	3,339
July - - -	76	51	59,8	68	59	62,8	30,26	29,54	29,97	86	58	68	1,400
Auguſt - -	78	53	64,3	73	64	67,4	30,31	29,62	29,97	81	57	69,2	1,856
September -	77,5	46	63,7	73	63, 5	67,8	30,46	29,64	30,08	84	61	69,3	0,081
October - -	67	44	55,8	66	59	62,6	30,18	29,16	29,66	87	64	75,7	2,539
November -	56	27	43,1	61	49	55,4	30,58	28,94	29,87	90	64	76,1	2,428
December -	55	36	46,9	62	54	57,5	30,39	29,42	29,97	88	71	80,4	0,973
Whole Year -	- -	- -	49,9	- -	- -	58,1	- -	- -	29,90	- -	- -	71,8	16,864

Principal Public Acts paſſed in the Fifth Seſſion of the Seventeenth Parliament of Great Britain.

JANUARY 21.

Land and malt-tax bills.

FEB. 5.

An act to continue, for a limited time, an act made in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, intituled, "An act to empower his majeſty to ſecure and detain ſuch perſons as his majeſty ſhall ſuſpect are conſpiring againſt his perſon and government.

MARCH 5.

An act for raiſing a certain number of men, in the ſeveral counties of England, for the ſervice of the navy.

The mutiny bill.

The marine mutiny bill.

APRIL 16.

An act for procuring a ſupply of men, from the ſeveral ports of this kingdom for the ſervice of the navy.

APRIL 28.

An act further to continue the act reſpecting aliens.

The American intercourſe bill.

An act to enable petty officers in the navy, and ſeamen, non-commiſſioned officers of marines, &c. to allot part of their pay for the maintenance of their wives and families.

An act to enable magiſtrates in the ſeveral counties of Great Britain, to raiſe and levy ſuch able-bodied and idle perſons as ſhall be found in the ſaid counties, to ſerve in the navy.

An act for making allowances, in certain caſes, to ſubaltern officers of the militia, in time of peace.

An act for raiſing a certain number of men, in the ſeveral counties, &c. of Scotland, to ſerve in the navy.

MAY 19.

An act for making part of certain principal ſums, or ſtock and annuities, created by the parliament of the kingdom of Ireland, &c. transferable and the dividends payable, at the bank of England.

An act for increaſing the rates of ſubſiſtence to be paid to innkeepers, &c. on quartering ſoldiers, for a limited time.

An act to render more effectual an act 1 James I. againſt bigamy.

JUNE 22.

An act for guaranteeing the payment of the dividends on a loan of four millions ſix hundred thouſand pounds to the emperor of Germany.

An act for eſtabliſhing a more eaſy and expeditious method for the punctual and frequent payment of the wages of certain officers belonging to the navy.

An act for enabling boatſwains, gunners, and carpenters in the navy, to allot part of their pay for the maintenance of their families.

An act for the further relief of perſons impriſoned for want of bail, in certain caſes relating to the revenue.

An act for the more effectual prevention of the uſe of defective weights, and of falſe and unequal balances.

JUNE 26.

An act to prevent the accumulation of debts by any future heir apparent of the crown, and for regulating the mode of expenditure, from the time when a ſeparate eſtabliſhment ſhall be made for ſuch future heir apparent.

An act to enable his majeſty to erect independent burghs of barony, &c. in Scotland.

An act for the more eaſy and expeditious recovery of ſmall debts in Scotland.

An act for more effectually carrying into execution an act, 33 Geo. III. for the encouragement and relief of friendly ſocieties.

An act for enabling woolcombers to exerciſe trades in any town of Great Britain.

An act for widening and improving the entrance into the city of London by Temple Bar and Snow Hill, &c.

JULY 27.

An act for enabling his majeſty to ſettle an annuity on the prince of Wales; for making proviſion, out of his revenues, for the payment of debts due from his royal highneſs; for preventing the accumulation of debts in future; and for regulating the mode of expenditure of the ſaid revenues.

An act for making proviſion for a jointure for the princeſs of Wales.

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1795.

NAVY.

	£.	s.	d.
JANUARY 8.			
FOR 100,000 men, including 15,000 marines,	5,200,000	0	0
FEBRUARY 17.			
Ordinary of the navy - - - - - -	589,683	3	9
Extra navy - - - - - - -	525,840	0	0
	£.6,315,523	3	9

ARMY.

	£.	s.	d.
JANUARY 22.			
For 119,380 men as guards and garriſons - -	2,777,534	19	1
Forces in the plantations - - - - -	691,307	15	7
Difference between Britiſh and Iriſh pay - -	40,096	9	9
Troops in the Eaſt Indies - - - - -	8,323	17	10½
Recruiting land-forces, contingencies, &c. - -	385,000	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
Levy money, &c. for augmentation to the forces	480,000	0	0
General and ſtaff officers, &c.	115,820	0	3
Full pay to ſupernumerary officers	79,978	4	4
Allowances to the paymaſter-general, &c.	110,820	18	3
Reduced officers of land-forces and marines	128,864	3	9
Reduced horſe-guards	135	16	3
Officers late in the ſervice of the ſtates general	1,000	0	0
Reduced officers of Britiſh American forces	60,000	0	0
Widows' penſions	10,387	13	3
Scotch roads and bridges	4,500	0	0
Embodied militia and fencible infantry	930,047	12	3
Contingencies, &c. for ditto	210,000	0	0
Clothing for militia	107,137	11	6
Fencible cavalry	280,048	8	3
Bread and neceſſaries for ditto	80,000	0	0
Hanoverian troops	495,655	0	0
Troops of Heſſe-Caſſel	333,253	0	0
Troops of Heſſe-Darmſtadt	76,076	0	0
Brunſwick troops	92,242	0	0
FEBRUARY 23.			
Extraordinaries	3,063,968	12	4
Regiments and corps to be raiſed	427,269	1	6
FEBRUARY 26.			
Subſidy to the King of Sardinia	200,000	0	0
APRIL 27.			
Augmentations to the militia	23,806	11	5
Corps transferred from the Iriſh to the Britiſh eſtabliſhment	246,877	15	0
Chelſea penſioners	149,856	15	1
	£.11,610,008	5	8½

ORDNANCE.

	£.	s.	d.
JANUARY 22.			
Land ſervice, not provided for in 1793	34,155	1	9
Sea ſervice, ditto	25,357	14	5
Land ſervice, ditto in 1794	1,045,305	19	8
Sea ſervice, ditto	39,387	0	3
Ordnance for 1795	1,176,804	17	9
	£.2,321,010	13	10

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

JANUARY 6.

o diſcharge Exchequer bills	£.6,000,000	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
FEBRUARY 19.			
Civil eſtabliſhment of Upper Canada	7,175	0	0
Dito, Nova Scotia	4,415	0	0
Ditto, New Brunſwick	4,550	0	0
Ditto, St. John's Iſland	1,900	0	0
Ditto, Cape Breton	1,800	0	0
Ditto, Newfoundland	1,232	10	0
Ditto, Bahama Iſlands	4,050	0	0
Salary of the chief-juſtice of the Bermuda Iſlands	580	0	0
Ditto of Dominica	600	0	0
Civil eſtabliſhment of New South Wales	5,241	0	0
Extraordinary expence of the Mint, from January 1 to July 27, 1794	5,682	2	4
Ditto from July 28 to December 31, 1794	1,386	2	6
FEBRUARY 23.			
Addreſs money	47,649	1	5
American and Eaſt Florida ſufferers	259,641	3	7
Expences of Mr. Haſtings' proſecution	4,794	6	6
For ſending articles to New South Wales	6,958	8	4
Convicts on the Thames	11,463	13	8
Ditto at Langſtone and Portſmouth	15,440	5	11½
Allowances for the relief of American civil officers, ſufferers	24,500	0	0
French proprietors of St. Domingo	1,059	14	0
Relief of the ſuffering clergy and laity of France	98,410	0	0
His majeſty's ſervice abroad	24,335	18	0
To diſcharge fees on eſcheats and forfeitures in Nova Scotia	468	16	1
For buſineſs ariſing out of the Alien's Act	1,089	16	2
For perfecting the index to the journals of the houſe of lords	869	19	0
For buſineſs done relative to Penitentiary Houſes	2,823	10	5
For the board of agriculture	3,000	0	0
FEBRUARY 26.			
For the reduction of the national debt	200,000	0	0
MARCH 3.			
African forts	20,000	0	0
Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel for extraordinaries incurred during the late war in America, by the Heſſian troops in his majeſty's ſervice	68,850	12	0¼
To the Repreſentatives of Richard Oſwald, eſq. as contractor for bread, forage, &c. for the allied army in Germany, between the years 1758 and 1763	41,688	14	6¾
APRIL 27.			
To Mr. Maſh, for money advanced by him for the firſt five payments towards the lottery for 1794, and forfeited by omitting to make the future payments	525	16	8

	£.	s.	d.
MAY 14.			
For forming an eſtabliſhment in Africa	4,069	2	0
For the ſuffering clergy and laity of France	37,500	0	0
JUNE 10.			
Veterinary college	1,500	0	0
JUNE 15.			
Preparations for the Prince of Wales's marriage	27,500	0	0
Completing the works at Carlton Houſe	25,000	0	0
	£.6,967,750	13	2½

DEFICIENCIES.

APRIL 20.			
Deficiency of grants in 1794	744,057	11	1
To complete money granted out of the conſolidated fund	848,915	4	2¾
	£.1,592,972	15	3¾

Navy	6,315,523	3	9
Army	11,610,008	5	8½
Ordnance	2,321,010	13	10
Miſcellaneous ſervices	6,967,750	13	2½
Deficiencies	1,592,972	15	3¾
	£.28,807,265	11	9¾

WAYS *and* MEANS *for raiſing the Supplies for* 1795.

	£.	s.	d.
JANUARY 8.			
Land and malt tax	2,750,000	0	0
FEBRUARY 24.			
Annuities	18,000,000	0	0
MARCH 9.			
Exchequer bills	3,500,000	0	0
MARCH 26.			
Profit of a lottery, 55,000 tickets, at £.13 15*s.* 10*d.*	258,541	13	4
MARCH 31.			
Exchequer bills	2,500,000	0	0
APRIL 23.			
Surplus of conſolidated fund	2,895,000	0	0
	£.29,903,541	13	4

An ACCOUNT of the Total Nett Produce of the TAXES for one Year, ending the 5th day of January, 1795.

	£.	s.	d.
CUSTOMS	3,378,640	11	6½
EXCISE	7,175,629	18	5½
STAMPS	1,240,035	1	10
£.	11,794,305	11	10

INCIDENTS.

	£.	s.	d.
Conſolidated letter money, 1787	156,000	0	0
Ditto, ſalt, ditto	417,144	3	6½
Seizures ſince 25 October 1760	27,407	3	7¾
Proffers, ditto	628	10	3
Letter money, ditto	291,029	18	1
Allum mines, ditto	480	0	0
Compoſitions, ditto	2	0	0
Rent of a light-houſe, ditto	6	13	4
Alienation duty, ditto	2,530	15	4
6d. deduct. per lib. on penſions, 24th June 1721	44,626	0	0
1s. ditto, ſalaries, &c. 5th April, 1758	31,985	0	9
Houſes and windows, 10th October, 1766	327,826	9	7½
Inhabited houſes, 1779	147,944	4	7
Hawkers and pedlars, 1710	2,009	6	4
Hackney coaches and chairs, 1ſt Auguſt, 1711	11,000	0	0
Ditto, 1784	13,000	0	0
Male ſervants, 1785	93,926	7	2¾
Horſes, ditto	110,884	18	7½
Four-wheel carriages, ditto	151,899	7	0½
Two-wheel ditto, ditto	31,553	8	3¾
Arrears of female ſervants, ditto	2,409	9	2½
Ditto, waggons, ditto	674	7	10½
Ditto, carts, ditto	1,351	9	0
Ditto, ſhops, ditto	118	13	8
Firſt fruits of the clergy	3,630	0	9¼
Tenths ditto	9,918	7	11
	1,880,586	15	4½

DUTIES, Anno 1791.

	£.	s.	d.
Sugars	234,292	6	8
Britiſh ſpirits	109,783	0	0
Foreign ditto	139,075	10	6
Malt	500	0	0
Bills and receipts	153,494	11	10
Game duty	17,523	1	3
£. 10. per cent. on aſſeſſed taxes	93,164	6	2¾
	747,832	16	5¾

Total Nett Produce of Taxes—*continued.*

DUTIES, Anno 1794.	£.	s.	d.
Britiſh ſpirits - - - - - -	65,503	0	0
Foreign ditto - - - - - -	84,335	0	0
Glaſs - - - - - - -	23,068	0	0
Attornies articles - - - - -	12,021	9	0
Bricks, cuſtoms - - - - - -	54,643	0	0
Slates and ſtones - - - - - -	5,111	11	11
Bricks and tiles - - - - - -	52	15	10
Spirit licences - - - - - -	31,000	0	0
Paper, exciſe - - - - - -	77,565	0	0
Ditto, cuſtoms - - - - - -	866	10	8
	354,166	7	5
Total of Customs, Excise, and Stamps -	11,794,305	11	10
Ditto Incidents - - - - -	1,880,586	15	1½
Ditto Duties, Anno 1791 - - - -	747,832	16	5¾
Ditto Duties, Anno 1794 - - - -	354,166	7	5
Grand Total - £.	14,776,891	10	10¼

Exchequer, the 12th day of Jan. 1795.

James Fisher.

STATE PAPERS.

His Majeſty's Speech from the Throne, on opening the Seſſion, December 30, 1794.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

AFTER the uniform experience which I have had of your zealous regard for the intereſt of my people, it is a great ſatisfaction to me to recur to your advice and aſſiſtance at a period which calls for the full exertion of your energy and wiſdom.

Notwithſtanding the diſappointments and reverſes which we have experienced in the courſe of the laſt campaign, I retain a firm conviction of the neceſſity of perſiſting in a vigorous proſecution of the juſt and neceſſary war in which we are engaged.

You will, I am confident, agree with me, that it is only from firmneſs and perſeverance that we can hope for the reſtoration of peace, on ſafe and honourable grounds, and for the preſervation and permanent ſecurity of our deareſt intereſts.

In conſidering the ſituation of our enemies, you will not fail to obſerve, that the efforts which have led to their ſucceſſes, and the unexampled means by which alone thoſe efforts could have been ſupported, have produced among themſelves the pernicious effects which were to be expected; and that every thing which has paſſed in the interior of the country, has ſhewn the progreſſive and rapid decay of their reſources, and the inſtability of every part of that violent and unnatural ſyſtem, which is equally ruinous to France and incompatible with the tranquillity of other nations.

The ſtates general of the United Provinces have nevertheleſs been led, by a ſenſe of preſent difficulties, to enter into negociations for peace with the party now prevailing in that unhappy country. No eſtabliſhed government or independent ſtate can, under the preſent circumſtances, derive real ſecurity from ſuch negociations: on our part, they could not be attempted, without ſacrificing both our honour and ſafety to an enemy, whoſe chief animoſity is avowedly directed againſt theſe kingdoms.

I have therefore continued to uſe the moſt effectual means for the further augmentation of my forces; and I ſhall omit no opportunity of concerting the operations of the next campaign with ſuch of the powers of Europe as are impreſſed with the ſame ſenſe of the neceſſity of vigour and exertion. I place the fulleſt reliance on the valour of my forces, and on the affection and public ſpirit of my people, in whoſe behalf I am contending, and whoſe ſafety and happineſs are the objects of my conſtant ſolicitude.

The local importance of Corſica, and the ſpirited efforts of its inhabitants to deliver themſelves from the yoke of France, determined me not to withhold the protection which they ſought for; and I have ſince accepted the crown and ſovereignty of that country, according to an inſtrument, a copy of which I have directed to be laid before you.

I have great pleaſure in informing you, that I have concluded a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, with the United States of America, in which it has been my object to remove, as far as poſſible, all grounds of jealouſy and miſunderſtanding, and to improve an intercourſe beneficial to both countries. As ſoon as the ratifications ſhall have been exchanged, I will direct a copy of this treaty to be laid before you, in order that you may conſider of the propriety of making ſuch proviſions as may appear neceſſary for carrying it into effect.

I have the greateſt ſatisfaction in announcing to you the happy event of the concluſion of a treaty for the marriage of my ſon the prince of Wales, with the princeſs Caroline, daughter of the duke of Brunſwick: the conſtant proofs of your affection for my perſon and family perſuade me, that you will participate in the ſentiments I feel on an occaſion ſo intereſting to my domeſtic happineſs, and that you will enable me to make proviſion for ſuch an eſtabliſhment, as you may think ſuitable to the rank and dignity of the heir apparent to the crown of theſe kingdoms.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

The conſiderations which prove the neceſſity of a vigorous proſecution of the war, will, I doubt not, induce you to make a timely and ample proviſion for the ſeveral branches of the public ſervice, the eſtimates for which I have directed to be laid before you. While I regret the neceſſity of large additional burthens on my ſubjects, it is a juſt conſolation and ſatisfaction to me to obſerve the ſtate of our credit, commerce, and reſources, which is the natural reſult of the continued exertions of induſtry under the protection of a free and well-regulated government.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

A juſt ſenſe of the bleſſings now ſo long enjoyed by this country will, I am perſuaded, encourage you to make every effort, which can enable you to tranſmit thoſe bleſſings unimpaired to your poſterity.

I entertain a confident hope that, under the protection of Providence, and with conſtancy and perſeverance on our part, the principles of ſocial order, morality, and religion will ultimately be ſucceſsful; and that my faithful people will find their preſent exertions and ſacrifices rewarded by the ſecure and permanent enjoyment of tranquillity at home, and by the deliverance of Europe from the greateſt danger with which it has been threatened ſince the eſtabliſhment of civilized ſociety.

Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons in anſwer to the preceding Speech.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty the thanks of this houſe for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne: to aſſure your majeſty, that it is equally our duty and our anxious deſire to ſecond your majeſty's views for the welfare of your people, at this important criſis, by our beſt advice and aſſiſtance: that, much as we muſt deſire the reſtoration of peace, on ſafe and honourable grounds, we join with your majeſty in thinking that it is only from firmneſs and perſeverance that we can hope for the attainment of that end, and for the preſervation and permanent ſecurity of our deareſt intereſts; and that, notwithſtanding the diſappointments and reverſes which have been experienced in the courſe of the laſt campaign, we retain a firm conviction of the neceſſity of perſiſting in the vigorous proſecution of the juſt and neceſſary war in which we are engaged: from conſidering the ſituation of our enemies, we are perſuaded that the efforts which have led to their ſucceſſes, and the unexampled means by which thoſe efforts have been ſupported, have produced, among themſelves, the pernicious effects which were to be expected from them: and that the circumſtances which have taken place in the interior of the country afford ſtrong marks of the progreſſive and rapid decay of their reſources, and of the inſtability of every part of that violent and unnatural ſyſtem which is equally ruinous to France, and incompatible with the tranquillity of other nations.

Although a ſenſe of preſent difficulties has led the ſtates general of the United Provinces to enter into negociations for peace with the party now prevailing in France, we are fully ſenſible how little real ſecurity any eſtabliſhed government or independent ſtate can derive, under the preſent circumſtances, from the reſult of ſuch negociations; and we are convinced that they could not be attempted, on our part, without ſacrificing both our honour and ſafety to an enemy, whoſe chief animoſity is avowedly directed againſt theſe kingdoms.

We cannot but applaud your majeſty's determination to uſe the moſt effectual means for the further augmentation of your forces, and to omit no opportunity of concerting the operations of the next campaign with ſuch of the powers of Europe as are impreſſed with the ſame ſenſe of the neceſſity of vigour and exertion.

We are perſuaded your majeſty may, at all times, juſtly rely on the valour of your forces by ſea and land, and on the affection and public ſpirit of your people, contending for their eſſential intereſts, and deeply ſenſible of your majeſty's parental ſolicitude for their happineſs and welfare.

We acknowledge your majeſty's goodneſs in having directed the inſtrument by which you have accepted the crown and ſovereignty of Corſica to be laid before us; and we are ſenſible that the local importance of that iſland, and the ſpirited efforts of its inhabitants, naturally recommended them to your majeſty's protection.

It gives us great pleaſure to learn that your majeſty has concluded a treaty with the United States of America, with the view of removing, as far as poſſible, all grounds of jealouſy and miſunderſtanding, and of improving an intercourſe beneficial to both countries; and we ſhall be ready, as ſoon as the treaty is laid before us, to conſider of the neceſſary proviſions for carrying it into effect.

We cannot ſufficiently expreſs the ſatisfaction which all your majeſty's ſubjects muſt derive from the auſpicious event of the concluſion of a treaty for the marriage of his royal highneſs the prince of Wales with the princeſs Caroline, daughter of the duke of Brunſwick; and that, participating warmly in the ſentiments which your majeſty muſt feel on an occaſion not leſs connected with the intereſts of your people than with the domeſtic happineſs of your majeſty, we ſhall cheerfully proceed to enable your majeſty to make proviſion for an eſtabliſhment ſuitable to the rank and dignity of the heir apparent to the crown of theſe kingdoms.

The conſiderations which prove the neceſſity of a vigorous proſecution of the war, cannot fail to induce us to make a timely and ample proviſion for the ſeveral branches of the public ſervice; and while we feel the painful neceſſity of impoſing additional burthens on our conſtituents, it is a juſt conſolation and ſatisfaction to us to learn, that the ſtate of our credit, commerce, and reſources, is ſuch as might naturally be expected to reſult from the continued exertions of induſtry, under the protection of a free and well-regulated government.

Entertaining a juſt ſenſe of the bleſſings now ſo long enjoyed by this country, we feel it incumbent upon us to make every effort which can enable us to tranſmit thoſe bleſſings unimpaired to our poſterity; and we cordially join with your majeſty in a confident hope that, under the protection of providence, and with conſtancy and perſeverance on our part, the principles of ſocial order, morality, and religion, will ultimately be ſucceſsful; and that your majeſty's faithful ſubjects will find their preſent exertions and ſacrifices rewarded by the ſecure and permanent enjoyment of tranquillity at home, and by the deliverance of Europe from the greateſt danger with which it has been threatened ſince the eſtabliſhment of civilized ſociety.

Meſſage from his Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons, Feb. 4.

George R.

HIS Majeſty thinks it proper to acquaint his houſe of commons, that he has received from the emperor ſtrong aſſurances of a diſpoſition to make the greateſt exertions for the common cauſe in the courſe of the next campaign; but it is repreſented, on the part of his imperial majeſty, that theſe efforts cannot be made without the aſſiſtance of a loan, which his imperial majeſty is deſirous of raiſing on the credit of the revenues of his hereditary dominions, under the guarantee of his majeſty, with the concurrence of parliament, to the extent of four millions; and it is ſtated that ſuch a loan, in addition to his other reſources, would enable his imperial majeſty to employ againſt the common enemy a force of 200,000 men.

His majeſty is of opinion that on theſe grounds ſuch an arrangement would be beneficial to the common cauſe; but his majeſty thinks that it would be ſtill more advantageous, if by the means of a ſimilar loan to a larger extent, the emperor ſhould be enabled to employ a force ſtill more conſiderable; and his majeſty has directed his miniſter at Vienna to expreſs his majeſty's readineſs to recommend to his parliament an arrangement founded on that principle.

Some temporary advance which his majeſty was induced to make for the immediate ſupply of the Auſtrian army, under the preſſure of unforeſeen circumſtances in the latter part of the laſt campaign, will be included in any arrangement of this nature.

As ſoon as the negociation is concluded, his majeſty will not fail to communicate the reſult to parliament. But as any meaſure of this ſort is neceſſarily connected with the conſideration of the proviſion to be made for the current year, his majeſty has thought it right not to delay making this communication: and he relies on the zeal and public ſpirit of his faithful commons, for taking ſuch meaſures as, on a full conſideration of all the circumſtances, they may think moſt conducive to the immediate intereſts of this country at the preſent conjuncture, and to the great object of re-eſtabliſhing, on ſecure and honourable grounds, the peace and tranquillity of theſe kingdoms, and of Europe. G. R.

Meſſage from his Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons, April 27.

George R.

HIS Majeſty relies on the liberality and affection of his faithful commons, and in the cordial intereſt which they have manifeſted in the happy event of the nuptials of the prince and princeſs of Wales, that they will be ready to concur in ſuch proviſion as they may judge neceſſary, to enable his majeſty to ſettle an eſtabliſhment for the prince and princeſs, ſuited to their rank and dignity.

On an occaſion, in all other reſpects ſo ſatisfactory, his majeſty feels the deepeſt regret in being under the neceſſity of communicating to the houſe, that the benefit of any ſettlement to be now made, cannot be effectually ſecured to the prince of Wales, without providing the means of freeing him from incumbrances to a large amount, to which he is now ſubject.

Anxious as his majeſty muſt neceſſarily be, particularly under the preſent circumſtance, to relieve the prince of Wales from theſe difficulties, his majeſty entertains no idea of propoſing to his parliament to make any proviſion for this object, otherwiſe than by the application of a part of the income which may be ſettled on the prince; but he earneſtly recommends it to the houſe to conſider of the propriety of thus providing for the gradual diſcharge of theſe incumbrances, by appropriating and ſecuring for a given term, the revenues ariſing from the duchy of Cornwall, together with a proportion of the prince's other annual income; and his majeſty will be ready and deſirous to concur in any proviſions which the wiſdom of parliament may ſuggeſt, for the purpoſes of eſtabliſhing a regular and punctual order of payment, in the prince's future expenditure, and of guarding againſt the poſſibility of the prince being again involved in ſo painful and embarraſſing a ſituation. G. R.

His Majeſty's Speech from the Throne on cloſing the Seſſion, June 27.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

THE zealous and uniform regard which you have ſhewn to the general intereſts of my people, and particularly the prudent, firm, and ſpirited ſupport which you have continued to afford me in the proſecution of the great conteſt in which we are ſtill unavoidably engaged, demand my warmeſt acknowledgments. The encouragement which my allies muſt derive from the knowledge of your ſentiments, and the extraordinary exertions which you have enabled me to make in ſupporting and augmenting my naval and military forces, afford the means moſt likely to conduce to the reſtoration of peace to theſe kingdoms, and to the re-eſtabliſhment of general tranquillity on a ſecure, an honourable, and a laſting foundation.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have to return you my hearty thanks for the liberal and ample ſupplies which the reſources of the country have enabled you to provide, beyond all former example, for the various exigencies of the public ſervice.

I have alſo to acknowledge, with peculiar ſenſibility, the recent proof which you have given me of your attachment to my perſon and family, in the proviſion which you have made for ſettling the eſtabliſhment of the prince and princeſs of Wales, and for extricating the prince from the incumbrances in which he was involved.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

It is impoſſible to contemplate the internal ſituation of the enemy with whom we are contending, without indulging an hope, that the preſent circumſtances of France may in their effects haſten the return of ſuch a ſtate of order and regular government as may be capable of maintaining the accuſtomed relations of amity and peace with other powers.

The iſſue, however, of theſe extraordinary tranſactions is out of the reach of human foreſight.

Till that deſirable period arrives, when my ſubjects can be reſtored to the ſecure enjoyment of the bleſſings of peace, I ſhall not fail to make the moſt effectual uſe of the force which you have put into my hands. It is with the utmoſt ſatisfaction that I have recently received the advices of an important and brilliant ſucceſs obtained over the enemy by a detachment of my fleet, under the able conduct of lord Bridport; and I have every reaſon to rely on the continuance of the diſtinguiſhed bravery and conduct of my fleets and armies, as well as of the zeal, ſpirit, and perſeverance of my people; which have been uniformly manifeſted through the whole courſe of this juſt and neceſſary war.

His Majeſty's Speech from the Throne on opening the Seſſion, October 29, 1795.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is a great ſatisfaction to me to reflect, that, notwithſtanding many events unfavourable to the common cauſe, the proſpect reſulting from the general ſituation of affairs has, in many important reſpects, been materially improved in the courſe of the preſent year.

In Italy, the threatened invaſion of the French has been prevented; and they have been driven back from a conſiderable part of the line of coaſt which they had occupied: there is alſo reaſon to hope that the recent operations of the Auſtrian army have checked the progreſs which they had made on the ſide of Germany, and fruſtrated the offenſive projects which they were purſuing in that quarter.

The ſucceſſes which have attended their military operations in other parts of the campaign, and the advantages which they have derived from the concluſion of ſeparate treaties with ſome of the powers who were engaged in the war, are far from compenſating the evils which they experience from its continuance. The deſtruction of their commerce, the diminution of their maritime power, and the unparalleled embarraſſment and diſtreſs of their internal ſituation, have produced the impreſſion which was naturally to be expected; and a general ſenſe appears to prevail throughout France, that the only relief from the increaſing preſſure of theſe difficulties muſt ariſe from the reſtoration of peace, and the eſtabliſhment of ſome ſettled ſyſtem of government.

The diſtraction and anarchy which have ſo long prevailed in that country have led to a criſis, of which it is as yet impoſſible to foreſee the iſſue, but which muſt, in all human probability, produce conſequences highly important to the intereſts of Europe. Should this criſis terminate in any order of things compatible with the tranquillity of other countries, and affording a reaſonable expectation of ſecurity and permanence in any treaty which might be concluded, the appearance of a diſpoſition to negociate for a general peace on juſt and ſuitable terms, will not fail to be met, on my part, with an earneſt deſire to give it the fulleſt and ſpeedieſt effect. But I am perſuaded you will agree with me, that nothing is ſo likely to enſure and accelerate this deſirable end, as to ſhew that we are prepared for either alternative, and are determined to proſecute the war with the utmoſt energy and vigour, until we have the means of concluding, in conjunction with our allies, ſuch a peace as the juſtice of our cauſe and the ſituation of the enemy may entitle us to expect.

With this view I am continuing to make the greateſt exertions for maintaining and improving our naval ſuperiority, and for carrying on active and vigorous operations in the Weſt Indies, in order to ſecure and extend the advantages which we have gained in that quarter, and which are ſo nearly connected with our commercial reſources and maritime ſtrength.

I rely with full confidence on the continuance of your firm and zealous ſupport, on the uniform bravery of my fleets and armies, and on the fortitude, perſeverance, and public ſpirit of all ranks of my people.

The acts of hoſtility committed by the United Provinces, under the influence and controul of France, have obliged me to treat them as in a ſtate of war with this country.

The fleet which I have employed in the North Seas has received the moſt cordial and active aſſiſtance from the naval force furniſhed by the empreſs of Ruſſia, and has been enabled effectually to check the operations of the enemy in that quarter.

I have concluded engagements of defenſive alliance with the two Imperial courts; and the ratifications of the treaty of commerce with the United States of America, which I announced to you laſt year, have now been exchanged. I have directed copies of theſe treaties to be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

It is a matter of deep concern to me, that the exigencies of the public ſervice will require further additions to the heavy burdens which have been unavoidably impoſed on my people. I truſt that their preſſure will, in ſome degree, be alleviated by the flouriſhing ſtate of our commerce and manufactures; and that our expences, though neceſſarily great in their amount, will, under the actual circumſtances of the war, admit of conſiderable diminution in compariſon with thoſe of the preſent year.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I have obſerved, for ſome time paſt, with the greateſt anxiety, the very high price of grain, and that anxiety is increaſed by the apprehenſion that the produce of the wheat harveſt in the preſent year may not have been ſuch as effectually to relieve my people from the difficulties with which they have had to contend. The ſpirit of order and ſubmiſſion to the laws which, with a very few exceptions, has manifeſted itſelf under this ſevere preſſure, will, I am ſure, be felt by you as an additional incentive to apply yourſelves with the utmoſt diligence to the conſideration of ſuch meaſures as may tend to alleviate the preſent diſtreſs, and to prevent, as far as poſſible, the renewal of ſimilar embarraſſments in future. Nothing has been omitted on my part that appeared likely to contribute to this end; and you may be aſſured of my hearty concurrence in whatever regulations the wiſdom of parliament may adopt, on a ſubject ſo peculiarly intereſting to my people, whoſe welfare will ever be the object neareſt my heart.

The joint Addreſs of both Houſes of Parliament to his Majeſty, on the daring Outrages offered to his Majeſty in his way to and from the Parliament Houſe; preſented October 31.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to approach your majeſty, humbly to expreſs to your majeſty our indignation and abhorrence at the daring outrages offered to your majeſty in your majeſty's paſſage to and from your parliament. We cannot reflect without the utmoſt concern, that there ſhould be found within your majeſty's dominions any perſon ſo inſenſible of the happineſs which all your majeſty's ſubjects derive from your majeſty's juſt and mild government, and of the virtues which ſo eminently diſtinguiſh your majeſty's character, as to be capable of theſe flagitious acts: and we beg leave humbly to lay before your majeſty the earneſt wiſhes of your faithful lords and commons, in which we are confident we ſhall be joined by all deſcriptions of your majeſty's ſubjects, that you will be graciouſly pleaſed to direct the moſt effectual meaſures to be taken, without delay, to diſcover the authors and abettors of crimes ſo atrocious.

Anſwer.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I receive, with great pleaſure, this additional proof of your uniform zeal and loyalty. I have too much reaſon to be aſſured of the affectionate and ſteady attachment of my people at large, to have felt any other ſentiment upon this occaſion than that of concern at ſo high a violation of the laws. I ſhall not fail to give ſuch directions as may tend to bring to juſtice and puniſhment the perſons concerned in an offence ſo dangerous to the public tranquillity, and ſo injurious to our excellent conſtitution.

Copy of the Proclamation iſſued October 31, *in purſuance of the foregoing Addreſs.*

At the Court at St. James, 31ſt day of October, 1795; preſent,

The King's moſt excellent majeſty,
His royal highneſs the prince of Wales,
His royal highneſs the duke of York,
Lord Chancellor,
Lord Preſident,
Lord Privy Seal,
Duke of Portland,
Lord Chamberlain,
Earl of Weſtmorland,
Earl of Jerſey,
Earl Spencer,
Lord Grenville,
Lord Onſlow,
Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer,
Mr. Vice-Chamberlain,
Mr. Villiers,
Field Marſhal ſir George Howard,
Maſter of the Rolls,
Mr. Secretary Dundas.

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION.

George R.

Whereas on the twenty-ninth day of this inſtant month of October, divers perſons, riotouſly aſſembled and ſtationed in different places in our city of Weſtminſter, proceeded to commit certain daring and highly criminal outrages, in groſs violation of the public peace, to the actual danger of our royal perſon, and to the interruption of our paſſage to and from our parliament; we, therefore, with the advice of our privy-council, in purſuance of an addreſs from our two houſes of parliament, do hereby enjoin all magiſtrates, and all other our loving ſubjects, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to diſcover and cauſe to be apprehended the authors, actors, and abettors concerned in ſuch outrages, in order that they may be dealt with according to law: and we do hereby promiſe, that any perſon or perſons, other than thoſe actually concerned in doing any act by which our royal perſon was immediately endangered, who ſhall give information, ſo as that any of the authors, actors, or abettors, concerned in ſuch outrages as aforeſaid, may be apprehended and brought to juſtice, ſhall receive a reward of one thouſand pounds, to be paid on conviction of every ſuch offender; which ſaid ſum of one thouſand pounds, the lords commiſſioners of our treaſury are hereby required and directed to pay accordingly.

ingly. And we do further promiſe, that any perſon or perſons concerned in ſuch outrages as aforeſaid, other than ſuch as were actually concerned in any act by which our royal perſon was immediately endangered, who ſhall give information, ſo as that any of ſuch authors, actors, or abettors, as aforeſaid, ſhall be apprehended and brought to juſtice, ſhall, upon conviction of ſuch offender or offenders, receive our moſt gracious pardon.

Given at our court at St. James's, the thirty-firſt day of October, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-five, in the thirty-ſixth year of our reign.

God ſave the King.

Meſſage from the King, December 7, 1795.

George R.

HIS majeſty thinks proper to inform his faithful commons, that a conſiderable ſum is likely to ariſe from the ſale of prizes taken from the united provinces of Holland, and that he has ordered the amount to be aſcertained, and the overplus, after the claims of the captors had been diſcharged, to be applied to the public ſervice.

G. R.

Meſſage from the King, December 8, 1795.

George R.

HIS majeſty relying on the aſſurances which he has received from his faithful commons, of their determination to ſupport his majeſty in thoſe exertions which are neceſſary under the preſent circumſtances, recommends it to this houſe to conſider of making proviſion towards enabling his majeſty to defray any extraordinary expences which may be incurred for the ſervice of the enſuing year, and to take ſuch meaſures as the exigencies of affairs may require. His majeſty, on this occaſion, thinks proper to acquaint the houſe, that the criſis which was depending at the commencement of the preſent ſeſſion, has led to ſuch an order of things in France, as will induce his majeſty, conformably to the ſentiments which he has already declared, to meet any diſpoſition for negotiation on the part of the enemy, and with an earneſt deſire to give it the fulleſt and ſpeedieſt effect, and to conclude a treaty for a general peace, whenever it can be effected on juſt and ſuitable terms for himſelf and his allies.

It is his majeſty's earneſt wiſh, that the ſpirit and determination manifeſted by parliament, added to the recent and important ſucceſſes of the Auſtrian armies, and to the continued and growing embarraſſments of the enemy, may ſpeedily conduce to the attainment of this object, on ſuch grounds as the juſtice of the cauſe in which this country is engaged, and the ſituation of affairs may entitle his majeſty to expect.

G. R.

Meſſage from his Majeſty to both Houſes, Dec. 8, 1795.

George R.

HIS majeſty thinks proper to acquaint the houſe of commons, that a conſiderable diviſion of ſhips, having on board foreign troops in the ſervice of Great Britain, having been diſperſed and damaged while on their paſſage from the rivers Elbe and Weſer to Spithead, the place of rendezvous appointed for the convoy under which it was intended they ſhould be ſent on diſtant foreign ſervice, his majeſty has found it unavoidably neceſſary to order the ſaid troops to be diſembarked, and to be ſtationed in barracks near Southampton, and in the Iſle of Wight; and at the ſame time has given directions, that they ſhall be re-embarked, and ſent to the place of their deſtination, as ſoon as the tranſports neceſſary for their accommodation and conveyance ſhall be in readineſs to receive them, the neceſſary orders for that purpoſe having, by his majeſty's command, been already given.

G. R.

Proteſt of Lord Stanhope againſt our interfering in the internal Affairs of France, Jan. 6, 1795.

1ſt, BECAUSE the motion made for the houſe to adjourn, was profeſſedly intended to get rid of the following reſolution, viz. "Reſolved, that this country ought not, and will not, interfere in the internal affairs of France; and that it is expedient explicitly to declare the ſame."

2dly, Becauſe I hold that it is contrary both to equity and policy for any foreign country to interfere in the internal affairs or conſtitution of the French republic, or of any other independent nation.

3dly, Becauſe the government of Great Britain (not having been elected by the citizens of France) can have no more right to give to France a monarchical, or other form of government whatever, than the crowned deſpots of Pruſſia and Ruſſia had to overturn the free conſtitution of now unhappy Poland.

4thly, Becauſe I heartily diſapprove and reprobate the doctrine advanced by miniſters in the debate; namely, that to reſtore the antient and hereditary monarchy of France no expence ſhould be ſpared. And I reprobate that pernicious and uncivic doctrine the more ſtrongly, from its not having been ſuddenly, haſtily, or inconſiderately ſtarted; but from its having been taken up (as it was ſolemnly declared) upon the utmoſt deliberation.

5thly, Becauſe I deem it to be an injuſtice committed by miniſters towards my fellow-citizens, to adopt a principle which ſhall render it neceſſary for the government of Great Britain to lay farther heavy burdens upon the people, and to tax their houſes, their windows, their beds, their candles, their ſhoes, and many other conveniences, and the neceſſaries of life, in order to provide a fund to attempt the accompliſhment of ſuch a wicked purpoſe as aforeſaid.

6thly, Becauſe the propoſed reſolution above ſtated was intended by me as a ſolemn pledge that the government of this nation would not interfere in the internal affairs of France; but the refuſal of the houſe to give ſuch a pledge tends to ſhut the door to peace, and conſequently tends to inſure the ruin of this manufacturing, commercial, and once happy country; particularly conſidering the increaſed, and rapidly increaſing, ſtrength of the navy of the French republic, independently of the proſpect there is of their having the navies of Holland and

Spain under their immediate influence.

7thly, Becauſe the public funds, the paper currency, and the public and private credit of this country, will probably be unequal to ſtand againſt the tremendous ſhock to which miniſters will now expoſe them.

8thly, Becauſe I think that frankneſs, fairneſs, humanity, and the principles of honeſty, and of juſtice, are always, in the end, the beſt policy; and I believe it to be true, in regard to nations (as well as with reſpect to individuals), that "nothing that is not juſt can be wiſe, or likely to be ultimately proſperous."

9thly, Becauſe I lament the more that the houſe ſhould refuſe to diſclaim the interfering in the internal conſtitution of France, inaſmuch as by the new conſtitution of the French republic, one and indiviſible, adopted by the preſent national convention, on the 23d of June, 1793, and under the title of "the relation of the French republic with foreign nations," and by the articles 118 and 119 of that conſtitution, it is declared and enacted, that

"The French people is the "friend and natural ally of every "free nation. It does not interfere "with the government of other "nations; it does not ſuffer that "other nations ſhould interfere with "its own."

So frank, ſo fair, and ſo explicit a declaration on their part, did, in my opinion, entitle them to a better ſpecies of return.

10thly, Becauſe I conceive that a true republican form of government, being firmly eſtabliſhed in France, is much more ſafe for the liberties of the people of Great Britain, than the tyrannical, capricious, perfidious, ſecret, intriguing, and reſtleſs ancient monarchy of France; or than any other monarchy they could there eſtabliſh: but even if I were of a directly oppoſite way of thinking, I would not be guilty of the groſs injuſtice of attempting to force a monarchy upon them contrary to their inclination.

11thly, Becauſe I think that no war ought to be continued, that can, by a proper line of moderation, be avoided; and the more eſpecially with reſpect to the French people, who, by their republican exertions, republican enthuſiaſm, and republican courage, have made victory the almoſt conſtant "order of the day."

12thly, Becauſe the continuing of ſuch a bloody conteſt, without neceſſity, appears to me to be a profane tempting of divine providence, in whoſe benign and almighty hands the fate of battles and of empires is placed.

13th, Becauſe I wiſh to waſh my hands entirely of all the innocent blood that may be ſhed in this war with France, of all the carnage which may take place, and of all the deſtruction, confuſion, and devaſtation (perhaps in Great Britain itſelf) which may enſue.

14th, Becauſe it was my object to preclude the government of Great Britain from attempting to ſtir up, or excite inſurrections in La Vendée, or any other department of the French republic; and the reſolution I moved was well calculated for that purpoſe.

And, 15th, Becauſe the maxim of "do not to others that which you would not wiſh done to yourſelf," is an unerring rule, founded upon the clear principle of juſtice, that is to ſay, of equality of rights. It is upon that ſtrong and ſolid ground that I make my ſtand; and all public men, in order to merit the confidence of the Britiſh people, muſt ſhew their determination to act with frankneſs, and with unequivocal good faith and juſtice, towards the French republic.

Having, upon this moſt important and momentous ſubject, frequently ſtood alone, and having alſo been, upon this laſt occaſion, totally unſupported in the diviſion, if I ſhould therefore ceaſe, at preſent, to attend this houſe (where I have been placed by the mere accident of birth), ſuch of my fellow-citizens as are friends to freedom, and who may chance to read this my ſolemn proteſt, will find, that I have not altered my ſentiments or opinions, and that I have not changed any of my principles; for my principles never can be changed.

And thoſe fellow-citizens will alſo find, that I hereby pledge myſelf to my country, that I ſhall continue, what I ever have been, a zealous and unſhaken friend to peace, to juſtice, and to liberty, political, civil and religious; and that I am determined to die (as I have lived) a firm and ſteady ſupporter of the unalienable rights and of the happineſs of all mankind.

STANHOPE.

Proteſt againſt the Act for further ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus Act, Feb. 3, 1795.

1ſt, BECAUSE, whatever pretence there may have exiſted in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament for ſuſpending the habeas corpus act, that pretence is now removed; the partial *ex parte* examination of the committees of parliament having been refuted by the verdicts of juries, who, with labour unexampled in legal annals in this country, after duly weighing the evidence on both ſides, acquitted the perſons indicted for a treaſonable conſpiracy.

2dly, Becauſe intentions hoſtile to the conſtitution being entertained by perſons, few in number, and devoid of weight and conſequence in the country, do not juſtify the depriving all the people of Great Britain of that ſecurity which our laws ſo anxiouſly provide for perſonal liberty.

3dly, Becauſe we find, that as ſoon as theſe plots and conſpiracies (which have heretofore cauſed the ſuſpenſion of the people's right to their habeas corpus) had been dealt with according to law, and that the conſpirators had been convicted and puniſhed, the danger being over, the ſuſpenſion had dropped. In the ſame manner, when the proved innocence of the accuſed has negatived the ſuppoſed conſpiracy, and when it is not even pretended that any new or other plot exiſts, to continue to ſuſpend this great and eſſential ſafeguard of our kingdom, is equally contrary to the example ſet us by our anceſtors, and inconſiſtent with that protection which, as legiſlators, we are bound to afford to the perſonal ſecurity of all our fellow-ſubjects.

4thly, Becauſe we conſider that the national ſpirit of Engliſh freedom, to which was owing the high place that we once held amid ſurrounding nations, is either checked or deadened by cauſeleſs acts of deſpotiſm; or that the diſguſt neceſſarily generated by ſuch a conduct is likely (if any thing can produce ſuch an effect upon this free and enlightened nation), to raiſe a ſpirit of diſaffection even to the conſtitution itſelf.

5thly, Becauſe when we trace the hiſtory of the habeas corpus act, we find, among other ſecurities from oppreſſion, it was chiefly meant to enſure to the ſubject a ſpeedy trial, when accuſed of treaſon or treaſonable practices, and to avert the tyranny of tedious impriſonment for thoſe crimes. We conceive, therefore, that if the legiſlature is, upon all occaſions of ſuſpicion of traitorous acts, to ſuſpend the operation of that moſt important and invaluable ſtatute, ſecurity to the ſubject muſt be removed at the very criſis, and in the very caſe when it was meant by the wiſe and enlightened framers of that law moſt to ſhield and protect him.

Guildford.
Bedford.
Norfolk, E. M.
Lauderdale.

Proteſt againſt the Rejection of the Motion for treating with France, Feb. 12, 1795.

BECAUSE we conceive the repeated declarations made in the name of the king, and the reſolutions come to by this houſe, are, as they now ſtand, an effectual bar to all negotiation with the preſent government of France, which can alone be removed by a reſolution of a ſimilar nature to that avoided by the previous queſtion, and which is become the more neceſſary, from the declaration of his majeſty's miniſters in debate—that the government of France is of ſuch a character as to preclude the poſſibility of treating, ſo long as they ſhall continue to act on their preſent principles: a declaration which we conceive to convey little leſs than a determination to carry on the war upon ſuch principles that it can alone be terminated by the deſtruction of one or both of the nations.

Bedford.
Lauderdale.
Buckinghamshire.
Guildford.

Proteſt againſt the Rejection of the Motion for inveſtigating the Cauſe of Lord Fitzwilliam's Recal, May 8, 1795.

1ſt, BECAUSE the removal, in the midſt of a ſeſſion of parliament, of ſuch an officer of the crown as a lord-lieutenant of Ireland, the immediate and ſole repreſentative of majeſty in that kingdom, under the circumſtances, is ſingular, perhaps unprecedented. The effects of that bold and unuſual meaſure, eſpecially in the preſent critical ſtate of affairs, cannot be indifferent. It is a fact notorious, and not contradicted, that the houſe of lords and the houſe of commons in that kingdom, did, at the moment of his recall, directly and explicitly, in a ſolemn vote and reſolution of each houſe, declare their confidence in the lord-lieutenant. It is a fact equally notorious, and equally uncontradicted, that theſe votes of confidence from both houſes of the Iriſh parliament were in perfect conformity to the opinions and wiſhes of all deſcriptions of the people of that nation.

2dly, Becauſe a ſtrong charge of malverſation in office, ſupported by clear proof or ſtrong preſumption, ought to be produced, to weigh againſt thoſe ſolemn teſtimonies of a parliament, and thoſe declared opinions of a people, and to juſtify a proceeding, the inevitable tendency of which is to produce diſſatisfaction and diſcord amongſt his majeſty's ſubjects in that kingdom. That the proceeding itſelf is within the prerogative there is no doubt; but there is no doubt alſo that this houſe is competent to an inquiry into all advice given to the crown, with regard to the uſe of that prerogative; and that it is its duty to make ſuch inquiry in any event by which his majeſty's honour or intereſt, or the tranquillity, concord, and union of his empire, and its common effort againſt its common enemy, may be effected.

3dly, Becauſe as the peers are bound for their own honour, to examine with a more ſtrict ſcrutiny into the conduct, and to animadvert with greater ſeverity on the miſdemeanors of thoſe of their own body, ſo they owe a peculiar protection to ſuch peers, as on inquiry they ſhall find, in the exerciſe of the high prerogatives of the crown, to have demeaned themſelves uncorruptly, to the ſatisfaction of the people, with a diligent attention to the functions of their charge, and with duty, zeal, and fidelity to their ſovereign.

4thly, Becauſe earl Fitzwilliam, the lord-lieutenant, removed in ſo unprecedented a manner, did voluntarily ſolicit in this houſe the production of all ſuch documents as might furniſh matter for a full and impartial inquiry into his conduct; that as the caſe might appear, he might ſubject himſelf to the animadverſion, or entitle himſelf to the protection of this houſe. No valid reaſons for ſecrecy have been alleged. Delinquency is no proper object of ſecrecy, on the one ſide or the other; nor can any depending meaſure of government be affected by a diſcloſure of that delinquency. The act is executed. If theſe vague general allegations of ſecrecy may be urged to prevent inquiry, peers may be affected with ſuſpicions utterly ruinous to their reputation, with regard to matters of the higheſt truſt, without any poſſibility of clearing themſelves.

5thly, Becauſe it appeared in the courſe of the debate, without any attempt to contradict it, that the earl aforeſaid did actively and effectively promote the ſervice of the crown, and the public intereſt in Ireland, by encouraging through all fitting means, and diſcouraging by none, the zeal and affection to his majeſty of his parliament of Ireland; by obtaining without delay, and with great unanimity, a vote of more than forty thouſand men, by which the internal force of that kingdom was more than doubled; and by obtaining alſo a vote of two hundred thouſand pounds, for the better manning the navy of Great Britain—the firſt vote of the kind in the preſent war, and double to the ſole example of the ſupply of the ſame kind, voted in the Iriſh parliament in the year 1782, as an acknowledgment of the vaſt and important conceſſions in legiſlation, commerce, and judicature, then made by the parliament of Great Britain; both theſe ſupplies for the ſervice of Great Britain were moved by Mr. Grattan, confidence in whom has been imputed as blame to earl Fitzwilliam; though in the debate nothing was alleged to ſhew that this diſtinguiſhed perſon, called to his confidence and councils, had ever, during lord Fitzwilliam's government, made any other uſe of the eſtimation in which he is held in his country, than to perform this and other ſimilar ſervices to his majeſty's government, and to reconcile the minds of his fellow ſubjects of that kingdom to bear the burdens brought on by theſe ſervices with cheerfulneſs, and to co-operate with alacrity and unanimity in every means of giving them their full effect.

6thly. Becauſe it does not appear that the earl in queſtion, during his adminiſtration in Ireland, did in any degree, or in any manner ſubvert, impair, or weaken any one of the legal prerogatives of the crown, or abuſe them to the prejudice of the ſubject, in any inſtance whatſoever. That in the arrangements propoſed with regard to office, either in removals or appointments, it does not appear that the efficacy of his majeſty's government, or the popularity of his majeſty's meaſures, were at all impaired, or the unanimity and harmony of the nation diſturbed; or the confidence in his majeſty's government, as adminiſtered by him, in any degree whatſoever leſſened. To the great objects of government all official arrangements ought to be ſubſervient; and by their effect on thoſe objects, it is to be determined whether the diſcretionary powers with regard to official arrangements neceſſarily inveſted in his majeſty's miniſters, have been in any inſtance properly or improperly employed.

7thly, Becauſe the unanimity and zeal in his majeſty's ſervice, which appeared throughout that kingdom, was owing to the hope held out that ſuch arrangements as the late lord-lieutenant propoſed would take place, namely, ſuch as tended to demonſtrate that thoſe in whom the nation repoſed much confidence, had obtained the confidence of his majeſty's chief governor, and that thoſe who had the misfortune not to obtain the public confidence, or, at leaſt, not to obtain it in the ſame degree, were not to be predominant in the efficient offices in the kingdom.

8thly. That it did not appear in the debate, that incapable or obnoxious men, or men of no lead or importance in their country, and therefore unqualified for rendering effectual ſervice to his majeſty, were the objects of choice in thoſe arrangements.

9thly, Becauſe it did not appear in the debate, that any harſh or vindictive ſpirit was manifeſted in any propoſed removals: as the moſt large and liberal conſideration was obſerved to the dignity, the feelings, and the intereſts of the parties concerned.

10thly, Becauſe it did not appear in the debate that this proviſion was conſidered in the light of a corrupt and prodigal bargain; but that the people at large regarded it in a contrary light. It appears that the eſtimation of that government was rather increaſed than impaired by the whole of thoſe intended meaſures; and it is aſſerted and ſupported by abundant proof, that the defeat of thoſe arrangements, with all their conſequences, has excited a conſiderable diſcontent amongſt the people of Ireland.

11thly, Becauſe the perſons who, on account of their general eſtimation in their country, were taken into the confidence of the late lord-lieutenant, had, previouſly to his

government,

government, given the moſt ſtriking and unequivocal proofs of their attachment to Great Britain, of their power of ſubduing all their own private feelings; and of ſacrificing to his majeſty's ſervice no ſmall part even of their known animoſities upon public differences, by ſupporting, out of office, and out of confidence in the then rulers, the cauſe of Britiſh government in a very marked and diſtinguiſhed manner.

12th, Becauſe it appeared in the debate, that one of the matters of diſcuſſion between his majeſty's confidential ſervants in England and the ſaid lord-lieutenant, had riſen on occaſion of a bill intended to be introduced into the parliament of Ireland by Mr. Grattan, "for the farther relief of his majeſty's catholic "ſubjects in that kingdom." Of ſubjects to be agitated in the parliament of that kingdom, this houſe can take no cognizance; but they may take cognizance of the conduct of a Britiſh peer, member of this houſe, and repreſenting his majeſty, for his conduct in his majeſty's ſervice, in any part of his dominions. If the late lord-lieutenant gave countenance to any meaſure repugnant to that ſervice, and in defiance to that authority, and poſitive inſtructions given by his majeſty's miniſters here, it forms a matter of conſtitutional diſcuſſion in this houſe. Upon that point earl Fitzwilliam has alleged that he is ready to put himſelf upon the judgment of this houſe; for he contends that the motion for leave to bring in ſuch a bill, (which he admits to have been made at his expreſs deſire) did not afford cauſe of alarm or apprehenſion in any manner whatever. He contends that the principle of ſuch a bill was highly conformable to other former proceedings known to be countenanced by his majeſty's miniſters, nor does it appear by any thing alleged in the debate, that the countenance underſtood to be given by the late lord-lieutenant of Ireland for a further relief, could be a juſt ground for his removal; when a recommendation from the throne itſelf, by his predeceſſor the earl of Weſtmorland, in the year 1793, for advantages of infinitely greater extent, that is to ſay, a general capacity for all offices and franchiſes (about thirty offices and ſeats in parliament only excepted), has been made matter of merit.

13th, Becauſe it appears for ſeveral years paſt to have been the policy of his majeſty's Britiſh councils with regard to Ireland, and of the parliament of that kingdom, to remove the ſeveral civil reſtraints which had been made in conſequence of religious differences; for all offices had been open to proteſtant diſſenters, without any limitation whatever, by the repeal of the teſt in that kingdom, in the year 1779, 19th and 20th of his majeſty, chap. vi. From thoſe diſſenters no teſt whatever was exacted, in lieu of that from which they were exonerated. But for the catholics, by an act of the 13th and 14th of his preſent majeſty, chap. xxxiv. a teſt oath was propoſed for aſcertaining the allegiance and fidelity of catholics, as ſuch. About four years after, that is, in the year 1777-8, 17th and 18th of Geo. III. chap. xlix. in conſequence of this oath, a ſtrong legiſlative declaration was made, in which the principle which has been gradually followed up by ſubſequent acts, is ſtrongly and decidedly affirmed; for the preamble of that act, after ſtating certain penalties and incapacities under which the catholics did then labour, thus proceeds: "Whereas, from their uniform peaceable behaviour for a long ſeries of years, it appears reaſonable and expedient to relax the ſame; and it muſt tend not only to the cultivation and improvement of this kingdom, but to the proſperity and ſtrength of all his majeſty's dominions, that his ſubjects of all denominations ſhould enjoy the benefits of our free conſtitution, and ſhould be bound to each other by mutual intereſt and mutual affection." Soon after, that is, in the 21ſt and 22d of his preſent majeſty, chap. xxiv. it was again declared, that catholics, on taking the teſt oath aforeſaid, "ought to be conſidered as good and loyal ſubjects to his majeſty, his crown, and government; and that the continuance of the laws formerly enacted, and then in force, againſt perſons of the popiſh religion, is therefore unneceſſary, in reſpect to thoſe who have taken, or ſhall take, the ſaid oath, and is injurious to the real welfare and proſperity of the kingdom of Ireland." Nothing can be more clearly laid down than the principle upon which the ſeveral acts of relief from the firſt year of relaxation, virtually beginning ſo early as the year 1773, twenty years before the paſſing the large capacitating act of the year 1793, was grounded, namely, the recognized allegiance, and reciprocal right to protection, held out upon taking this and other teſt oaths. It was plain that the policy of the legiſlature was to affirm the principle as largely as poſſible, and to make the capacities follow (as they have practically followed), gradually, according as favourable occaſions ſhould offer. Theſe acts have always been underſtood to have emanated originally from his majeſty's gracious diſpoſition, and to have proceeded to the government of Ireland, through the Britiſh cabinet. If theſe teſts could not be deemed a ſecurity in the reſerved caſes, it is impoſſible to aſſign a reaſon why they were deemed a ſecurity in the hundreds of others, to which a capacity was opened by the act of 1793. The incapacitating reſerves in the act of 1793, like thoſe of the former acts, proceeding (though more ſlowly) upon the ſame declared policy, evidently were not made upon their own declared principle. They were made in the regular progreſs of a ſyſtem of enlargement, in order to compromiſe with the ſpirit of monopoly. But it is aſſerted by earl Fitzwilliam, and nothing without inquiry can effectually contradict the aſſertion, that whilſt in reality the reſtrictions gave ſatisfaction to none, they cauſed diſcontent in many. The proteſtants regarded theſe exceptions with total indifference. The catholics looked on them as ſigns of ſuſpicion and degradation: they conſidered them as marks (contrary to the declared policy of the acts) contrived to be ſet upon them by their enemies, to diſtinguiſh them as bad ſubjects and bad citizens. The proceedings of their enemies leave in their minds no doubt that theſe tokens of reprobation are kept as pretexts for affronts, contumelies, and injuries of all kinds; and for practically depriving them of moſt of the benefits of thoſe capacities which the law ſeemed to hold out to them.

14th, Becauſe it is alleged that a bill for farther relief was publicly known, as likely to be in agitation before the departure of the lord lieutenant from England; that he had no inſtruction whatever directly to oppoſe it; though an opinion was expreſſed that it had better be delayed for a time of greater tranquillity; but the expediency of giving ſupport to it was a matter left to his diſcretion, as, in the nature of things, it neceſſarily would be, on any ſubject, the principle of which was admitted, the fitneſs of the time being the only point of doubt, and which could only be decided by exiſting circumſtances.

15th, Becauſe it is offered in proof, that the late lord-lieutenant was diligent in the ſearch, and prompt in the communication to miniſters of every information on the ſubject. That he ſoon found, that all hope of putting off the queſtion was impracticable, that he had reaſon to think the preſent time for carrying the principles of the acts of 1792 and 1793 to their full object, to be, of all others, moſt favourable; that he found the relief to be ardently deſired by the catholics; to be aſked for by very many proteſtants, and to be cheerfully acquieſced in by almoſt all; that this circumſtance removed the difficulties, on which the poſtponing the queſtion could alone be deſired; that he found the delays had created much ſuſpicion and uneaſineſs amongſt the catholic petitioners, who were numerous almoſt beyond all example; that he found a bill on thoſe petitions would infallibly and ſpeedily be brought into parliament, and that many members were deſirous to introduce it; and if this were the caſe, the meaſure might come into hands with which neither he nor the king's miniſters had any connection, which would leave with government only the diſagreeable part of altering or of modifying, if any alteration or modification had been thought neceſſary by the Britiſh government, depriving his majeſty thereby of the whole grace and effect of what was done: that in this unpleaſant ſituation he ſent for Mr. Grattan, and deſired him, as a perſon in his confidence, and who would act on the occaſion according to what he and the miniſters, in their prudence, might ſuggeſt. That Mr. Grattan did conſent, and did, at his deſire, move for leave to bring in a bill for the further relief of the Roman catholics. That the motion for leave was received with little diſcuſſion, and without any diviſion. That no bill on the ſubject was in fact brought in—and that miniſtry were informed, that none would be brought in without their knowledge; nor until of late, and after lord Fitzwilliam's departure, was ſuch a thing attempted. That the then lord-lieutenant communicated largely all his ideas on the ſubject. That whilſt the propoſed bill was not yet introduced into the houſe of commons, and whilſt he was obeying their inſtructions with regard to informations and opinions, he was ſuddenly removed, with the ſtrongeſt marks of diſpleaſure and diſgrace. That on this ſtate of things, no ſufficient reaſon appears to exiſt in this meaſure, any more than in the buſineſs of arrangements, for the unuſual and alarming ſtep of diſgracing a lord-lieutenant in the middle of a ſeſſion of parliament, in which the buſineſs of his majeſty, and of the whole empire (as far as that kingdom could operate in it), was carried on with unuſual unanimity and ſucceſs, and with a very great concurrence without doors of all orders and deſcriptions of men. It is a ſtep for which, on the debate, nothing was ſaid to make it appear juſtifiable, and to render an inquiry concerning it unneceſſary.

PONSONBY.

WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM.

And the ſaid earl Fitzwilliam, moreover proteſting for himſelf, and on his own part, declares that this houſe refuſing ſuch neceſſary inveſtigation, he doth conceive and feel himſelf injured and oppreſſed, as a Britiſh ſubject, as a peer of Great Britain, and as a perſon who has exerciſed an high and very reſponſible truſt under his majeſty. That he is not content merely to prove his innocence; that he was, and is ready to make it appear to the houſe, and to his country, that in that truſt he has acted faithfully, zealouſly, affectionately, dutifully, and diligently towards his ſovereign; that he has acted with attention and practicability towards his colleagues in office; that he has acted with an enlightened regard to the true intereſts of the nation, which, under his majeſty's authority, he was appointed to govern. That he ſtands upon the merit of his meaſures, and the prudence of his arrangements; that by them confidence was recovered to government. That he ſtands for the juſtice and the policy of removing the few feeble, miſerable, inefficacious, but invidious reſtrictions, that remain on the catholics of Ireland, as wholly uſeleſs for any good purpoſe, but powerful in cauſing diſcontent, both with regard to government and to parliament, as furniſhing handles of oppreſſion to the malevolent, and as ſupplying pretexts for diſorders to the turbulent and ſeditious. That he ſhould have ſhewn a degree of incapacity wholly to unfit him for his arduous truſt, if he had acted on an idea that the politics of this time, or that the preſent or probable future intereſts of ſtates, do at all depend upon queſtions, whether of doctrine or diſcipline, either as agitated between catholics and proteſtants, or as agitated by proteſtants amongſt their ſeveral ſub-diviſions. The church and ſtate have enemies very different, and infinitely more formidable than any which have their origin in any religious parties. He has for ſome time been perſuaded, but moſt clearly ſo ſince he went to Ireland, that by good management the dangerous principles and tempers of the times, which have another and more recent origin, may be kept from taking root, either in the church of Ireland, there happily eſtabliſhed, or in the preſbyterian church, in communion with that of Scotland; or in the church of the old natives of Ireland, communicating with that of Rome; or in any other religious ſect whatever; but that through intemperate, vexatious, corrupt, or oppreſſive conduct, every one of theſe deſcriptions may be infected with this evil, in greater or leſſer degree and extent or malignity, according to the degree of oppreſſion or indiſcretion with which they are ſeverally treated. He was, and is convinced, that the beſt mode of reſiſting this reigning danger, either from within or from without, is not to be found in a plan for reviving, by art or influence, prejudices and heart-burnings expired, or ready to expire, or of ſowing the ſeeds of eternal diſcord and diviſion between the people. During his government he had nothing to complain of the diſpoſition of any religious deſcription as ſuch; and his principles of government led him to cultivate the union which he plainly ſaw of itſelf commencing between them. It was his conſtant endeavour, by every means, to combine the minds of every ſort of men, churchmen, preſbyterians, and catholics, of every the leaſt proportion of education, talent, influence, or property, in affection to their common ſovereign; to combine them in one bond of common intereſt, and in one common effort againſt our common enemies, the known enemies of all religion, all law, all order, and all property. He has had the happineſs of ſeeing all this completely accompliſhed. An unexampled concord amongſt the people, an unexampled zeal for the ſupport of the crown had taken place; but he is not reſponſible for the effects of a ſyſtem which proceeds in a contrary direction to that which he purſued; he is not reſponſible for the effects of a ſyſtem which ſupports men in whom the public has little confidence, contumeliouſly rejects the ſervice of thoſe who have obtained the good opinion of their country; a ſyſtem which endeavours to ſupply a comparative defect of ability by an unmeaſured increaſe of influence; a ſyſtem which rejects the opinion and information of perſons in high and reſponſible ſituations, and liſtens to the intereſted repreſentations of ſubordinate office; a ſyſtem which, inverting the whole order of things, introduces anarchy into the very ſeat of government, by publicly and avowedly ſupporting the inſtruments againſt the agent; a ſyſtem which, finding the body of the people diſpoſed to look to the crown as their ſecurity againſt oppreſſion from domeſtic factions, employs all its influence, power, and authority to ſupport thoſe very factions againſt the people who fly for refuge to the crown. For the oppoſite ſyſtem he has ſuffered the unparalleled mark of diſpleaſure which has been ſhewn to him. He is willing to ſuffer more, rather than abandon it. He will remember with a warm and laſting gratitude, and a cordial attachment, the weighty perſons in parliament, and all the reſpectable bodies and individuals by whom he was generouſly encouraged and honourably ſupported in a different plan of government from that which derives its ſupport from the corruption of one part of the people, and the depreſſion of the other.

FITZWILLIAM.

Proteſt againſt the Act for transferring the Militia, May 28th.

1ſt, BECAUSE the honourable footing upon which the militia was eſtabliſhed, and has hitherto ſubſiſted, is, as far as relates to the augmenting the artillery, undermined by this bill, inaſmuch as it makes the militia a fund for the ſupply, and a drill for the accommodation of another corps, inaſmuch as it reduces the conſtitutional force below the numbers covenanted by the country to be always kept complete; and inaſmuch as it ſupplies the deficiencies it creates, not in the regular and creditable manner by which the militia is conſtitutionally to be ſupplied, and ſupplied to a certainty; but by the means, uncertain in their operation, by which it is conſtitutionally provided in expreſs terms that it ſhall not be ſupplied.

2dly, Becauſe upon the allegation of the *preſent conjuncture*, it eſtabliſhes this meaſure without any expreſs period to its duration, and without any clauſe againſt the precedent.

3dly, Becauſe at a moment when the temper of the times, and our perſonal knowledge of late events in ſome corps, ſeem particularly to recommend a vigilance in the preſervation of diſcipline and ſubordination, this bill, in a moſt extraordinary and unprecedented manner, relaxes the authority of the commanding officers over the objects of it, by ſuggeſting to the latter a method which at any time, &c. on any motive, "entitles them to their diſcharge."

4thly, Becauſe the ſeveral circumſtances of diſappointment as to the ſtrength of their regiments, and of degradation by the involuntary removal of their ſelected and moſt inſtructed men, by the replacing of them in a leſs certain and leſs creditable manner, and by converting the regiments into a recruiting fund for another corps, form an impolitic and undeſerved return to ſuch militia officers, (and it has been admitted in the debates on this bill that there are many ſuch) as have merit with the public.—And

I conceive it the more neceſſary to mark my diſapprobation, and expreſs my apprehenſions of the conſequences of this innovation, as I know the militia contains a fund for recruiting not only the artillery, but every other corps in his majeſty's ſervice, much too good not to be ardently coveted, and (however the intention be diſclaimed at preſent) I fear reſorted to, (as I am ſure it may be upon the ſame reaſoning,) when parliament ſhall have once notified the principle of making the militia ſubſervient to the efficiency of other corps.

RADNOR.

Proteſt againſt the paſſing of the New Treaſon Bill.

1ſt, BECAUSE we conceive this bill is founded on a falſe pretence: it recites a daring outrage on his majeſty's perſon, (which we feel with the utmoſt horror) and purports to provide farther remedies againſt ſuch practices, whilſt, in reality, it affords no additional ſecurity whatever to his majeſty's perſon, and leaves us to regret a deep and irreparable injury to the laws and conſtitution of our country, by making the compaſſing, imagining, inventing, and deviſing the levying war a ſubſtantive treaſon; thereby departing in a moſt dangerous and unjuſtifiable manner from the ſtatute of the twenty-fifth of Edward the Third: the ſalutary proviſions of which we cannot be tempted to abandon, by the example of temporary ſtatutes, whoſe doubtful policy ſtands in oppoſition to a law, in which the wiſdom of our anceſtors has been ſo repeatedly recognized by the legiſlature, and ſo ſtrongly confirmed by the permanent experience of its benefits.

2dly, Becauſe the free diſcuſſion of the adminiſtration of government in all its branches, by writing, ſpeaking, and meeting, for the purpoſe of repreſenting grievances to any of the three branches of the legiſlature, has afforded the beſt protection to the liberties of the people, and is the undoubted inherent right of Engliſhmen. Yet this bill erects into a high miſdemeanor the exerciſe of this moſt valuable privilege, and inflicts, in certain caſes, the pains and penalties of tranſportation for the offences which it creates, a puniſhment in the caſe of miſdemeanors, thus generally conſtituted,

ſtituted, as unprecedented in the hiſtory of our laws, as it is unneceſſary and unconſtitutional.

3dly, Becauſe the extenſion of the treaſon laws, and the creating new miſdemeanors, is an alarming encroachment on the ſecurity of the ſubject, and affords no additional protection to his majeſty's perſon and government; for the ſtate of every king, ruler, and governor of any realm, dominion, or commonalty, ſtandeth and conſiſteth more aſſured by the love and favour of the ſubjects towards their ſovereign, ruler, and governor, than in the dread and fear of thoſe laws with rigorous pains and extreme puniſhments, which have at all times diſgraced our code. Hiſtory, however, ſhews us, that by ſucceeding legiſlatures, our ſtatute book has, with every mark of generous indignation, been uniformly cleared of theſe temporary and unconſtitutional excreſcences, a circumſtance which we now regard as a ſolemn warning againſt creating new and unheard-of miſdemeanors, or altering the treaſon laws of our country.

BEDFORD.
DERBY.
LAUDERDALE.

Proteſt againſt the Sedition Bill.

BECAUSE, to preſent petitions to the throne and the two houſes of parliament has at all times been the undoubted right of the ſubjects of this realm; the free and unlimited enjoyment of which was one of the many bleſſings reſtored by the revolution, and invariably continued in its fulleſt extent, as well during time of internal commotion as of external danger; we therefore cannot conſent to a bill which thus fetters the rights of the people, and impoſes reſtraints on that freedom of ſpeech, to the exiſtence of which the preſervation of all our liberties may be aſcribed, and from the full, free, and continued exerciſe of which is derived the manly character that diſtinguiſhes a free people.

NORFOLK, E. M. PONSONBY,
DERBY, LANSDOWNE,
LAUDERDALE, ALBEMARLE,
SUFFOLK, BEDFORD.
CHEDWORTH.

1ſt. Becauſe, though we cordially agree in the above ground of proteſt, yet we think it farther neceſſary to ſtate that, although the bill induſtriouſly diſplays the acknowledged right of Engliſhmen, a right eſſential to a free conſtitution, of deliberating on grievances in church or ſtate, and of preferring to the king and each houſe of parliament, petitions, complaints, remonſtrances, and declarations thereupon, yet it proceeds to lay the whole exerciſe of that important and ſacred privilege under a reſtraint and diſcountenance, which directly and abſolutely annihilates the right.

The very propoſition of any matter which ſhall tend to incite or ſtir up the people to hatred or contempt of the government and conſtitution of this realm, as by law eſtabliſhed, makes the aſſembly liable to be diſperſed by any one juſtice of peace, under the pain of felony, without benefit of clergy, if any twelve remain together an hour after proclamation, even though they ſhould not proceed on prohibited buſineſs. Nay, if any one juſtice ſhall think fit to arreſt any perſon holding any diſcourſe to the above effect, to be dealt with according to law, and ſhall meet with obſtruction, whether the orator and obſtructor be ſuborned or not, the whole aſſembly is liable to be treated in this harſh and unprecedented manner.

Now the caſe to which theſe terrible conſequences are attached, is unavoidable, being a neceſſary incident to the exerciſe of the right; for no grievance can be made the ſubject of deliberation, much leſs of complaint and remonſtrance, without drawing down upon it that odium, which its injurious tendency, or that contempt which its abſurd incongruity may ſeem to merit; that is, without repreſenting it as a grievance. So that an occaſion, even without ſtraining, can never be wanting to ſuppreſs the exerciſe of this franchiſe.

2dly, Becauſe the ſevere proviſions of this bill not only apply to all aſſemblies convened by the exertions of private ſubjects, in the manner expreſsly claimed for Engliſhmen by the bill of rights, but to all the other aſſemblies mentioned in the act, as appears from a conſideration of the following words—"Such meeting or aſſembly, as is herein before mentioned, to which every juſtice of the peace is authorized and empowered to reſort with any number of conſtables, or other officers of the peace, and to do, or order to be done, all ſuch acts, matters, and things, as the caſe may require." Now although it be not expreſsly provided, that deliberating on any grievance in church or ſtate ſhall be deemed a crime, except in aſſemblies convened by private ſubjects, yet the above-mentioned authority, to arreſt men holding diſcourſe to ſuch effect, to be dealt with according to law, does ſo flagrantly imply it, that the zeal of any juſtice of the peace, who ſhould ſo underſtand the phraſe, may regard this as affording ample countenance to his efforts. Happily, in the claſs of magiſtrates in this country, are men whoſe worth and honour render them reſpectable: but we cannot forget that many are not only appointed by the miniſter during his pleaſure, but are in a ſtate of apparent ſubjection to his caprice, and ſome even paid by him for the exerciſe of their office, have their dependence on that caprice for their daily bread. It is therefore but too eaſy to foreſee how ſuch an occaſion will be applied.

3dly, Becauſe the proviſions in the concluſion of this bill form a worthy ſequel to the foregoing meaſures, differing not in principle, but only in extent and application. The prohibition of unlicenſed diſcourſing upon law, conſtitution, government, and policy, at meetings not ſanctioned by the ſacred occaſions of a free people applying to their legiſlature, interrupts private inſtruction, and the freedom of private diſcourſe. The peruſal of books, recommended by univerſal eſteem, and the authority of names the moſt venerable, is an indulgence, however, that ſtill remains. We are only forbidden to talk of what they contain.

We therefore think it our bounden duty, thus ſolemnly to mark the ignominious difference between this impaired ſtate of Engliſh liberty, and that which was ſo nobly demanded, and ſo honourably conceded, at the auſpicious æra of our happy and glorious revolution. It is in vain that, by the rapidity with which this bill has proceeded, the petitions, complaints, remonſtrances, and other addreſſes of an irritated people, have been evaded. It is in vain to hope, that the length of time for which it is to endure will lay the public anxiety to ſleep. The people cannot ceaſe to regard this invaſion of their rights with grief and diſmay. They feel with us, that even indifference would extinguiſh this fundamental franchiſe, this ſafeguard of all our liberties, for ever.

BEDFORD, LAUDERDALE,
ALBEMARLE, DERBY.

Proclamation reſpecting Dutch Bills of Exchange, February 6th, 1795.

WHEREAS it has been repreſented to his majeſty, at this board, that, in conſequence of the progreſs of the French arms in the United Provinces, the payment of bills of exchange, drawn or negotiated in the ſaid provinces, may be deemed unlawful, by virtue of the proviſions contained in an act, paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, intituled, "An act for preventing money or effects, in the hands of his majeſty's ſubjects, belonging to or diſpoſable by perſons reſident in France, being applied to the uſe of the perſons exerciſing the powers of government in France, and for preſerving the property thereof for the benefit of the individual owners thereof" and in an act paſſed in the ſame ſeſſion, intituled, "An act for more effectually preſerving money or effects, in the hands of his majeſty's ſubjects, belonging to or diſpoſable by perſons reſident in France, for the benefit of the individual owners thereof," unleſs his majeſty ſhall licenſe the payment of ſuch bills, in purſuance of the powers given by the ſaid ſeveral acts: his majeſty, taking the ſame into his royal conſideration, is pleaſed, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that it ſhall be lawful for any perſon, reſiding or being in Great Britain, to pay any bill, drawn or indorſed in any part of the ſaid United Provinces, and ſent from the ſaid provinces on or before the 16th day of January laſt; provided ſuch bill ſhall have been made payable at no greater diſtance of time than three months from the date thereof, or three months from ſight thereof; provided alſo, that all and every perſon and perſons, who ſhall take the benefit of ſuch licenſe hereby granted, ſhall ſo take the ſame, upon condition, that in caſe of any proceedings, criminal or civil, under the proviſions of the ſaid act of parliament, or either of them, for any thing alleged to have been done contrary thereto, any queſtion ſhall ariſe, whether the thing ſo done was authorized by the licence hereby given; the proof of ſuch thing being done, under the particular circumſtances, and according to the ſpecial terms and conditions required by this order, ſhall lie on the perſons claiming the benefit of ſuch licence.

W. FAWKENER.

Additional Inſtruction to the Commanders of our Ships of War and Privateers, that have, or may have Letters of Marque againſt France, given at our Court of St. James's, the 9th Day of February, 1795, *in the Thirty-fifth Year of our Reign.*

George R.

1. THAT they ſhall bring into the ports of this kingdom all Dutch veſſels, bound to or from any ports of Holland, in order that, they,

together with their cargoes, being Dutch property, may be detained proviſionally: and that ſpeedy reſtitution ſhall be made of all ſuch cargoes, or parts of cargoes (or the value thereof) found on board the ſame, as ſhall appear to belong to proprietors, being the ſubjects of allied or neutral powers.

2. That they ſhall bring into the ports of this kingdom all ſhips, to whatever country they may belong, which ſhall be found laden with naval or military ſtores, and bound to any port in Holland, in order that the ſaid cargoes may be detained proviſionally; a full indemnification being given by our government to the owners and maſters of all ſuch veſſels belonging to the ſubjects of the allied or neutral powers, as may be brought in, in conſequence hereof, and likewiſe to the proprietors of ſuch cargoes, being ſubjects of allied or neutral powers.

By his majeſty's command,

PORTLAND.

Proclamation iſſued by his Majeſty, relative to ſeditious Aſſemblies.

George R.

WHEREAS it hath been repreſented to us, that, immediately before the opening of the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, a great number of perſons were collected in fields in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, by advertiſements and hand-bills; and that divers inflammatory diſcourſes were delivered to the perſons ſo collected, and divers proceedings were had, tending to create groundleſs jealouſy and diſcontent, and to endanger the public peace, and the quiet and ſafety of our faithful ſubjects: And whereas it hath been alſo repreſented to us, that divers ſeditious and treaſonable papers have been lately diſtributed, tending to excite evil diſpoſed perſons to acts endangering our royal perſon: And whereas ſuch proceedings have been followed, on the day on which the preſent ſeſſion of parliament commenced, by acts of tumult and violence, and by daring and highly criminal outrages, in direct violation of the public peace, to the immediate danger of our royal perſon, and to the interruption of our paſſage to and from our parliament: And whereas great uneaſineſs and anxiety hath been produced in the minds of our faithful ſubjects, by rumours and apprehenſions that ſeditious and unlawful aſſemblies are intended to be held by evil diſpoſed perſons, and that ſuch other criminal practices as aforeſaid are intended to be repeated: we therefore have thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy council, to enjoin and require, and we do hereby enjoin and require, all juſtices of the peace, ſheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, conſtables, and all other our loving ſubjects throughout our kingdom, to uſe the utmoſt diligence to diſcourage, prevent, and ſuppreſs, all ſeditious and unlawful aſſemblies: and we do ſpecially enjoin and command all our loving ſubjects, who ſhall have cauſe to ſuſpect that any ſuch aſſemblies are intended to be held in any part of our kingdom, to give the earlieſt information thereof to the magiſtrates of the ſeveral diſtricts within which it ſhall be ſuſpected that the ſame are intended to be held; and if ſuch aſſemblies ſhall, nevertheleſs, in any caſe, be actually held, to be aiding and aſſiſting, on being required thereto by the civil magiſtrate, in cauſing perſons delivering inflammatory diſcourſes in ſuch aſſemblies, and other principal actors therein, to be forthwith apprehended, in order that they may be dealt with according to law. And we have alſo thought fit, by and with the advice aforeſaid, to enjoin and require, and we do hereby enjoin and require all juſtices of the peace, ſheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, conſtables, and all other our loving ſubjects throughout our kingdom, to be in like manner aiding and aſſiſting in bringing to juſtice all perſons diſtributing ſuch ſeditious and treaſonable papers as aforeſaid.

Given at our court at St. James's, the fourth day of November, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-five, in the thirty-ſixth year of our reign.

God ſave the King.

Orders by General the Duke of Richmond.

Brighton, April 20, 1795.

THE king having been pleaſed, in conſequence of the preſent high price of bread, to direct that his forces, as well in quarters as in barracks, ſhall, from the 18th day of April, 1795, receive their bread at the ſame rate as it will be furniſhed to them in camp, the uſual camp ſtoppage of five-pence per loaf is to be made from each non-commiſſioned officer and private ſoldier: for which a loaf of ſix pounds weight, and as nearly as poſſible of the ſame quality as thoſe delivered in camp, is to be furniſhed every four days, and the difference between five-pence and whatever the market price of bread may be for ſix pounds of bread of the above-mentioned quality, is to be paid to the bakers by the paymaſter of the corps, and charged in his public accounts.

In places where it is not uſual, or it may not be convenient to bake loaves of ſix pounds weight, the commanding officer may order loaves of other ſizes to be purchaſed, taking care to obſerve the proportion above-mentioned, and that each non-commiſſioned officer and private ſoldier receives in kind one pound and a half of bread per day, and pays no more for it than at the rate of five-pence for ſix pounds.

The commanding officer will alſo, if not already done, divide all his men, except thoſe who are married, into regular meſſes, from ſix to ten or twelve, as may be convenient, and ſee that ſo much of the pay as is directed by his majeſty's regulations to be laid out in food for the ſoldiers, be ſtrictly ſo applied.

The officers are frequently to viſit the meſſes, to ſee that they are properly conducted.

His majeſty has alſo been further pleaſed to ſignify his pleaſure, that in conſequence of the preſent high price of proviſions, contracts ſhould be immediately entered into by the commanding officers of regiments, for the ſupply of meat for their corps, under certain regulations to be tranſmitted from the ſecretary at war, ſo as that the expence of meat to the ſoldier ſhall not exceed four-pence halfpenny per pound. The commanding officers will therefore proceed to enter into contracts accordingly, and the regulations from the ſecretary at war will be tranſmitted to them as ſoon as received.

The duke of Richmond truſts the ſoldiers will ſee, that, while every attempt at diſorderly proceedings will be reſiſted with vigour, and puniſhed with ſeverity, every attention

tion is paid to their real wants, when properly and regularly repreſented through their officers; and he is confident that theſe repeated proofs of his majeſty's gracious attention to their ſituation will animate them with freſh zeal for the cauſe of their king and country, in which they are engaged; and that each militia corps in particular, jealous of its own honour, and lamenting the diſgrace which one has brought on itſelf, will ſee the neceſſity of maintaining the moſt ſtrict diſcipline, on which the efficacy and credit of any army muſt ſo much depend.

J. Haddin,
Brigade Major-General,
Southern Diſtrict.

Copy of a Letter and Inſtructions from Sir William Scott and Dr. John Nicholl, of the Commons, prepared at the inſtance of Mr. Jay, the American Miniſter.

To his Excellency Jn. Jay, eſq. &c.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour of ſending the paper drawn up by Mr. Nicholl and myſelf; it is longer and more particular than perhaps you meant; but it appeared to be an error on the better ſide, rather to be too minute, than to be too reſerved in the information we had to give; and it will be in your excellency's power either to apply the whole or ſuch parts as may appear more immediately pertinent to the objects of your inquiry.

I take the liberty of adding, that I ſhall, at all times, think myſelf much honoured by any communications from you, either during your ſtay here or after your return, on any ſubject in which you may ſuppoſe that my ſituation can give me the power of being at all uſeful to the joint intereſts of both countries; if they ſhould ever turn upon points in which the duties of my official ſtation appear to me to impoſe upon me an obligation of reſerve, I ſhall have no heſitation in ſaying, that I feel them to be ſuch: on any other points, on which you may wiſh to have an opinion of mine, you may depend on receiving one that is formed with as much care as I can uſe, and delivered with all poſſible frankneſs and ſincerity.

I have the honour to be,
With great reſpect, &c. &c.
Wm. Scott.

Doctors Commons, London,
10th Sept. 1794.

[Paper incloſed in the foregoing Letter.]

Sir,

WE have the honour of tranſmitting, agreeably to your excellency's requeſt, a ſtatement of the general principles of proceeding in prize cauſes, in Britiſh courts of admiralty, and of the meaſures proper to be taken when a ſhip and cargo are brought in as a prize within their juriſdictions.

The general principles of proceeding cannot, in our judgment, be ſtated more correctly, than we find them laid down in the following extract from a report made to his late majeſty in the year 1753, by ſir George Lee, then judge of the prerogative court, Dr. Paul, his majeſty's advocate general, ſir Dudley Rider, his majeſty's attorney-general, and Mr. Murray, (afterwards Lord Manſfield) his majeſty's ſolicitor-general.

"When two powers are at war, they have a right to make prizes of the ſhips, goods, and effects of each other, upon the high ſeas:—whatever is the property of the enemy, may be acquired by capture at ſea; but the property of a friend cannot be taken, provided he obſerves his neutrality.

"Hence the law of nations has eſtabliſhed,

"That the goods of an enemy, on board the ſhip of a friend, may be taken.

"That the lawful goods of a friend, on board the ſhip of an enemy, ought to be reſtored.

"That contraband goods, going to the enemy, though the property of a friend, may be taken as prizes; becauſe ſupplying the enemy with what enables him better to carry on the war, is a departure from neutrality.

"By the maritime law of nations, univerſally and immemorially received, there is an eſtabliſhed method of determination, whether the capture be, or be not, lawful prize.

"Before the ſhip, or goods, can be diſpoſed of by the captor, there muſt be a regular judicial proceeding, wherein both parties may be heard: and condemnation thereupon as prize, in a court of admiralty, judging by the law of nations and treaties.

"The proper and regular court, for theſe condemnations, is the court of that ſtate to whom the captor belongs.

"The evidence to acquit or condemn, with or without coſts or damages, muſt, in the firſt inſtance, come merely from the ſhip taken, viz. The papers on board, and the examination on oath of the maſter, and other principal officers; for which purpoſe there are officers of admiralty in all the conſiderable ſea-ports of every maritime power at war, to examine the captains, and other principal officers of every ſhip, brought in as a prize, upon general and impartial interrogatories: if there does not appear from thence ground to condemn, as enemy's property, or contraband goods going to the enemy, there muſt be an acquittal, unleſs from the aforeſaid evidence the property ſhall appear ſo doubtful, that it is reaſonable to go into further proof thereof.

"A claim of ſhip, or goods, muſt be ſupported by the oath of ſomebody, at leaſt as to belief.

"The law of nations requires good faith: therefore every ſhip muſt be provided with complete and genuine papers; and the maſter, at leaſt, ſhould be privy to the truth of the tranſaction.

"To enforce theſe rules, if there be falſe or colourable papers; if any papers be thrown overboard; if the maſter and officers examined in preparation groſsly prevaricate; if proper ſhips papers are not on board; or if the maſter and crew cannot ſay, whether the ſhip or cargo be the property of a friend or enemy, the law of nations allows, according to the different degrees of miſbehaviour, or ſuſpicion, ariſing from the fault of the ſhip taken, and other circumſtances of the caſe, coſts to be paid, or not to be received, by the claimant, in caſe of acquittal and reſtitution: on the other hand, if a ſeizure is made without probable cauſe, the captor is adjudged to pay coſts and damages: for which purpoſe all privateers are obliged to give ſecurity for their good behaviour; and this is referred to, and expreſsly ſtipulated by many treaties.

"Though from the ſhip's papers, and the preparatory examinations, the property does not ſufficiently appear to be neutral, the claimant is often indulged with time to ſend over affidavits, to ſupply that defect; if he will not ſhew the property by ſufficient affidavits, to be neutral, it is preſumed to belong to the enemy.—Where the property appears from evidence not on board the ſhip, the captor is juſtified in bringing her in, and excuſed paying coſts, becauſe he is not in fault: or according to the circumſtances of the caſe, may be juſtly entitled to receive his coſts.

"If the ſentence of the court of admiralty is thought to be erroneous, there is in every maritime country a ſuperior court of review, conſiſting of the moſt conſiderable perſons, to which the parties who think themſelves aggrieved may appeal; and this ſuperior court judges by the ſame rule which governs the court of admiralty, viz. the law of nations, and the treaties ſubſiſting with that neutral power, whoſe ſubject is a party before them.

"If no appeal is offered, it is an acknowledgment of the juſtice of the ſentence by the parties themſelves, and concluſive.

"This manner of trial and adjudication is ſupported, alluded to, and enforced, by many treaties.

"In this method all captures at ſea were tried, during the laſt war, by Great Britain, France, and Spain, and ſubmitted to by the neutral powers. In this method, by courts of admiralty acting according to the law of nations and particular treaties, all captures at ſea have immemorially been judged of, in every country of Europe. Any other method of trial would be manifeſtly unjuſt, abſurd, and impracticable."

Such are the principles which govern the proceedings of the prize courts.

The following are the meaſures which ought to be taken by the captor, and by the neutral claimant, upon a ſhip and cargo being brought in as a prize:—

The captor immediately, upon bringing his prize into port, ſends up, or delivers upon oath, to the regiſtry of the court of admiralty all papers found on board the captured ſhip. In the courſe of a few days, the preparatory examinations of the captain and ſome of the crew of the captured ſhip are taken, upon a ſet of ſtanding interrogatories, before the commiſſioners of the port to which the prize is brought, and which are alſo forwarded to the regiſtry of the admiralty as ſoon as taken. A monition is extracted by the captor from the regiſtry, and ſerved upon the Royal Exchange, notifying the capture, and calling upon all perſons intereſted to appear and ſhew cauſe, why the ſhip and goods ſhould not be condemned. At the expiration of twenty days, the monition is returned into the regiſtry, with a certificate of its ſervice, and if any claim has been given, the cauſe is then ready for hearing, upon the evidence ariſing out of the ſhip's papers, and preparatory examinations.

The meaſures taken, on the part of the neutral maſter or proprietor of the cargo, are as follows:—

Upon being brought into port, the maſter uſually makes a proteſt, which he forwards to London, as inſtructions

tions (or with ſuch further directions, as he thinks proper) either to the correſpondent of his owners, or to the conſul of his nation, in order to claim the ſhip, and ſuch parts of the cargo as belong to his owners, or with which he was particularly intruſted: or the maſter himſelf, as ſoon as he has undergone his examination, goes to London to take the neceſſary ſteps.

The maſter, correſpondent, or conſul, applies to a proctor, who prepares a claim ſupported by an affidavit of the claimant, ſtating briefly to whom, as he believes, the ſhip and goods claimed belong, and that no enemy has any right or intereſt in them; ſecurity muſt be given to the amount of ſixty pounds to anſwer coſts, if the caſe ſhould appear ſo groſsly fraudulent on the part of the claimant as to ſubject him to be condemned therein. If the captor has neglected in the meantime to take the uſual ſteps (but which ſeldom happens, as he is ſtrictly enjoined both by his inſtructions, and by the prize act, to proceed immediately to adjudication) a proceſs iſſues againſt him on the application of the claimant's proctor, to bring in the ſhip's papers and preparatory examinations, and to proceed in the uſual way.

As ſoon as the claim is given, copies of the ſhip's papers and examinations are procured from the regiſtry; and upon the return of the monition the cauſe may be heard. It however ſeldom happens (owing to the great preſſure of buſineſs, eſpecially at the commencement of a war) that cauſes can poſſibly be prepared for hearing immediately upon the expiration of the time for the return of the monition; in that caſe, each cauſe muſt neceſſarily take its regular turn: correſpondent meaſures muſt be taken by the neutral maſter, if carried within the juriſdiction of a vice-admiralty court, by giving a claim ſupported by his affidavit, and offering a ſecurity for coſts, if the claim ſhould be pronounced groſsly fraudulent.

If the claimant be diſſatisfied with the ſentence, his proctor enters an appeal in the regiſtry of the court where the ſentence was given or before a notary public (which regularly ſhould be entered within fourteen days after the ſentence) and he afterwards applies at the regiſtry of the lords of appeal in prize cauſes, which is held at the ſame place as the regiſtry of the high court of admiralty, for an inſtrument called an inhibition, and which ſhould be taken out within three months, if the ſentence be in the high court of admiralty, and within nine months, if in a vice-admiralty court; but may be taken out at later periods, if a reaſonable cauſe can be alleged for the delay that has intervened. This inſtrument directs the judge whoſe ſentence is appealed from to proceed no further in the cauſe; it directs the regiſter to tranſmit a copy of all the proceedings of the inferior courts; and it directs the party who has obtained the ſentence to appear before the ſuperior tribunal to anſwer to the appeal. On applying for this inhibition, ſecurity is given on the part of the appellant to the amount of two hundred pounds to anſwer coſts, in caſe it ſhould appear to the court of appeals, that the appeal is merely vexatious. The inhibition is to be ſerved upon the judge, the regiſter, and the adverſe party and his proctor, by ſhewing the inſtrument under ſeal, and delivering a note or copy of the contents. If the party cannot be found, and the proctor will not accept the ſervice, the inſtrument is to be ſerved *viis et modis*, that is, by affixing it to the door of the laſt place of reſidence, or by hanging it on the pillars of the Royal Exchange.

That part of the proceſs above deſcribed, which is to be executed abroad, may be performed by any perſon to whom it is committed, and the formal part at home is executed by the officer of the court. A certificate of the ſervice is indorſed upon the back of the inſtrument, ſworn before a ſurrogate of the ſuperior court, or before a notary public, if the ſervice is abroad.

If the cauſe be adjudged in the vice-admiralty court, it is uſual, upon entering an appeal there, to procure a copy of the proceedings, which the appellant ſends over to his correſpondent in England, who carries it to a proctor, and the ſame ſteps are taken to procure and ſerve the inhibition as where the cauſe has been adjudged in the high court of admiralty. But if a copy of the proceedings cannot be procured in due time, an inhibition may be obtained by ſending over a copy of the inſtrument of appeal, or by writing to the correſpondent an account only of the time and ſubſtance of the ſentence.

Upon an appeal, freſh evidence may be introduced; if upon hearing the cauſe the lords of appeal ſhall be of opinion, that the caſe is of ſuch doubt, as that further proof ought to have been ordered by the court below.

Further proof uſually conſiſts of affidavits made by the aſſerted proprietors of the goods, in which they are ſometimes joined by their clerks and others acquainted with the tranſaction, and with the real property of the goods claimed. In corroboration of theſe, affidavits may be annexed, original correſpondence, duplicates of bills of lading, invoices, extracts from books, &c. Theſe papers muſt be proved by the affidavits of perſons who can ſpeak of their authenticity: and if copies or extracts, they ſhould be collated and certified by public notaries. The affidavits are ſworn before the magiſtrates, or others competent to adminiſter oaths in the country where they are made, and authenticated by a certificate from the Britiſh conſul.

The degree of proof to be required depends upon the degree of ſuſpicion and doubt that belongs to the caſe. In caſes of heavy ſuſpicion and great importance, the court may order what is called "plea and proof," that is, inſtead of admitting affidavits and documents, introduced by the claimants only, each party is at liberty to allege in regular pleadings ſuch circumſtances as may tend to acquit or to condemn the capture, and to examine witneſſes in ſupport of the allegations; to whom the adverſe party may adminiſter interrogatories. The depoſitions of the witneſſes are taken in writing; if the witneſſes are to be examined abroad, a commiſſion iſſues for that purpoſe; but in no caſe is it neceſſary for them to come to England. Theſe ſolemn proceedings are not often reſorted to.

Standing commiſſions may be ſent to America, for the general purpoſe of receiving examinations of witneſſes in all caſes where the court may find it neceſſary, for the purpoſes of juſtice, to decree an inquiry to be conducted in that manner.

With reſpect to captures and condemnations at Martinico, which are the ſubjects of another inquiry contained in your note, we can only anſwer in general, that we are not informed of the particulars of ſuch captures and condemnations; but as we know of no legal court of admiralty eſtabliſhed at Martinico, we are clearly of opinion that the legality of any prizes taken there muſt be tried in the high court of admiralty of England upon claims given in the manner above deſcribed, by ſuch perſons as may think themſelves aggrieved by the ſaid capture.

We have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) WM. SCOTT.
JOHN NICHOL.
Commons, Sept. 10, 1794.

Department of States, America, Nov. 22, 1794.

I hereby certify, that the foregoing are true copies of an original communication from Mr. Jay to the ſecretary of ſtate.

GEO. TAYLOR, jun. chief clerk.

Addreſs to the King, moved in the Houſe of Lords by the Earl of Lauderdale, on the 5th of June, 1795.

THAT an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, that his majeſty's dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal in parliament aſſembled, have, during the war in which ſo great a part of Europe has been involved, repeatedly given every aſſurance, that nothing ſhould be wanting on their part that could contribute to that firm and effectual ſupport which his majeſty had ſo much reaſon to expect from a brave and loyal people.

That at the commencement of the preſent war this houſe ſaw, with ſatisfaction, "the United Provinces protected from invaſion, the Auſtrian Netherlands recovered and maintained, and places of conſiderable importance acquired on the frontiers of France," and that whilſt we concurred fully in the juſt and benevolent ſentiments of his majeſty's declaration graciouſly communicated to this houſe, in which his majeſty has ſtated, that "it never could be his intention to employ the influence of external force with reſpect to the particular forms of government to be eſtabliſhed in an independent country;" it was with pleaſure we looked forward to that happy proſpect of ſpeedy and permanent peace, which the ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms, and the wiſdom and moderation of his declared intentions ſeemed likely to ſecure. With unimpaired zeal, however, we aſſured his majeſty, that, "relying with confidence on the valour and reſources of the nation, and on the combined efforts of ſo large a part of Europe, we would, on our parts, perſevere with vigour and union in our exertions."

That more recently we have ſeen with extreme concern the rapid and alarming progreſs of the French arms, and heard with pain, in his majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne at the commencement of the preſent ſeſſion, the confirmation of the melancholy "diſappointments and reverſes" experienced in the courſe of laſt campaign, and ſince ſo fatally illuſtrated by the ſubverſion of one of the moſt reſpectable governments in Europe, the ancient, the natural, and the moſt important ally of Great Britain. With unrelaxed energy, however, we declared "our cordial ſupport of ſuch meaſures as his majeſty in his wiſdom ſhould think neceſſary," and at an early period of this ſeſſion reſolved,

"That under the preſent circumſtances this houſe feels itſelf called upon to declare its determination firmly and ſteadily to ſupport his majeſty in the vigorous proſecution of the preſent juſt and neceſſary war, as affording at this time the only reaſonable expectation of permanent ſecurity and peace to this country; and that for the attainment of theſe objects this houſe relies with equal confidence on his majeſty's intention to employ vigorouſly the force and reſources of the country in ſupport of its eſſential intereſts; and on the deſire uniformly manifeſted by his majeſty to effect a pacification, on juſt and honourable grounds, with any government in France, under whatever form, which ſhall appear capable of maintaining the accuſtomed relations of peace and amity with other countries."

That we now, however, approach his majeſty at a moment, when, in the commencement of another campaign, we ſee ourſelves deſerted by ſome of thoſe allies on whoſe powerful aſſiſtance and co-operation his majeſty during the laſt campaign mainly relied, and when others, to protect whoſe intereſts his majeſty originally interfered, are unfortunately thrown into the ſcale of our enemies: thinking it our bounden duty humbly to ſtate our conviction that it is the general opinion of his people, that no probable advantages to be obtained by continuing the war with the preſent ſtate of his majeſty's alliances, will bear the ſlighteſt compariſon with the ſolid benefit likely to accrue from an immediate negotiation for peace.

That without entering into a painful enumeration of domeſtic diſtreſſes, which, as they early called forth the ſalutary and healing interpoſition of the legiſlature, cannot have eſcaped his majeſty's paternal attention; or without minutely detailing the difficulties which embarraſs every ſtate in Europe that now remains in alliance with his majeſty, we truſt that the mere ſuggeſtion of theſe important conſiderations will induce his majeſty ſpeedily to uſe every honourable and expedient means for reſtoring the neceſſary bleſſings of peace.

That it is with pleaſure and ſatisfaction we reflect, that a negotiation ſo deſirable in itſelf cannot be deemed inconſiſtent with any of thoſe rules of the law of nations, which the wiſdom of ages and the common conſent of mankind have conſecrated as the leading principles of national intercourſe. For "every nation which governs itſelf, under what form ſoever, without any dependence on foreign power, is a ſovereign ſtate," and the exiſtence of government acquieſced in by the people under its controul is the only feature in the condition of a country to which foreign powers, for the purpoſe of diſcovering a capacity of negotiation, ought to direct their attention; there being no form of government which has not ſhewn itſelf capable of maintaining the accuſtomed relations of peace and amity with other countries.

That if doubt ſhould any where exiſt on this ſubject, as the law of nations itſelf is a rule of action growing out of the common conſent of independent ſtates, it cannot fail to be removed by the acquieſcence in theſe doctrines of ſo conſiderable a number of thoſe powers, whoſe united authority forms the only competent tribunal in queſtions of ſuch univerſal importance to the rights of nations.

We cannot therefore reflect on the intercourſe maintained by France with the United States of America, as well as with the neutral powers of Europe during the whole of the preſent war, on the treaties lately concluded with the duke of Tuſcany, the king of Pruſſia, and the proviſional government of Holland; on the negotiations that have been carried on by Spain, and on the ſtrong declarations of deſire to negotiate, recently made by his majeſty's intimate ally, the emperor, as head of the Germanic body, and ſeriouſly maintain a doubt of that capacity to negotiate which ſo many powerful and independent ſtates have acknowledged, and to whoſe deciſion his majeſty has added the acquieſcence, and in a manner the authority of this country, by a late miſſion to the continent to negotiate an exchange of priſoners. For we humbly conceive that a nation cannot abſolutely be thought incapable of maintaining the accuſtomed relations of peace and amity, which is treated with as capable of preſerving and performing the ſtipulations which may be entered into for the humane and civiliſed purpoſe of alleviating the rigours of war.

That we humbly beg leave to aſſure his majeſty, that in thus anxiouſly recommending a ſpeedy negotiation for peace, we do not merely contemplate the general advantages which this country always derives from a ſtate of repoſe and public tranquillity. But as we have ſeen with grief (whilſt we have been occupied in conſidering the capacity of the preſent government of France to treat) ſucceſſive deſertions from that general ſyſtem of alliance on which his majeſty and his people chiefly grounded the hopes of ſucceſs, ſo if this reluctance to treat ſhould continue, we cannot now help anticipating with poignant regret the eventful moment when Great Britain may be reduced to the ſad alternative of either providing for the expences of all the allies, or of ſingly maintaining a protracted and deſtructive war in a cauſe not originally her own, and in which this country was embarked with the aſſurances of the active and zealous ſupport of almoſt every European power.

That it is with confidence we therefore truſt, that his majeſty's gracious and benevolent mind will be impreſſed by the ſeparate and combined effects of thoſe powerful conſiderations which we the more anxiouſly preſs upon his majeſty, as we approach his throne under a ſincere and irreſiſtible conviction, that the ſenſe of the nation with whom his majeſty is engaged in hoſtilities, as well as the diſpoſition of its preſent government, affords no unfavourable opportunity for negotiation; and that an ardent and univerſal wiſh for the reſtoration, on fair and honourable grounds, of the bleſſings of peace, openly avowed by many of your majeſty's allies on the continent, pervades with equal influence the minds of your majeſty's loyal, faithful, and affectionate ſubjects at home.

The addreſs was negatived, by a majority of 53 againſt 8.

Petition,

Petition of the Livery of the City of London, in Common Hall aſſembled, preſented to the Houſe of Commons, Jan. 26.

The humble petition, &c.

Sheweth,

THAT your petitioners deplore the evil conſequences of war in general, but more particularly the diſaſtrous effects of the preſent war, on the trade, manufactures, and commerce of the Britiſh empire.

Your petitioners conceive, that none of the ends propoſed by the preſent war, either have been, or appear likely to be obtained; although it has been carried on at an unprecedented expence to this country, and has already produced an alarming increaſe of the national debt; augmented by ſubſidies paid to allies, who have notoriouſly violated their ſolemn engagements, and rendered no adequate ſervice for large ſums actually received by them, and wrung from the credulity of the generous and induſtrious inhabitants of this iſland.

Your petitioners, from their preſent view of public meaſures, preſume humbly, but firmly, to expreſs to this honourable houſe their decided conviction that the principle upon which the war appears now to be carried on, neither is nor can be eſſential to the proſperity, the liberty, or the glory of the Britiſh empire.

Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray, that this honourable houſe, diſclaiming all right of interfering in the internal concerns of France, will be pleaſed to take ſuch meaſures as they, in their wiſdom, ſhall think proper, for the purpoſe of promoting a ſpeedy peace between Great Britain and the power with whom we are at war.

Addreſs of the City of London to his Majeſty, preſented Jan. 28.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The humble Addreſs of the Lord-mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council aſſembled.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council aſſembled, humbly approach the throne with renewed profeſſions of firm and unſhaken attachment to your majeſty and royal family, and a full determination to ſupport our moſt excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate, againſt all ſuch attempts as have lately been made to ſubvert it.

With the deepeſt concern, we have beheld, that notwithſtanding the uniform bravery manifeſted throughout your majeſty's fleets and armies, the objects of the juſt and neceſſary war, in which this country is engaged, have not yet been accompliſhed.

But at the ſame time, with the ſteadieſt confidence on the God of all victory, we rely for the final ſucceſs of your majeſty's arms; to ſecure to theſe kingdoms the permanent enjoyment of ſocial order, freedom, and every other bleſſing which we experience under your majeſty's mild and paternal government, and the glorious conſtitution, as eſtabliſhed at the revolution.

Your majeſty's uniform and benevolent concern for the intereſts of your people, will go before our wiſhes, that your majeſty will employ every means which ſhall be moſt proper to defend this country againſt its foreign and domeſtic enemies; and to reſtore to us the bleſſings of peace, whenever it can be done, conſiſtently with the honour and dignity of the ſtate; and with that permanent ſecurity which is, above all things, important to the maintenance of our trade, commerce, and proſperity.

Your majeſty may be aſſured of the warm and uniform ſupport of your faithful citizens of London, in your majeſty's exertions toward this deſirable end; convinced, as we are, that on this event alone depends the exiſtence of all good government, ſecurity, law, and religion.

Anſwer.

I receive with the greateſt pleaſure this mark of your attachment to my perſon and family, and to the conſtitution of the kingdom, as by law eſtabliſhed.

The aſſurance expreſſed by my loyal city of London, to ſupport my exertions in the preſent juſt and neceſſary war, for the permanent ſecurity and honour of my people, cannot but be highly ſatisfactory to me.

Congratulatory Addreſs of the City of London to his Majeſty, preſented November 6.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The humble Addreſs of the Lord-mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London in Common-Council aſſembled.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council aſſembled, beg leave to approach your royal perſon with the moſt affectionate ſentiments of our veneration and reſpect, to expreſs our horror and indignation at the moſt daring aſſault and flagitious outrage offered to your majeſty, in your majeſty's paſſage to and from your majeſty's parliament, at the moment of your majeſty's exerciſing the ſacred duties of the crown, and fulfilling your part of our moſt excellent conſtitution.

Gratefully as we enjoy every bleſſing derived to us, in common with our fellow freeborn ſubjects, from your majeſty's mild and paternal government, we are unable in adequate terms to expreſs our concern, that a period has arrived when any perſon within your majeſty's dominions ſhould be found ſo daringly wicked as to hazard, by ſuch atrocious violence, the ſafety of your royal perſon, and therein the happineſs of a whole country.

It is therefore with the moſt profound ſentiments of gratitude to the Supreme Diſpoſer of all events, that we have to congratulate your majeſty on your providential eſcape from ſuch traitorous attacks, dangerous at once to the public tranquillity, and in violation of the glorious conſtitution, of which your majeſty forms ſo important a part.

Permit us, ſire, to return your majeſty our moſt grateful thanks for your gracious intention to give the fulleſt and ſpeedieſt effect to a negotiation for a general peace on juſt and ſuitable terms, whenever an order of things ſhall ariſe in France compatible with the tranquillity of other countries, and affording a reaſonable expectation of ſecurity and permanency in a treaty to be concluded.

Convinced as your majeſty's faithful and loyal citizens of London are, that nothing will be ſo likely to bring about ſuch a peace as firm and vigorous meaſures in the proſecution of the war, we feel it not more our bounden duty than our ſteady determination to contribute every thing in our power to that deſirable end, and to ſupport your majeſty's ſacred perſon and government inviolate from all your foreign and domeſtic enemies.

Anſwer.

I thank you for this recent proof of the uniform affection and attachment which has been ſhewn me by my faithful city of London. The perſuaſion that the ſentiments you have expreſſed on this occaſion are in common with thoſe of the reſt of my people, leaves me only to regret on my part, the outrage which has been committed againſt the laws and conſtitution, for the defence and maintenance of which you may always rely upon my utmoſt exertions.

Your determination to contribute every thing in your power for the proſecution of the war, as affording the moſt effectual means of enabling me to conclude a ſafe, honourable, and permanent peace, and your aſſurance to ſupport my perſon and government againſt all foreign and domeſtic enemies, cannot but be highly ſatisfactory to me.

Reſolutions paſſed at an extraordinary Meeting of the Whig Club, November 11.

Crown and Anchor Tavern, Nov. 11.

AT an extraordinary meeting of the Whig Club, held this day;

His Grace the Duke of **BEDFORD**, in the chair;

The following reſolutions were unanimouſly agreed to.

Reſolved,

I. That this club has ſeen with the utmoſt horror and indignation, the daring attack made on the perſon of his majeſty, in his paſſage to parliament.

Reſolved,

II. That we will give every aid to the civil magiſtrates, in detecting and bringing to puniſhment the perſons concerned in the ſaid attack, convinced that the laws now in exiſtence will be found fully ſufficient for that purpoſe.

Reſolved,

III. That lamenting as we do this nefarious act, we have ſeen with the utmoſt concern that it has been uſed as a pretext for introducing into parliament, a bill ſtriking at the liberty of the preſs and the freedom of public diſcuſſion; in ſubſtance and effect, deſtroying the right of the ſubject to petition the different branches of the legiſlature, for redreſs of grievances, and utterly ſubverſive of the genuine principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, and for propoſing another meaſure calculated to produce ſimilar effects by means ſtill more exceptionable.

Reſolved,

IV. That it is highly expedient that meetings of the people, in their reſpective diſtricts, be immediately called, to conſider this important ſubject; and for the purpoſe of petitioning parliament againſt the ſaid bill, or any other meaſures which may tend to infringe the juſt rights of the people of Great Britain.

Reſolved,

V. That theſe reſolutions be printed in the newſpapers.

BEDFORD.

Reſolved,

That the thanks of this meeting be given to the duke of Bedford, for his impartial conduct in the chair.

ED. HALL, Secretary.

Proceedings of the Aſſociated Livery of the City of London, at the Antwerp Tavern, in Threadneedle-ſtreet, November 13.

AT a numerous and reſpectable meeting, held this evening, at the Antwerp tavern, Threadneedle-ſtreet, convened by public advertiſement,

Mr. deputy **LEEKEY**, in the chair;

The following reſolutions were unanimouſly agreed to.

I. That a loyal and reſpectful addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, by the liverymen, freemen, and others, inhabitants of London; expreſſive of their abhorrence of the atrocious and malignant attack upon his ſacred perſon, and their firm determination ſtrenuouſly to ſupport the glorious and happy conſtitution of theſe realms.

II. That a committee be appointed, conſiſting of the following gentlemen, to withdraw and prepare the addreſs.

Mr. deputy Leekey, chairman.
Mr. William Angell.
Mr. deputy Birch.
Mr. Davis.
Mr. Irvine.
Mr. William Lane.
Mr. Pariſh.
Mr. Tate.
Mr. Watlington.
Mr. White.

The addreſs was prepared accordingly as follows:

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, liverymen, freemen, and others, inhabitants of the city of London, whoſe names are underſigned, deeply impreſſed with unfeigned ſentiments of affection for the father of his people, as well as a ſenſe of the great importance of your majeſty's ſafety to the happineſs and proſperity of your ſubjects, as forming an eſſential part of our glorious conſtitution, think it our indiſpenſable duty to expreſs to your majeſty our indignation and abhorrence at the late moſt atrocious outrages and malignant inſults offered to your royal perſon, in going to and returning from parliament.

With extreme concern we have to deplore, that the minds of any of your majeſty's ſubjects ſhould be ſo infatuated and deſperately criminal as to imagine and contrive any miſchief by which the ſacred perſon of your majeſty, and therein the invaluable conſtitution of theſe realms, ſhould be endangered.

Feeling as we do, that we cannot trace back ſuch nefarious attempts to any other ſource, than to thoſe dangerous and ſeditious meetings and publications which have multiplied in the metropolis and its vicinity, and poiſoned the deluded minds of a multitude, till a proper ſenſe of the bleſſings of the government, under which they live, has been nearly extinguiſhed; we cannot too gratefully own the paternal care of your majeſty, manifeſted in your late moſt gracious proclamations; and we confidently rely on the wiſdom of the united branches of our excellent conſtitution, in the preſent criſis, to apply ſuch wholeſome meaſures for its own ſecurity and permanency, as will long inſure the ſafety of your majeſty's perſon and government, the privileges of both houſes of parliament; and conſequently the happineſs of a free and loyal people.

The addreſs being agreed to it was reſolved,

III. That copies of the addreſs be left at the following places, viz. the Antwerp tavern; Star and Garter, Pall Mall; London coffee-houſe; King's Head tavern, Holborn; and Crown and Magpye, Whitechapel; for the ſignatures of the liverymen, freemen, and others, inhabitants of the city of London.

IV. That the addreſs, when ſigned, be preſented to his majeſty by the committee.

V. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the chairman, for his loyal conduct in convening this meeting, at the preſent criſis, and for his reſpect for the laws and liberties of the country; evinced by his ſteady adherence to the cauſe of the livery, upon all occaſions, and for his impartial conduct this evening. That the above reſolutions be ſigned by the chairman.

GABRIEL LEEKEY.

Proceedings of a Meeting held at the Paul's Head Tavern, in Cateaton-ſtreet, November 14.

AT a numerous and reſpectable meeting of merchants, bankers, manufacturers, traders and others, inhabitants of the city of London, convened by public advertiſement, at the Paul's Head tavern, Cateaton-ſtreet, on Saturday, the 14th inſtant, to take into conſideration the propriety of preſenting a petition to the honourable the houſe of commons, moſt humbly praying them not to paſs into laws certain bills, intituled "An Act for the ſafety and "preſervation of his Majeſty's Per-"ſon and Government, againſt Trea-"ſonable and Seditious Practices "and Attempts,"—and "An Act "for preventing Seditious Meetings "and Aſſemblies."

SAMUEL FERRAND WADDINGTON, eſq. in the chair;

It was unanimouſly reſolved,

That this meeting hold in deteſtation and abhorrence the criminal attack recently made upon his majeſty, and will afford every poſſible aſſiſtance towards the diſcovery of the offenders.

That the ſaid bills are a direct violation of the Bill of Rights, and ſubverſive of the fundamental principles of the conſtitution.

That the honourable the houſe of commons be petitioned, that the ſaid bills do not paſs into laws.

That the petition now read be adopted, and that the ſame do remain for ſignatures at the bar of this tavern, and that the right honourable Charles James Fox, the honourable Thomas Erſkine, and Richard Brinſley Sheridan, eſq. be requeſted to preſent the ſame.

That it be recommended to the inhabitants throughout the kingdom, to aſſemble in their reſpective diſtricts, to expreſs their diſapprobation

tion of the ſaid bills, and to petition againſt the ſame.

That theſe reſolutions be inſerted in the morning and evening papers, and ſigned by the chairman.

SAMUEL FERRAND WADDINGTON.

That the thanks of this meeting be given to the chairman, for his manly and impartial conduct in the chair.

Tenour of the Petition.

To the honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament aſſembled,

The humble Petition of the Merchants, Bankers, &c. &c. of the City of London.

Sheweth,

That your petitioners deeply ſenſible of the invaluable rights and liberties, ſecured to them in common with their fellow-ſubjects, by the exiſting laws and conſtitution of this kingdom, and—while they regard with the moſt grateful remembrance, the wiſdom of their anceſtors in forming and meliorating, and their firm and manly defence from time to time of the glorious fabric they had raiſed—feeling it as they do their bounden and indiſpenſable duty to endeavour to tranſmit it unimpaired to their poſterity;—conſidering the laws now in force, as adequate to the preſervation of the public peace, and ſufficiently coercive and efficacious, even as to the momentous exigencies of the preſent times: and conceiving that certain bills now pending in your honourable houſe, intituled, "An Act "for the Safety and Preſervation "of his Majeſty's Perſon and Go"vernment, againſt Treaſonable "and Seditious Practices and At"tempts;" and, "An Act for prevent"ing Seditious Meetings;"—are utterly hoſtile to the true and acknowledged principles of that conſtitution they ſo ſincerely venerate and eſteem, and deſtructive of the undoubted and ſacred rights and liberties of the people of Great Britain,—do moſt humbly pray, that your honourable houſe will not paſs the ſaid bills into laws.

Petition to the Houſe of Commons, agreed upon at a Meeting of the Electors of the City of Weſtminſter, in New Palace-yard, November 16.

Sheweth,

THAT a bill has been brought into your honourable houſe, ſubverſive of the liberties which the people of this kingdom, at the period when they transferred the crown of England to the illuſtrious family upon the throne, did claim, demand, and inſiſt upon as their true, ancient, and indubitable rights.

That the ſaid bill is intituled, "An "Act for the more effectually pre"venting Seditious Meetings and "Aſſemblies."

That the only mode by which your petitioners and the people of Great Britain can expreſs their ſentiments, and make their grievances known, is by meeting together either to inſtruct their repreſentatives, to petition parliament, or to addreſs the king. This is their privilege, and ſubject to the exiſting laws, which have already provided againſt the abuſe of it: your petitioners do, in the language of their forefathers, claim, demand, and inſiſt upon the free exerciſe of it, as their true, ancient, and indubitable right. The allowance and encouragement of free, honeſt, and open diſcuſſion of all matters, political and judicial, while it has afforded the ſureſt controul upon the encroachments of the executive government, has tended moſt effectually to ſecure the upright adminiſtration of juſtice.

Your honourable houſe is humbly reminded, that the right of the people to ſuch meetings is the beſt ſecurity they poſſeſs againſt the abuſe of power. If they who are delegated to defend their liberties, baſely or corruptly betray them; if they who are ſent to watch over miniſters become their accomplices, what may the people do if they may not remonſtrate?

By the bill now depending, no meeting can be called except with the knowledge of a magiſtrate, whoſe preſence is made neceſſary, not merely for the preſervation of the peace, but for the purpoſe of controuling the ſentiments to be uttered. He is conſtituted ſole judge of the manner in which a grievance may be ſtated, or a right aſſerted. To differ with him in political opinion is made a breach of the peace; to maintain that opinion is made a riot; and to perſiſt in it is to incur the horrors of military execution. We truſt your honourable houſe will feel a proper degree of reſentment againſt the principle of ſuch a bill, as affecting the whole maſs of the people; but we, as inhabitants of Weſtminſter, ſtand more eſpecially in need of your protection. It is our peculiar fate to be ſuperintended by magiſtrates who are ſelected, employed, and paid during pleaſure by the executive power.

Your petitioners further beg leave to call the attention of your honourable houſe, to a bill now depending, intituled, "An Act for the "Safety and Preſervation of his "Majeſty's Perſon and Government, againſt Treaſonable and Seditious Practices and Attempts."

They humbly repreſent that this bill contains an arbitrary accumulation of treaſons, calculated to haraſs and oppreſs the ſubject without adding any ſecurity to the perſon of his majeſty; that it alſo deſcribes the miſdemeanor at which another of its clauſes is pointed with ſuch ſtudied ambiguity, as to comprehend in its penal operation, every exerciſe of the right of examining public affairs, and that this miſdemeanor ſo deſcribed, is ſubjected to a barbarous puniſhment, which, as applied to ſuch offence, is utterly unknown to the mild and merciful ſpirit of the law of England.

Under all theſe circumſtances, your petitioners, deeply impreſſed with a ſenſe of the dangers which impend over the peace and conſtitution of their country, moſt earneſtly implore your honourable houſe to avert them, by the rejection of meaſures, which, by depriving the people of their moſt ancient and indubitable rights, have a tendency to alienate their affections from the conſtitution, and to leſſen their reſpect for the laws.

Proceedings of the Livery of the City of London, in Common Hall aſſembled, Nov. 20.

In a meeting or aſſembly of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Liverymen of the ſeveral Companies of the City of London, in Common Hall aſſembled, at the Guildhall of the ſaid City, on Friday, the 20th day of November, 1795, "To conſider the expediency of "inſtructing their repreſentatives in parliament to vote "againſt two bills now depending "in parliament, for the declared "purpoſe of preventing a public "diſcuſſion of public meaſures, "and thereby tending to deprive "Britiſh ſubjects of their unqueſ"tionable rights;"

Reſolved unanimouſly,

THAT the livery of London, firmly retaining that unalterable attachment to the conſtitution of this country, as compoſed of king, lords, and commons, which they have ſo uniformly declared, reflect, with deteſtation and abhorrence, upon the abominable outrage which has lately been committed againſt the ſacred perſon of the king; and they will each, in his individual capacity, give their beſt aſſiſtance to diſcover the atrocious offender.

Reſolved, That regarding, with equal veneration, the due prerogative of the crown, and the juſt rights of the people, as aſſerted at the glorious revolution; and in the exerciſe of that privilege, which the livery of London have long enjoyed, they do hereby inſtruct their repreſentatives in parliament to vote againſt paſſing into law either of the two bills now depending in the honourable the houſe of commons, intituled, "An Act for the Safety "and Preſervation of his Majeſty's "Perſon and Government, againſt "Treaſonable and Seditious Prac"tices and Attempts," and, "An "Act for the more effectually pre"venting Seditious Meetings and "Aſſemblies."

Reſolved unanimouſly, That theſe reſolutions be delivered to the right honourable the lord-mayor, requeſting that they may be ſigned by the town-clerk, and printed in all the morning and evening papers, and that copies thereof may be preſented to each of the repreſentatives in parliament of this city.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That the thanks of this common hall be returned to the right honourable the lord-mayor for his upright and impartial conduct in this day's buſineſs.

Rix.

Proceedings of a Meeting held at the Paul's Head Tavern, in Cateaton-ſtreet, Nov. 25.

AT a very numerous and moſt reſpectable meeting of merchants, bankers, manufacturers, traders, and other inhabitants of the city of London, conſiſting of upwards of 800 perſons, convened by public advertiſement, at the Paul's Head tavern, Cateaton-ſtreet, on Wedneſday, the 25th inſtant, to take into conſideration an humble and affectionate petition to the king, moſt ardently beſeeching him to diſmiſs his preſent miniſters from his preſence and councils, and to adopt meaſures for the purpoſe of ſpeedily obtaining for his diſtreſſed ſubjects the bleſſings of peace,

Samuel Ferrand Waddington, eſq. in the chair;

It was reſolved, (with only 25 diſſentient voices) That the critical and calamitous ſtate of theſe kingdoms demands an immediate peace; and it is the opinion of this meeting, that his majeſty's miniſters have loſt the confidence of the people.

That an humble petition be preſented to his majeſty, praying that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to adopt meaſures for immediately procuring to his diſtreſſed ſubjects the bleſſings of peace, and to diſmiſs his preſent miniſters from his preſence and councils.

That the petition now read be adopted.

That the petition do lie for ſignatures at the Paul's Head tavern, Cateaton-ſtreet, until Friday next, at 12 o'clock.

That his grace the duke of Norfolk, his grace the duke of Bedford, the earl of Derby, and the earl of Lauderdale, be requeſted to preſent the ſame.

That theſe reſolutions be inſerted in the morning and evening papers, and ſigned by the chairman.

SAMUEL FERRAND WADDINGTON.

That the thanks of this meeting be given to the chairman, for his upright and impartial conduct.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

We your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, merchants, bankers, manufacturers, traders, and other inhabitants of your ancient city of London, beg leave to expreſs to your majeſty our firm and inviolable attachment to the conſtitution of theſe kingdoms, and to your majeſty's perſon and houſe.

But, while we reflect with the moſt heartfelt gratitude on the wiſdom of our forefathers in eſtabliſhing and cheriſhing that conſtitution, and their anxious and unremitted ſolicitude to preſerve it unſhaken amid all the perturbations and convulſions of the moſt unfriendly times, we cannot contemplate without horror and indignation the conduct of your majeſty's miniſters, who, inſtead of proving themſelves the defenders of that unrivalled ſyſtem, have ſuggeſted and purſued meaſures, which, if perſiſted in, muſt, in our humble apprehenſion, inevitably effect the total annihilation of that conſtitution, and the invaluable rights and liberties of your faithful people.

We acknowledge the proximity which that glorious fabric bears to perfection, and we are mindful too that your majeſty's and our own offspring claim its tranſmiſſion as a ſacred due.

We feel it, ſire, a duty which we owe to your majeſty, to ourſelves, and to our poſterity, moſt unequivocally to declare our deteſtation of thoſe recent deſigns in particular, that directly tend to deſtroy the freedom of ſpeech, and to ſubvert the boaſted polity of theſe realms.

We ſolicit permiſſion alſo to repreſent to your majeſty, that from the moſt afflicting experience and obſervation, we conceive the continuation of the preſent calamitous war to be utterly inconſiſtent with the happineſs and proſperity of theſe kingdoms.

We are deeply ſenſible of the paternal goodneſs and anxiety which your majeſty has conſtantly evinced for the ſafety and welfare of your people, and we as ſincerely lament that thoſe perſons whom your majeſty has honoured with your royal confidence, ſhould ſo far fruſtrate your majeſty's intentions and deſigns; ſhould ſo far forget their own duty and the intereſts of your people, as to urge meaſures ſo deſtructive of that conſtitution they affect to ſupport. We heſitate not, therefore, to pronounce in the firm accents of a free but injured people, that your majeſty's miniſters have forfeited our confidence. And we hold it our bounden duty moſt ardently, yet moſt humbly, to entreat your majeſty graciouſly to withhold your royal aſſent from their unconſtitutional innovations; to ſpeedily reſtore to your diſtreſſed ſubjects the ineſtimable bleſſings of peace; and to diſmiſs from your majeſty's preſence and councils thoſe perſons who, if ſuffered to proceed in their wonted ſyſtem, will, we are perſuaded, alienate the affections of your people from your majeſty's perſon and government, and plunge this once happy country into miſery and deſtruction.

Proceedings of a Meeting held at the London Tavern, in Biſhopſgate-Street, Nov. 27.

AT a meeting held here this day, preſent—Samuel Bosanquet, eſq. in the chair.

Rt. hon. Thomas Harley.
Sir Charles Pole, bart.
Sir James Sanderſon, bart.
Sir Richard Neave, bart.
William Albin, eſq.
John William Anderſon, eſq.
Thomas Bainbridge, eſq.
Thomas Boddington, eſq.
William Boſanquet, eſq.
Alexander Champion, eſq.
Abel Chapman, eſq.
Joſeph Cotton, eſq.
Thomas Dea, eſq.
Joſeph Deniſon, eſq.
George Dorrien, eſq.
Richard Down, eſq.
Joſeph Fletcher, eſq.
Daniel Giles, eſq.
George Grote, eſq.
John Harman, eſq.
Jeremiah Harman, eſq.
Robert Hunter, eſq.
John Pooley Kenſington, eſq.
Edward Kenſington, eſq.
Beeſton Long, eſq.
John Lubbock, eſq.
William Manning, eſq.
Job Mathew, eſq.
John Melliſh, eſq.
William Melliſh, eſq.
Arnold Mello, eſq.
Iſaac Minet, eſq.
Thomas Parry, eſq.
René Payne, eſq.
John Puget, eſq.
William Raikes, eſq.
Thomas Raikes, eſq.
John Read, eſq.
Edward Simeon, eſq.
John Smith, eſq.
Alexander Hendras Sutherland, eſq.
Samuel Thornton, eſq.
Godfrey Thornton, eſq.
John Whitmore, eſq.
William Whitmore, eſq.
Mark Weyland, eſq.—

Reſolved unanimouſly, That it is expedient at the preſent important criſis that a meeting ſhould be convened of ſuch merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants of London as have not joined in the proceedings of ſome meetings lately held at the Paul's Head Tavern, Cateaton-ſtreet, purporting to be meetings of "the merchants, bankers, manufacturers, traders, and other inhabitants of the city of London," in order to take into conſideration the propriety of making a declaration to the public, that they have had no concern in the proceedings and reſolutions of thoſe meetings, but that, on the contrary, they are of opinion it has become neceſſary for parliament to adopt ſome temporary meaſures for the more effectual ſupport of peace and good order.

Reſolved, That a meeting be held accordingly at Grocers' Hall, in the Poultry, on Wedneſday next, the 2d day of December 1795, at 12 o'clock at noon.

Reſolved, That theſe reſolutions be ſigned by the chairman, and printed in the public papers.

SAM. BOSANQUET, Chairman.

Reſolutions paſſed at a late Meeting of the London Correſponding Society, held near Copenhagen Houſe, in the vicinity of Iſlington.

Reſolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to his grace the duke of Bedford, lord Lauderdale, the right honourable Charles James Fox, Richard Brinſley Sheridan, Charles Grey, John Chriſtian Curwen, Charles Sturt, and all thoſe diſtinguiſhed members of the two houſes of parliament, who, in the preſent hour of trial, have proved themſelves to be the true friends of the rights and liberties of the people.

Reſolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Whig Club, for their ſpirited proceedings and reſolutions of yeſterday; and to all thoſe perſons whoſe patriotic exertions have conduced to the accompliſhment of the preſent happy unanimity among the friends of freedom.

Reſolved, That the London Correſponding Society, and the other friends of liberty and juſtice here aſſembled, entertain the moſt ſettled and decided abhorrence of all tumult and violence; that they reſpect the peace and happineſs of ſociety, and regard, therefore, with becoming reverence, the inviolability of all magiſtrates, and others engaged in the conſtitutional diſcharge of their reſpective functions.

Reſolved, That we deplore, in common with all true lovers of the genuine principles of liberty and order, the tumultuary exceſſes of an enraged and uninformed populace, on the firſt day of the preſent ſeſſion of parliament; and mark with our moſt unequivocal cenſure, that unhappy deluſion which appears to have occaſioned miſguided individuals to direct their indignation againſt the ſovereign, for errors and miſconduct for which his miniſters alone ought to be rendered reſponſible; and that not in a tumultuary but in a legal and conſtitutional way;—a deluſion which would never have exiſted, if the efforts of popular ſocieties to illuminate the people, had not been counteracted by unprincipled inquiſition and illegal perſecutions.

Reſolved, That the aſſertion of certain perſons in high ſtations and authority, that the inſults offered to the perſon of the chief magiſtrate, in his paſſage to and from parliament on that day, originated in the meeting held on the preceding Monday, in the neighbourhood of Copenhagen-Houſe, is a groſs, unfounded, wilful, and treacherous calumny, invented by intereſted and deſigning perſons, (who perhaps know that theſe exceſſes originated from a very different quarter,) to furniſh them with a pretence for tyrannical uſurpation, long before digeſted and determined upon.

Reſolved, That we know how to cheriſh and to practice, in caſes of the laſt extremity, the conſtitutional right of reſiſtance to oppreſſion. We will exert our utmoſt endeavours on all occaſions to repreſs all irregularity and exceſſes, and to bring the authors of ſuch unjuſtifiable proceedings to the juſt reſponſibility of the law.

W. DUANE, chairman.
J. ASHLEY, ſecretary.

Petition preſented to the Houſe of Commons, Nov. 23, and ſigned by twelve thouſand one hundred and thirteen Perſons.

To the honourable the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament aſſembled:

The Petition of the underſigned Britons, Inhabitants of London, and its environs, aſſembled together, to expreſs their free ſentiments, according to the tenor of the Bill of Rights, on the ſubject of the threatened invaſions of their conſtitutional liberties:

May it pleaſe your honourable Houſe,

YOUR petitioners approach you, once more, to make their grievances and apprehenſions known, in a legal and conſtitutional manner, to that branch of the legiſlature, which, from its legal ſtyle and form, was evidently intended to be the conſtitutional guardian of the people's liberties, and the champion of its rights and privileges. But we approach you, not as heretofore, to claim the reformation of exiſting abuſes: If thoſe claims had been attended to, the cauſe of our preſent petition could never have exiſted. We come not to repeat our unanſwered arguments on the neceſſity of parliamentary reform: (the very propoſition of the meaſures we now proteſt againſt is a demonſtrative evidence of the neceſſity of ſuch reform:) but we approach you with conſtitutional reverence and Britiſh firmneſs, to conjure you not to drive the people of this diſtreſſed and irritated nation to ſuch deſpair, as the adoption of the coercive ſyſtem in agitation before you, we are firmly perſuaded, in the end muſt inevitably produce: We conjure this honourable houſe to remember that the vital energies of the Britiſh conſtitution conſiſt in the liberties of ſpeech and of the preſs; that the ſafety and preſervation of our lives and liberties (next after that immortal inſtitution, the trial by jury) depend upon the ſtrict obſervance of the proviſions of that admirable ſtatute of treaſons, extorted by a virtuous houſe of commons from Edward the Third. We conjure you alſo to remember that the invaſion of theſe liberties, and the violation of this ſafety by arbitrary inſtitutions and new theories of conſtructive treaſons (though ſometimes aſſumed under pretences of ancient prerogatives, and ſometimes confirmed by corrupt repreſentatives and arbitrary acts of parliament) have never failed of being productive of conſequences the moſt alarming both to the government and people. That the adoption of thoſe very maxims and precedents upon which the propoſed meaſures are evidently founded, brought one unhappy prince of the houſe of Stuart to the ſcaffold, and drove another with his poſterity from the throne; and that therefore to propoſe and ſupport ſuch meaſures, is, in reality, to endanger not only the tranquillity of the nation, but the ſafety of his majeſty's perſon and government, in ſupport of which theſe meaſures are ſaid to be brought forward.

Permit us ſolemnly to conjure this honourable houſe, to recollect the events that immediately preceded and produced the revolution of 1688—the doctrines advanced in juſtification of that memorable event, and the principles which eſtabliſhed the houſe of Brunſwick on the throne. Let us conjure you alſo to conſider with due deliberation, the limits and the ſacred nature of that compact which exiſts between the government and the people; and the dreadful conſequences which muſt inevitably enſue if ever thoſe limits ſhould be violated, or this compact broken!—If thoſe circumſtances are duly conſidered, we feel a ſettled confidence that the ſtrong and hitherto unparalleled attempts to deſtroy the perſonal ſecurity of the people of theſe realms, and annihilate the ſacred right of political diſcuſſion, will meet with the decided reprobation of this honourable houſe,—that precedents drawn from the tyrannical reigns of the Tudors and the Stuarts will be rejected with indignation; and that this honourable houſe will be ſtruck with horror at the idea of ſtaining the annals of the houſe of Brunſwick, by the revival of thoſe very meaſures which brought the houſe of Stuart into ſuch general odium, and were productive of ſuch intolerable oppreſſion, as to juſtify the reſiſtance of the people, and produce that glorious revolution upon the principles of which, and of which alone, the houſe of Brunſwick is at this time entitled to the Britiſh crown.

Your petitioners therefore pray this honourable houſe to conſider the purport and tendency of the bill introduced, for the reſtriction, or rather the utter prevention, of popular aſſemblies for the purpoſe of political inveſtigation, and to diſmiſs it with that marked diſapprobation it ſo juſtly deſerves; to guard with the moſt inviolable reſpect that ſacred inſtitution, the trial by jury; and to ſuffer no arbitrary innovations, under any pretence whatever, on the exiſting laws of treaſon and ſedition; laws which have hitherto been found fully competent to all the juſt purpoſes of free and equitable government.

And finally, we entreat this honourable houſe to believe, that when we profeſs our abhorrence of all tumult and violence, and reject with the utmoſt indignation the groundleſs calumnies that have been ſpread againſt our peaceful, orderly, and conſtitutional meetings, we do it from a firm and long ſettled conviction that all acts of violence and outrage are moſt eminently injurious to that great cauſe of national and conſtitutional liberty to which we are attached. At the ſame time we conjure you to confide in the firmneſs and temperance of the people of Great Britain, who, we truſt, have not degenerated from the ſpirit and bravery of their anceſtors, nor forgotten the important leſſons inculcated by their examples.

Proceedings of a Meeting held at Grocers' Hall, Dec. 2.

AT a numerous meeting of merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants of London, held here this day, in conſequence of public advertiſement,

Samuel Bosanquet, eſq. in the chair;

The chairman having read the advertiſement, by which this meeting was called,

A motion was made by Robert Darell, eſq. and ſeconded by John Roebuck, eſq. That the following Declaration be read, viz.

Declaration of the
Merchants, Bankers, Traders, and other Inhabitants of London, made

made at Grocers' Hall, the 2d day of December, 1795.

WE, the underſigned merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants of London, impreſſed with the ſame ſentiments which produced our declaration in ſupport of the conſtitution of Great Britain made at Merchant Taylors' Hall, on the 5th of December, 1792, obſerving the reſolutions of certain meetings lately held at the Paul's Head tavern, purporting to be meetings of "the "merchants, bankers, manufacturers, traders, and other inhabit-"ants of the city of London," feel it our indiſpenſable duty thus publicly to diſclaim all connexion with thoſe meetings, or approbation of their proceedings.

Perceiving with deep concern that alarming attempts continue to be made to alienate the affections of the people from the government eſtabliſhed by law, and to diſturb it in the exerciſe of its moſt important functions; we think that it has become neceſſary for parliament to adopt meaſures for the protection of his majeſty's perſon, and the more effectual preſervation of the public peace.

We lament that the diſpoſition of the times ſhould call upon Britons to reſign, even for a ſhort period, the ſmalleſt portion of that liberty, which in this country forms the diſtinguiſhed privilege of the ſubject, and the great object of government itſelf. We truſt, therefore, that the legiſlature (and we have full confidence in its wiſdom) will adopt ſuch reſtrictions only, as the urgency of the caſe demands; that as the danger ariſes from the times, the remedies alſo will be temporary, and that while parliament ſtrengthens the ſecurity, it will reſpect the liberties of the people.

Under theſe conſiderations, we here make this public declaration of our determined reſolution, "to ſup-"port by every means in our power, "the ancient and moſt excellent "conſtitution of Great Britain, and "a government by king, lords, and "commons, and to exert our beſt "endeavours to impreſs on the "minds of thoſe connected with us, "a reverence for, and a due ſubmiſ-"ſion to the laws of their country, "which have hitherto preſerved the "liberty, protected the property, and "increaſed the enjoyments of a free "and proſperous people."

Which having been read,

Reſolved, by a great majority, That this declaration be approved, and be ſubſcribed by all ſuch merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants as may approve thereof, and that it do lie at this Hall for ſignature.

Reſolved, That every perſon who ſhall ſign the declaration be deſired to add his place of abode and deſcription.

Reſolved, That the maſter and wardens of the grocers' company, together with

Samuel Boſanquet, eſq.
Rt. hon. Thomas Harley.
Sir Charles Pole, bart.
Sir James Sanderſon, bart.
Sir Richard Neave, bart.
William Albin, eſq.
John William Anderſon, eſq.
Thomas Bainbridge, eſq.
Thomas Boddington, eſq.
William Boſanquet, eſq,
Alexander Champion, eſq.
Abel Chapman, eſq.
Joſeph Cotton, eſq.
Thomas Dea, eſq.
Joſeph Deniſon, eſq.

George Dorrien, eſq.
Richard Down, eſq.
Joſeph Fletcher, eſq.
Daniel Giles, eſq.
George Grote, eſq.
John Harman, eſq.
Jeremiah Harman, eſq.
Robert Hunter, eſq.
John Pooley Kenſington, eſq.
Edward Kenſington, eſq.
Beeſton Long, eſq.
John Lubbock, eſq.
William Manning, eſq.
Job Mathew, eſq.
John Melliſh, eſq.
William Melliſh, eſq.
Arnold Mello, eſq.
Iſaac Minet, eſq.
Thomas Parry, eſq.
René Payne, eſq.
John Puget, eſq.
William Raikes, eſq.
Thomas Raikes, eſq.
John Read, eſq.
Edward Simeon, eſq.
John Smith, eſq.
Alexander Hendras Sutherland, eſq.
Samuel Thornton, eſq.
Godfrey Thornton, eſq.
John Whitmore, eſq.
William Whitmore, eſq.
Mark Weyland, eſq.

being the names of thoſe gentlemen who have ſtood forward to call this meeting, be a committee to attend the ſigning of this declaration, and they are hereby requeſted to cauſe the ſame to be publiſhed in the newſpapers, and in any other manner they may think adviſable.

Reſolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the maſter, wardens, and committee of the grocers' company for the very polite and friendly manner in which they have afforded the uſe of the hall for the meeting this day.

A motion was made and ſeconded,

That the thanks of this meeting be given to the chairman for his firm, upright, and impartial conduct in the buſineſs of this day.

The chairman left the chair;

When the ſaid motion was agreed to:

The chairman having reſumed the chair, the meeting was adjourned.

Samuel Bosanquet, chairman.

Speech of his Excellency Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houſes of Parliament, Jan. 22.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IN obedience to his majeſty's commands, I reſort to your councils at a period which, in a peculiar manner, calls for the wiſdom and energy of parliament.

His majeſty's determination is fixed; as long as he is ſupported by his faithful ſubjects, he never will be wanting to them or to himſelf; his majeſty has no intereſt but that of his people; no views but for their happineſs; no object but their general ſafety.

The uniform tenor of your conduct has demonſtrated, that you will not only be deſirous, but zealous to ſecond and emulate the magnanimity of a ſovereign, formed to lead a nation that has ever been as firm to aſſert its liberties, as affectionately devoted to a government which maintains its own authority, for the ſole purpoſe of ſupporting thoſe liberties. As you are thus cordially attached to that ſovereign, and to the conſtitution, which it is his glory to protect, I have to announce to you, with true ſatisfaction, what you will hear with equal pleaſure,

ſure, the intended marriage of his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, with the princeſs Caroline Amelia Eliſabeth, daughter of his moſt illuſtrious highneſs the duke of Brunſwick and Lunenburg; a princeſs of that illuſtrious houſe, to whoſe mild and conſtitutional ſway theſe kingdoms are highly indebted for the bleſſings they enjoy: this marriage promiſes the perpetuation of the ſame bleſſings under the ſame houſe.

I have it alſo in command to inform you, that his majeſty has concluded a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation with the United States of America, in which it has been his majeſty's object to remove, as far as poſſible, all grounds of jealouſy and miſunderſtanding, and to improve an intercourſe beneficial to both ſtates. As ſoon as the ratification of this treaty ſhall have been exchanged, and I ſhall have received a copy of it, I will direct it to be laid before you, in order that you may conſider if it will be neceſſary to make any proviſions for carrying into effect a treaty, in which the commerce of this kingdom is ſo materially and extenſively intereſted.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have directed the eſtimates for the public ſervice, and the ſtate of the public accounts, to be laid before you.

His majeſty has that aſſured confidence, grounded on a long and uniform experience of your loyalty, and your zeal for his ſervice, and the good of your country, that I think it unneceſſary to preſs you, in any particular manner, to make a proviſion adequate to the preſent awful ſituation of affairs.

It is with pleaſure I acquaint you, that the proviſion will, in ſome degree, be facilitated by the circumſtance, that, during the exiſtence of ſuch a war as the preſent, the public revenue, together with the commerce of the kingdom, has kept up, and has been even augmented: advantages which are due to the care and vigilance of our ſovereign, in the general protection provided by him for all his ſubjects.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I earneſtly recommend to you a continuance of the laudable pains you have conſtantly taken to cultivate all your domeſtic advantages in commerce, in manufacture, and in ſuch public works, as have appeared directed to promote thoſe important objects. Theſe are the true foundations of all public revenue and public ſtrength. Your endeavours have had their fruit. The great ſtaple manufacture of this kingdom has increaſed beyond the moſt ſanguine expectations; an advantage principally owing to the conſtant ſuperintendance and wiſe proviſions of the parliament of Ireland; and next to thoſe, to the aſſured liberal and moſt merited encouragement, which it receives in the rich and extenſive market of Great Britain; a circumſtance tending to cement the union, and to perfect the harmony, which happily ſubſiſt, and I truſt will ſubſiſt for ever, between the two kingdoms.

Attached as you are to the general cauſe of religion, learning, and civilization, I have to recommend to your conſideration the ſtate of education in this kingdom, which in ſome parts will admit of improvement, in others may require ſome new arrangement. Conſiderable advantages have been already derived, under the wiſe regulations of parliament, from the proteſtant charter ſchools; and theſe will, as uſual, claim your attention: But as theſe advantages have been but partial, and as circumſtances have made other conſiderations, connected with this important ſubject, highly neceſſary, it is hoped that your wiſdom will order every thing relating to it, in the manner moſt beneficial, and the beſt adapted to the occaſions of the ſeveral deſcriptions of men, which compoſe his majeſty's faithful ſubjects of Ireland.

We are engaged in an arduous conteſt. The time calls not only for great fortitude, and an unuſual ſhare of public ſpirit, but for much conſtancy and perſeverance. You are engaged with a power, which, under the ancient forms of its internal arrangement, was always highly formidable to the neighbouring nations. Lately this power has aſſumed a new ſhape: but with the ſame ambition, and much more extenſive and ſyſtematic deſigns, far more effective, and without compariſon, more dreadful in the certain conſequences of its eventual ſucceſs; it threatens nothing leſs than the entire ſubverſion of the liberty and independence of every ſtate in Europe. An enemy to them all, it is actuated with a peculiar animoſity againſt theſe kingdoms, not only as the natural protection of the balance of power in Europe, but alſo, becauſe, by the poſſeſſion of a legal, humane, and rational freedom, we ſeem to reproach that falſe and ſpurious liberty, which, in reality, is an ignominious ſervitude, tending to extinguiſh all good arts, to generate nothing but impiety, crime, diſorder, and ferocious manners; and to end in wretchedneſs, and general deſolation.

To guard his people from the enterpriſes of this dangerous and malignant power, and for the protection of all civilized ſociety, againſt the inroad of anarchy, his majeſty has availed himſelf of every rational aid, foreign and domeſtic; he has called upon the ſkill, courage, and experience of all his ſubjects, whereſoever diſperſed; and you muſt be duly ſenſible, in ſuch a criſis as the preſent, which rarely occurs in the courſe of human affairs, of the advantage of his majeſty's thus endeavouring to profit of the united ſtrength and zeal of every deſcription of his ſubjects.

I have to aſſure you of his majeſty's moſt cheerful concurrence in every meaſure, which your wiſdom and comprehenſive patriotiſm ſhall point out for the ſalutary purpoſe.

On my part you ſhall find me, from principle and from inclination, thoroughly diſpoſed to concur with his majeſty's paternal wiſhes and the meaſures of his parliament. On a cordial affection to the whole of Ireland, and on a conduct ſuitable to that ſentiment, I wiſh to found my own perſonal eſtimation, and my reputation in the execution of the great truſt committed, by the moſt beneficent of ſovereigns, to my care.

Anſwer of his Excellency Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to the Addreſs of Thanks preſented by the Commons for his Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, Jan. 24.

THIS cordial addreſs, juſtifying with ſuch promptitude and alacrity the confidence which his majeſty repoſes in the ſpirit and loyalty of his faithful commons of Ireland, is of ſo ſalutary and animating a tendency, reflects ſuch high honour on the national character, and gives ſo happy an earneſt of the cheerfulneſs, vigour, and extent of the national exertion at this arduous and trying criſis, that it calls for more than ordinary expreſſions of ſatisfaction and acknowledgment.

Such ſentiments, communicating themſelves from one kingdom to the other, ſuch conformity in attachment to the conſtitution, and in affection for the beſt and moſt beloved of ſovereigns, a ſpirit ſo firm and perſevering in the ſupport of a cauſe which they conſider as common to both, and a determination ſo fixed and unſhaken to ſtand or fall together, muſt be as encouraging to the friends as formidable to the enemies of the Britiſh name and empire.

Standing on this ground, we have nothing to dread. The diſturbers of the peace of Europe will ſee, that, bound indiſſolubly together in intereſts, in principles, and in affection, Great Britain and Ireland diſregard their menaces, and are determined, under Providence, to check the courſe of their exterminating ambition.

If any thing could be wanting to complete my ſatisfaction at this happy and auſpicious commencement of my adminiſtration, I ſhould find it in the flattering terms in which you expreſs your approbation of my principles and paſt conduct, and in the generous confidence with which you anticipate future benefits to be derived to this kingdom from my loyalty to my ſovereign, and from my inviolable attachment to the rights and liberties of the people.

The ſtake which I have in your country, you naturally conclude, ought to bind me in a peculiar manner to its intereſts; but ſuch conſiderations are languid and cold, indeed, when compared with the ardent deſire I feel to recommend myſelf, in this new connection which I have formed with you, to the approbation, the eſteem, and the affection of the whole of Ireland.

Speech of the Right Hon. John Foſter, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, to his Excellency Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on preſenting the Money Bills, that had been returned from England, March 24.

THE commons attend your excellency with their ſupplies, which go to the utmoſt extent of every eſtimate and deſire laid before them by his majeſty's miniſters, and are much larger than have ever been granted in any one ſeſſion; but it is their determined reſolution, at all times, to ſtand or fall with Britain; and that reſolution is now, if poſſible, ſtill more ſtrengthened by every circumſtance of foreign and internal conſideration in theſe eventful times. They therefore feel it their duty, their intereſt, and their anxious wiſh, to ſupport the empire through the preſent unprovoked and deſtructive war, with all that is moſt dear to them, their lives and fortunes.

In their appropriation of theſe ſupplies, they have ſhewn their early attention to the ſure and natural ſtrength of the Britiſh empire—her navy, by granting 200,000l. for procuring ſeamen; and they have provided for augmenting the militia, an inſtitution which, by the indefatigable exertion both of men and officers, is the admiration, and will be the ſalvation, of this kingdom.

It is owing to the unexampled proſperity and growing reſources of the nation that they have been enabled to raiſe the large ſum which they now offer to his majeſty, without laying much additional burthen on the people, or leſſening thoſe bounties and pecuniary encouragements under which our trade and manufactures have increaſed and are increaſing; and the ſame cauſes have allowed them, amidſt theſe liberal ſupplies, to gratify his majeſty's paternal benevolence, and their own anxious feelings, by relieving all the poorer claſſes from the tax of hearth-money.

Satisfied, however, that thoſe reſources and that proſperity cannot be permanent without an effectual attention to the ſobriety of the people, to their morals and peaceable ſubordination to the laws, they have, by an arrangement of duties, which promiſes alſo an increaſe of revenue, relieved the brewery from all reſtriction of taxes, ſo as to give it a decided advantage over the diſtillery, and thereby diſcourage the too frequent or immoderate uſe of ſpirituous liquors—a meaſure which muſt conduce to ſobriety, tranquillity, and content, and under which the people encouraged to regular induſtry, and the conſequent acquiſition of wealth, muſt feel the bleſſings of the happy conſtitution under which they live, and cheriſh and preſerve it from all change or innovation.

Speech of his Excellency Earl Camden, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houſes of Parliament, June 5.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM directed by his majeſty to convey to you his full approbation of your ſervices in the preſent ſeſſion, and to relieve you from further attendance in parliament. It has afforded me infinite ſatisfaction to obſerve, ſince my arrival in this kingdom, the great temper and wiſdom with which your proceedings have been uniformly conducted.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I am particularly to expreſs his majeſty's acknowledgments for the very liberal ſupplies which you have contributed, for the ſervice of the empire and the defence of the kingdom, with ſuch unanimity and cheerfulneſs. The extent of your grants is a convincing proof how warmly you feel yourſelves intereſted in the vigorous proſecution of a war, rendered neceſſary by the wanton and unprovoked attack of France, and involving in it the general cauſe of ſocial order, morality, and religion, in all civilized countries. On my part you may be aſſured they ſhall be faithfully applied to the great purpoſes for which they were granted.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

His majeſty obſerves with the higheſt ſatisfaction, that during the preſent criſis you have not failed to cheriſh and to maintain the various ſources of your internal proſperity. You have alſo completed the intention

tion ſo benevolently entertained of entirely relieving the poorer claſſes from the tax of hearth-money. A wiſe foundation has been laid for educating the Roman catholic clergy. A ſatiſfactory arrangement of the treaſury has been confirmed by law; and an alteration of duties has been introduced, with a view to prevent the immoderate uſe of ſpirituous liquors, and in the hope of introducing a more general habit of ſobriety among the lower orders of the people. In the execution of theſe meaſures you may depend upon my ſincere and earneſt endeavours, to purſue that wiſe and prudent policy by which they were dictated.

On repairing to your reſpective counties, which I cannot too ſtrongly and too earneſtly recommend, it is eſpecially incumbent upon you to make thoſe exertions which the times demand, and to inculcate the neceſſity of an exact ſubmiſſion to the laws. By contraſting the bleſſings which reſult from a well-regulated liberty and peaceable ſubordination, with the miſchiefs which neceſſarily ſpring from licentiouſneſs and anarchy, you will increaſe the attachment of the people to our free and happy conſtitution. To preſerve the conſtitution inviolate is the great object of his majeſty in the preſent conteſt; and he cannot but look to its fortunate iſſue when he reflects on the loyalty, ſpirit, and power of his people, and on their juſt ſenſe of the invaluable inheritance for which they contend.

It will be the conſtant object of my adminiſtration, in which his majeſty's commands and my perſonal wiſhes are moſt intimately combined, to forward with unremitting vigilance the welfare and happineſs of this country. Theſe objects I cannot ſo effectually promote as by attending to and acting upon thoſe eſtabliſhed principles which form the connection between Great Britain and Ireland; on which the ſecurity, the freedom, and the proſperity of both kingdoms moſt eſſentially depend.

Speech of his Excellency the Viceroy of Corſica, delivered to the Chamber of Parliament at the opening of the Seſſion, the 9th day of Feb. 1795.

Gentlemen,

IT is with unfeigned pleaſure that I meet you this day in parliament, both becauſe your conſtitution, on which the future happineſs of Corſica depends, is hereby conſummated, and becauſe the full energy of your wiſdom and authority is required at a period rendered doubly intereſting by the eſtabliſhment of a new government, and by the continuance of the war.

You are charged not only with important, but arduous duties, ſince you muſt on the one hand ſecure your freedom as an independent nation, by a vigorous and courageous exertion in the war, and on the other, you muſt make proviſion for internal happineſs and liberty, by deliberations which are better ſuited to times of tranquillity and peace.

For the diſcharge of this great truſt, I rely with perfect confidence on the wiſdom and public ſpirit of parliament, ſupported by the zealous and hearty union of all good Corſicans, whether in public or private ſtations; for you will, no doubt, participate with me in the pleaſing reflection, that the preſent period affords the happy opportunity of compoſing paſt animoſities, and obliterating diviſions no longer ſupported by any ſubſiſting motive; and which being always at variance with the general good, are peculiarly prejudicial to it in moments like the preſent.

His majeſty, on his part, ever juſt and ever firm to his engagements, has already taken thoſe ſteps which the conſtitution pointed out, for completing the new ſyſtem of your government. He has been pleaſed to ratify in perſon the conſtitutional act which he had previouſly authorized me to accept in his name.

I have ordered the gracious anſwer made by his majeſty to the addreſs of the late general council, preſented to him by deputies from that aſſembly, to be laid before you. I have alſo ordered to be laid before you a copy of the commiſſion by which his majeſty has been pleaſed to confer on me the exalted honour of repreſenting him in this kingdom under the title of viceroy, agreeable to the proviſions of the conſtitutional act. By the choice of a perſon whoſe beſt qualification for that diſtinguiſhed ſtation is a warm and ſteady affection for Corſica, you will perceive that the ſame ſentiment prevailed on that occaſion in his majeſty's mind.

I am enabled with equal ſatisfaction to acquaint you, that his majeſty is not leſs attentive to your protection againſt the hoſtile deſigns of the enemy: and you may depend on his powerful and vigorous ſupport during the war. He confides at the ſame time in the zeal and courage of his Corſican ſubjects for repelling the enemy, and defending, in the independence of their country, and the ſecurity of their lives, fortunes, and honour, all that can be dear to men. In theſe views a conſiderable body of Corſican infantry has been raiſed, and an immediate augmentation to that national corps is intended.

Meaſures have been taken for enabling his majeſty to aſſemble the militia, and employ them againſt the common enemy in caſe of need. It will be for the parliament in its wiſdom to frame adequate regulations for the perfection of ſuch a ſyſtem as may give to Corſica, in moments of danger, the full benefit of the courage and patriotiſm of all her ſubjects: for it muſt not be forgotten, that the independence and liberty of your country muſt not depend on the protection of regular troops alone, however formidable the force employed may be; but, under the providence of God, muſt ſtill reſt principally on the hearts and arms of a people who love their country and their freedom.

Many important objects will require your immediate attention. The moſt urgent of theſe, is to provide ſufficient funds for the public ſervice.

In the preſent circumſtances of Corſica, his majeſty is pleaſed to take upon himſelf the whole charges of the military eſtabliſhment; you have alſo the benefit of a great naval force, without any expence: you have no public debt, and conſequently no intereſt to pay on that account.

Reflecting on theſe peculiar advantages, enjoyed, perhaps, excluſively by this nation, I am perſuaded that you will cheerfully furniſh the remaining and unavoidable expences of the public ſervice; and it is with much comfort that I conſider the impoſſibility of an ample and adequate proviſion for the civil charges of government being burthenſome to the people of Corſica, even in the preſent ſtate of her reſources.

A ſettlement of your religious eſtabliſhment has been reſerved for the chamber of parliament, in concert with his holineſs the pope.

To this important point you will naturally direct your early and ſerious attention; and I have no doubt, that the wiſdom and piety which will preſide in your councils, will lead you to the means of reconciling the civil intereſts and temporal proſperity of your conſtituents, with the holy duties of religion, the reverence due to its miniſters, and the ſacred rights of property.

The definition and limits of the ſeveral powers and juriſdictions to be exerciſed by the different tribunals in the adminiſtration of juſtice, as well as a declaration of the law itſelf, are other points of ſerious and urgent importance. A faithful and judicious adminiſtration of the national property, particularly of the woods and foreſts, the improvement of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, the encouragement of induſtry in all its branches, the government and diſcipline of the military, the encouragement of navigation, and regulations which may bring forth the naval reſources of the iſland, whether in mariners or ſtores, in its own defence, and in the general ſervice of the empire; the repair of highways, and improvement of internal communication; inſtitutions for public inſtruction; eſtabliſhments of health, both for the ſecurity of the inhabitants, and the convenience of their commerce; and all theſe are objects worthy of your early deliberations, and for which your wiſdom and diligence will not fail to provide.

I have the greateſt ſatisfaction in announcing to you the concluſion of a treaty for the marriage of his royal highneſs the prince of Wales with the princeſs Caroline, daughter of the duke of Brunſwick. I am perſuaded that your affection for the perſon and family of his majeſty will make you participate in the general joy diffuſed through every part of his dominions, by an event ſo intereſting to the happineſs of his majeſty and that illuſtrious prince.

Gentlemen,

Impreſſed with the momentous nature of the preſent period, and of the duties which it impoſes on us, I am nevertheleſs confident in your patriotiſm, talents, and application; and I pray God ſo to bleſs and enlighten our councils, and ſo to endue us with wiſdom and virtue, as to render this firſt parliament of Corſica an example to all ſucceeding ones, as well as to your conſtituents of the preſent day, of diſintereſted, zealous, and, above all, united exertion for the public good.

It is by theſe means, and by the bleſſing of God, that I truſt your country will triumph over its foreign and domeſtic enemies, and attain, under the mild and equitable government of his majeſty, the ſummit of national proſperity and happineſs.

Proclamation by Sir Gilbert Elliot, Viceroy of Corſica.

In the name of the King.

THE facts that have occurred in

ſome diſtricts, and the errors committed by a part of the inhabitants, ſeduced by turbulent minds, have induced me to expoſe to the view of all Corſicans the grievous conſequences of ſuch conduct, in order to preſerve them from this bad example, to maintain them in the obſervance of the laws, and in juſt obedience to his majeſty's government. It is well known, that, from certain circumſtances and paſt events, Corſica was reduced to a ſituation the moſt dangerous for any nation to experience. It was this ſituation that moved the magnanimity of his majeſty to afford it aſſiſtance, and, with the ſovereignty, to accept the taſk of rendering it happy. It is not neceſſary to repeat the ſacrifices that have been made, and how much Engliſh blood has been bravely and generouſly ſhed, for the purpoſe of effecting that undertaking. In the circumſtances in which it is incumbent on his majeſty to ſupply the moſt conſiderable expences, he has not ceaſed to communicate, with the utmoſt liberality, in whatever he thought neceſſary for the defence of the iſland: the Engliſh troops have been employed to protect it; ſeveral Corſican battalions raiſed and maintained by his majeſty's beneficence, and an arſenal eſtabliſhed at Ajaccio; navigation has been reſtored, and care has been taken to protect it from the enemy; induſtry has been compenſated by riches; and the means of conſumption increaſed by the ſtation of the fleet and army; the national credit has been reſpected by foreigners, and ſupported by all the political influence of his majeſty; laws have been framed according to the conſtitution of the kingdom; the public authorities regulated and protected; individual liberty preſerved inviolable, and every motive for inteſtine diviſion ſuppreſſed; the exerciſe of the religion of your anceſtors has been re-eſtabliſhed, and a happy concluſion to the articles preſented by the parliament to his holineſs the pope may ſoon be expected; and, in fine, a rapid progreſs in every point towards a perfect organization of the ſyſtem of government effected, with the applauſe and conſent of the whole nation. But when we promiſed ourſelves that the moral effects of theſe changes would have been ſufficient for the maintenance of tranquillity and obedience to the laws, and to direct the national activity towards induſtry and every means of accelerating the general good, it was with much diſpleaſure that, in ſome parts, we perceived tumults formed, for the purpoſe of forcing the peaceable and well-behaved ſubjects to participate in acts of turbulence and licentiouſneſs, viz. to burn the public magazines, to declare and reſolve againſt the payment of the impoſts, to ſearch the houſes of individuals by an armed force, and threaten the lives of the citizens, with ſeveral other inconveniences, manifeſted and executed with a ſpirit of inſubordination to the government, and the diſſolution of every good principle of ſociety, characteriſed by traits unworthy of perſons who poſſeſs any ſtimulus of reſpect for themſelves, or attachment to their country: however, it has been ſome conſolation to us in perceiving that theſe proceedings are held in abhorrence by the greateſt part of the kingdom, and regretted by perſons of credit and reſpectability. It is incumbent upon the Corſicans to conſider the danger of the diviſions to which this conduct muſt infallibly expoſe their nation: tumults are inevitably connected with vexations and acts of violence; arbitrary ſway takes place of the law, and then neither life nor property is any longer ſecure. Neither ſhould we forget an enraged and neighbouring enemy, who can only be kept at a diſtance by his majeſty's arms, your own unanimity, and the energy of the government. The pretence that a people may be governed without taxes is folly in the extreme: this pretence has been ſubſervient to the deſigns of the ſeditious of all nations, but has always been the ruin of thoſe who have been ſo unhappy as to be deceived by it. Such an error as this ought to have leſs effect in Corſica than any other place, ſince the heavieſt charges are defrayed by the liberality of the king, and where no duty is impoſed without the law, and where the laws are framed by the repreſentatives of the people. It has been our wiſh to enlighten the majority of the nation to whom we apply with confidence, in reminding them of the oath taken to his majeſty and the country; and that oath does not promiſe a bare homage, but a perfect ſubmiſſion and obedience to the laws, and to the orders of the legitimate government, a deviation from which is not permitted to any true and loyal ſubject of his majeſty, under any pretence whatever. A benign compaſſion, which inclines us in favour of thoſe who have been deceived, and the affection we retain for a nation, in whoſe proſperity we are intereſted, has determined us to prefer admonition to every other meaſure, which we flatter ourſelves, will be ſufficient to perſuade the Corſicans to an entire ſubmiſſion to the laws, and obedience to the government. We pledge ourſelves to anſwer every juſt demand; but we likewiſe declare, that we will never adhere to any meaſure produced by violence againſt the courſe of the laws; and that we will maintain the conſtitutional rights of the king and his government, in Corſica, with dignity, and unalterable firmneſs, as well as the exerciſe of the prerogative accorded by the conſtitution itſelf.

Done at Baſtia, Aug. 7, 1795.

Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, between his Britannic Majeſty and the United States of America, by their Preſident, with the Advice and Conſent of their Senate, Nov. 19, 1794.

HIS Britannic majeſty and the United States of America being deſirous by a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, to terminate their differences in ſuch a manner, as, without reference to the merits of their reſpective complaints and pretenſions, may be the beſt calculated to produce mutual ſatisfaction and good underſtanding; and alſo to regulate the commerce and navigation between their reſpective countries, territories, and people, in ſuch a manner as to render the ſame reciprocal, beneficial, and ſatisfactory; they have reſpectively named their plenipotentiaries, and given them full powers to treat of, and conclude the ſaid treaty; that is to ſay, his Britannic majeſty has named for his plenipotentiary, the right hon. William Wyndham, baron Grenville of Wotton, one of his majeſty's privy council, and his majeſty's principal ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs; and the preſident of the United States, by and with the advice and conſent of the ſenate thereof, hath appointed for their plenipotentiary, the hon. John Jay, chief juſtice of the ſaid United States, and their envoy extraordinary to his majeſty, who have agreed on, and concluded the following articles:

Art. 1. There ſhall be a firm, inviolable, and univerſal peace, and a true and ſincere friendſhip, between his Britannic majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, and the United States of America; and between their reſpective countries, territories, cities, towns and people of every degree, without exception of perſons or places.

2. His majeſty will withdraw all his troops and garriſons from all poſts and places within the boundary lines aſſigned by the treaty of peace to the United States. This evacuation ſhall take place on or before the firſt day of June 1796, and all the proper meaſures ſhall in the interval be taken by concert between the government of the United States, and his majeſty's governor-general in America, for ſettling the previous arrangements which may be neceſſary reſpecting the delivery of the ſaid poſts: the United States, in the mean time, at their diſcretion, extending their ſettlements to any part within the ſaid boundary line, except within the precincts or juriſdiction of any of the ſaid poſts. All ſettlers and traders within the precincts or juriſdiction of the ſaid poſts, ſhall continue to enjoy, unmoleſted, all their property of every kind, and ſhall be protected therein. They ſhall be at full liberty to remain there, or to remove with all or any part of their effects: and it ſhall alſo be free to them to ſell their lands, houſes, or effects, or to retain the property thereof at their diſcretion: ſuch of them as ſhall continue to reſide within the ſaid boundary lines, ſhall not be compelled to become citizens of the United States, or to take any oath of allegiance to the government thereof, but they ſhall be at full liberty ſo to do if they think proper, and they ſhall make and declare their election within one year after the evacuation aforeſaid. And all perſons, who ſhall continue there after the expiration of the ſaid year without having declared their intention of remaining ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty, ſhall be conſidered as having elected to become citizens of the United States.

3. It is agreed, that it ſhall at all times be free to his majeſty's ſubjects, and to the citizens of the United States, and alſo to the Indians, dwelling on either ſide of the ſaid boundary line, freely to paſs and repaſs by land or inland navigation, into the reſpective territories and countries of the two parties on the continent of America (the country within the limits of the Hudſon's Bay company only excepted), and to navigate all the lakes, rivers, and waters thereof, and freely to carry on trade and commerce with each other. But it is underſtood, that this article does not extend to the admiſſion of veſſels of the United States into the ſea-ports, harbours, bays, or creeks, of his majeſty's ſaid territories; nor into ſuch parts of the rivers in his majeſty's ſaid territories as are between the mouth thereof and the higheſt port of entry from the ſeas, except in ſmall veſſels trading *boná fide* between Montreal and Quebec, under ſuch regulations as ſhall be eſtabliſhed, to prevent the poſſibility of any frauds in this reſpect: nor to the admiſſion of Britiſh veſſels from the ſea into

the rivers of the United States beyond the higheſt ports of entry for foreign veſſels from the ſea. The river Miſſiſſipi ſhall, however, according to the treaty of peace, be entirely open to both parties; and it is further agreed, that all the ports or places on its eaſtern ſide, to whichſoever of the parties belonging, may freely be reſorted to, and uſed by both parties, in as ample a manner as any of the Atlantic ports or places of the United States, or any of the ports or places of his majeſty in Great Britain.

All goods and merchandize, whoſe importation into his majeſty's ſaid territories in America ſhall not be entirely prohibited, may freely, for the purpoſe of commerce, be carried into the ſame, in the manner aforeſaid, by the citizens of the United States, and ſuch goods and merchandize ſhall be ſubject to no higher or other duties than would be payable by his majeſty's ſubjects on the importation of the ſame from Europe into the ſaid territories. And, in like manner, all goods and merchandize, whoſe importation into the United States ſhall not be wholly prohibited, may freely, for the purpoſe of commerce, be carried into the ſame, in the manner aforeſaid, by his majeſty's ſubjects; and ſuch goods and merchandize ſhall be ſubject to no higher or other duties than would be payable by the citizens of the United States on the importation of the ſame in American veſſels into the Atlantic ports of the ſaid States. And all goods, not prohibited to be exported from the ſaid territories reſpectively, may, in like manner, be carried out of the ſame by the two parties reſpectively, paying duty as aforeſaid.

No duty or entry ſhall ever be levied by either party on peltries brought by land or inland navigation into the ſaid territories reſpectively; nor ſhall the Indians paſſing or repaſſing with their own proper goods and effects, of whatever nature, pay for the ſame any impoſt or duty whatever. But goods in bales, or other large packages, unuſual among Indians, ſhall not be conſidered as goods belonging *bonâ fide* to Indians.

No higher or other tolls or rates of ferriage than what are or ſhall be payable by natives, ſhall be demanded on either ſide; and no duties ſhall be payable on any goods which ſhall merely be carried over any of the portages or carrying-places on either ſide, for the purpoſe of being immediately reimbarked and carried to ſome other place or places. But as, by this ſtipulation, it is only meant to ſecure to each party a free paſſage acroſs the portages on both ſides, it is agreed, that this exemption from duty ſhall extend only to ſuch goods as are carried in the uſual and direct roads acroſs the portage, and are not attempted to be in any manner ſold or exchanged, during their paſſage acroſs the ſame; and proper regulations may be eſtabliſhed to prevent the poſſibility of any frauds in this reſpect.

As this article is intended to render in a great degree the local advantages of each party common to both, and thereby to promote a diſpoſition favourable to friendſhip and good neighbourhood, it is agreed, that the reſpective governments will mutually promote this amicable intercourſe, by cauſing ſpeedy and impartial juſtice to be done, and neceſſary protection to be extended to all who may be concerned therein.

4. Whereas it is uncertain whether the river Miſſiſſipi extends ſo far to the northward, as to be interſected by a line to be drawn due weſt from the Lake of the Woods, in the manner mentioned in the treaty of peace between his majeſty and the United States, it is agreed, that meaſures ſhall be taken, in concert, by his majeſty's government in America and the government of the United States, for making a joint ſurvey of the ſaid river, from one degree of latitude below the fall of St. Antony, to the principal ſource or ſources of the ſaid river, and alſo of the parts adjacent thereto; and that if, on the reſult of ſuch ſurvey, it ſhould appear that the ſaid river would not be interſected by ſuch a line as is above-mentioned, the two parties will thereupon proceed, by amicable negotiation, to regulate the boundary line in that quarter, as well as all other points to be adjuſted between the ſaid parties, according to juſtice and mutual convenience, and in conformity to the intent of the ſaid treaty.

5. Whereas doubts have ariſen what river was truly intended under the name of the river St. Croix, mentioned in the ſaid treaty of peace, as forming a part of the boundary therein deſcribed; that queſtion ſhall be referred to the final deciſion of commiſſioners, to be appointed in the following manner, viz.

One commiſſioner ſhall be named by his majeſty, and one by the preſident of the United States, by and with the advice and conſent of the ſenate thereof; and the ſaid two commiſſioners ſhall agree on the choice of a third: or, if they cannot ſo agree, they ſhall each propoſe one perſon, and of the two names propoſed, one ſhall be drawn by lot, in the preſence of the two original commiſſioners. And the three commiſſioners ſo appointed, ſhall be ſworn impartially to examine and decide the ſaid queſtion, according to ſuch evidence as ſhall reſpectively be laid before them on the part of the Britiſh government and of the United States. The ſaid commiſſioners ſhall meet at Halifax, and ſhall have power to adjourn to ſuch other place or places as they ſhall think fit. They ſhall have power to appoint a ſecretary, and to employ ſuch ſurveyors, or other perſons, as they ſhall judge neceſſary. The ſaid commiſſioners ſhall, by a declaration under their hands and ſeals, decide what river is the river St. Croix intended by the treaty. The ſaid declaration ſhall contain a deſcription of the ſaid river, and ſhall particularize the latitude and longitude of its mouth, and of its ſource. Duplicates of this declaration, and of the ſtatements of their accounts, and of the journal of their proceedings, ſhall be delivered by them to the agent of his majeſty, and to the agent of the United States, who may be reſpectively appointed and authorized to manage the buſineſs on behalf of the reſpective governments. And both parties agree to conſider ſuch deciſion as final and concluſive, ſo as that the ſame ſhall never thereafter be called into queſtion, or made the ſubject of diſpute or difference between them.

6. Whereas it is alleged by divers Britiſh merchants and others his majeſty's ſubjects, that debts to a conſiderable amount, which were, *bonâ fide*, contracted before the peace, ſtill remain owing to them by citizens or inhabitants of the United States, and that, by the operation of various lawful impediments ſince

the peace, not only the full recovery of the ſaid debts has been delayed, but alſo the value and ſecurity thereof been, in ſeveral inſtances, impaired and leſſened, ſo that by the ordinary courſe of judicial proceedings, the Britiſh creditors cannot now obtain, and actually have and receive full and adequate compenſation for the loſſes and damages which they have thereby ſuſtained, it is agreed, that in all ſuch caſes, where full compenſation for ſuch loſſes and damages cannot, for whatever reaſon, be actually obtained, had, and received by the ſaid creditors, in the ordinary courſe of juſtice, the United States will make full and complete compenſation for the ſame to the ſaid creditors: but it is diſtinctly underſtood, that this proviſion is to extend to ſuch loſſes only as have been occaſioned by the lawful impediments aforeſaid, and is not to extend to loſſes occaſioned by ſuch inſolvency of the debtors, or other cauſes, as would equally have operated to produce ſuch loſs, if the ſaid impediments had not exiſted; nor to ſuch loſſes or damages as have been occaſioned by the manifeſt delay or negligence, or wilful omiſſion of the claimant.

For the purpoſe of aſcertaining the amount of any ſuch loſſes and damages, five commiſſioners ſhall be appointed and authorized to meet and act, in manner following, viz. Two of them ſhall be appointed by his majeſty, two of them by the preſident of the United States, by and with the advice and conſent of the ſenate thereof, and the fifth by the unanimous voice of the other four; and if they ſhould not agree in ſuch choice, then the commiſſioners named by the two parties, ſhall reſpectively propoſe one perſon; and of the two names ſo propoſed, one ſhall be drawn by lot, in the preſence of the four original commiſſioners.

When the five commiſſioners thus appointed ſhall firſt meet, they ſhall, before they proceed to act, reſpectively take the following oath or affirmation, in the preſence of each other: which oath or affirmation being ſo taken and duly atteſted, ſhall be entered on the record of their proceedings, viz. "I A. B. one of "the commiſſioners appointed in "purſuance of the ſixth article of "the treaty of amity, commerce, "and navigation, between his Britannic majeſty and the United "States of America, do ſolemnly "ſwear [or affirm] that I will honeſtly, diligently, impartially, and "carefully examine, and to the beſt "of my judgment, according to "juſtice and equity, decide all ſuch "complaints, as under the ſaid article ſhall be preferred to the ſaid "commiſſioners; and that I will "forbear to act as a commiſſioner in "any caſe in which I may be perſonally intereſted."

Three of the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall conſtitute a board, and ſhall have power to do any act appertaining to the ſaid commiſſion, provided that one of the commiſſioners named on each ſide, and the fifth commiſſioner ſhall be preſent: and all deciſions ſhall be made by the majority of the voices of the commiſſioners then preſent. Eighteen months from the day on which the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall form a board, and be ready to proceed to buſineſs, are aſſigned for receiving complaints and applications; but they are nevertheleſs authoriſed, in any particular caſes in which it ſhall appear to them to be reaſonable

able and juſt, to extend the ſaid term of eighteen months, for any term not exceeding ſix months after the expiration thereof. The ſaid commiſſioners ſhall firſt meet at Philadelphia, but they ſhall have power to adjourn from place to place, as they ſhall ſee cauſe.

The ſaid commiſſioners, in examining the complaints and applications ſo preferred to them, are empowered, in purſuance of the true intent and meaning of this article, to take into their conſideration all claims, whether of principal and intereſt, or balances of principal and intereſt, and to determine the ſame reſpectively, according to the merits of the ſeveral caſes; due regard being had to all the circumſtances thereof, and as equity and juſtice ſhall ſeem to them to require. And the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall have power to examine all ſuch perſons as ſhall come before them, on oath or affirmation, touching the premiſes: and alſo to receive in evidence, according as they may think moſt conſiſtent with equity and juſtice, all written depoſitions, or books, or papers, or copies, or extracts thereof; every ſuch depoſition, book, or paper, or extract, being duly authenticated, either according to the legal forms now reſpectively exiſting in the two countries, or in ſuch other manner as the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall ſee cauſe to require or allow.

The award of the ſaid commiſſioners, or of any three of them as aforeſaid, ſhall in all caſes be final and concluſive, both as to the juſtice of the claim, and to the amount of the ſum to be paid to the creditor and claimant: and the United States undertake to cauſe the ſum ſo awarded to be paid in ſpecie to ſuch creditor or claimant, without deduction; and at ſuch time or times, and at ſuch place or places, as ſhall be awarded by the ſaid commiſſioners; and on condition of ſuch releaſes or aſſignments, to be given by the creditor or claimant, as by the ſaid commiſſioners may be directed; provided always, that no ſuch payment ſhall be fixed by the ſaid commiſſioners, to take place ſooner than twelve months, from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

7. Whereas complaints have been made by divers merchants and others, citizens of the United States, that, during the courſe of the war in which his majeſty is now engaged, they have ſuſtained conſiderable loſſes and damage, by reaſon of irregular or illegal captures or condemnations of their veſſels or other property, under colour or authority of commiſſions from his majeſty; and that, from various circumſtances belonging to the ſaid caſes, adequate compenſation for the loſſes and damages ſo ſuſtained cannot now be actually obtained, had, and received, by the ordinary courſe of judicial proceedings; it is agreed, that in all ſuch caſes, where adequate compenſation cannot, for whatever reaſon, be now actually obtained, had, and received, by ſaid merchants and others, in the ordinary courſe of juſtice, full and complete compenſation for the ſame will be made by the Britiſh government to the ſaid complainants. But it is diſtinctly underſtood, that this proviſion is not to extend to ſuch loſſes or damages as have been occaſioned by the manifeſt delay or negligence, or wilful omiſſion, of the claimants.

That for the purpoſe of aſcertaining the amount of any ſuch loſſes and damages, five commiſſioners ſhall be appointed and authoriſed to act in London, exactly in the manner directed with reſpect to thoſe mentioned in the preceding article, and after taking the ſame oath or affirmation *(mutatis mutandis)*: the ſame term of eighteen months is alſo aſſigned for the reception of claims, and they are in like manner authoriſed to extend the ſame in particular caſes. They ſhall receive as teſtimony, books, papers, and evidence in the ſame latitude, and exerciſe the like diſcretion and powers reſpecting that ſubject; and ſhall decide the claims in queſtion according to the merits of the ſeveral caſes, and to juſtice, equity, and the laws of nations. The award of the commiſſioners, or any ſuch three of them as aforeſaid, ſhall in all caſes, be final and concluſive, both as to the juſtice of the claim, and the amount of the ſum to be paid to the claimant; and his Britannic majeſty undertakes to cauſe the ſame to be paid to ſuch claimant in ſpecie, without any deduction, at ſuch place or places, and at ſuch time or times, as ſhall be awarded by the ſame commiſſioners, and on condition of ſuch releaſes or aſſignments to be given by the claimants, as by the ſaid commiſſioners may be directed.

And whereas certain merchants and others, his majeſty's ſubjects, complain, that in the courſe of the war they have ſuſtained loſs and damage by reaſon of the capture of the veſſels and merchandize taken within the limits and juriſdiction of the ſtates, and brought into the ports of the ſame, or taken by veſſels originally armed in ports of the ſaid ſtates; it is agreed, that in all ſuch caſes where reſtitution ſhall not have been made, agreeable to the tenor of the letter from Mr. Jefferſon to Mr. Hammond, dated at Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1793, a copy of which is annexed to this treaty, the complaints of the parties ſhall be, and hereby are, referred to the commiſſioners, to be appointed by virtue of this article, who are hereby authoriſed and required to proceed in the like manner relative to theſe as to the other caſes committed to them; and the United States undertake to pay to the complainants or claimants, in ſpecie, without deduction, the amount of ſuch ſums as ſhall be awarded to them reſpectively by the ſaid commiſſioners, and at the times and places which in ſuch awards ſhall be ſpecified; and on condition of ſuch releaſes or aſſignments to be given by the claimants as in the ſaid awards may be directed. And it is further agreed, that not only the now exiſting caſes of both deſcriptions, but alſo all ſuch as ſhall exiſt at the time of exchanging the ratifications of this treaty, ſhall be conſidered within the proviſions, intent, and meaning of this article.

8. It is further agreed, that the commiſſioners mentioned in the two preceding articles, ſhall be reſpectively paid in ſuch a manner as ſhall be agreed between the two parties; ſuch agreement being to be ſettled at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty. And all other expences attending the ſaid commiſſions ſhall be defrayed jointly by the two parties, the ſame being previouſly aſcertained and allowed by the majority of the commiſſioners. And in the caſe of death, ſickneſs, or neceſſary abſence, the place of every ſuch commiſſioner reſpectively, ſhall be ſupplied in the ſame manner as ſuch commiſſioner was appointed, and the new com-

miſſioners ſhall take the ſame oath or affirmation, and do the ſame duties.

9. It is agreed that Britiſh ſubjects, who now hold lands in the territories of the United States; and American citizens, who now hold lands in the dominions of his majeſty; ſhall continue to hold them according to the nature and tenure of their reſpective ſtates and titles therein; and may grant, ſell, or deviſe the ſame to whom they pleaſe, in like manner as if they were natives; and that neither they, nor their heirs or aſſigns, ſhall, ſo far as may reſpect the ſaid lands, and the legal remedies incident thereto, be regarded as aliens.

10. Neither the debts due from individuals of the one nation to individuals of the other, nor ſhares, nor monies which they may have in the public funds, or in the public or private banks, ſhall ever in any event of war or national differences, be ſequeſtered or confiſcated, it being unjuſt and impolitic, that debts and engagements, contracted and made by individuals, having confidence in each other, and in their reſpective governments, ſhould ever be deſtroyed or impaired by national authority, on account of national differences and diſcontents.

11. It is agreed between his majeſty and the United States of America, that there ſhall be a reciprocal and entirely perfect liberty of navigation and commerce between their reſpective people, in the manner, under the limitations and on the conditions ſpecified in the following articles.

12. His majeſty conſents, that it ſhall and may be lawful, during the time hereinafter limited, for the citizens of the United States to carry to any of his majeſty's iſlands and ports in the Weſt Indies from the United States, in their own veſſels, not being above the burden of 70 tons, any goods or merchandizes, being of the growth, manufacture, or produce of the ſaid ſtates, which it is or may be lawful to carry to the ſaid iſlands or ports from the ſaid ſtates in Britiſh veſſels; and that the ſaid American veſſels ſhall be ſubject there to no other or higher tonnage duties or charges than ſhall be payable by Britiſh veſſels in the ports of the United States; and that the cargoes of the ſaid American veſſels ſhall be ſubject there to no other or higher duties or charges than ſhall be payable on the like articles, if imported there from the ſaid ſtates in Britiſh veſſels.

And his majeſty alſo conſents that it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid American citizens to purchaſe, load, and carry away in their ſaid veſſels, to the United States, from the ſaid iſlands and ports, all ſuch articles, being of the growth, manufacture, or produce of the ſaid iſlands, as may now by law be carried from thence to the ſaid ſtates in Britiſh veſſels, and ſubject only to the ſame duties and charges on exportation to which Britiſh veſſels and their cargoes are or ſhall be ſubject in ſimilar circumſtances.

Provided always, that the ſaid American veſſels do carry and land their cargoes in the United States only, it being expreſsly agreed and declared, that, during the continuance of this article, the United States will prohibit and reſtrain the carrying any molaſſes, ſugar, coffee, cocoa, or cotton, in American veſſels, either from his majeſty's iſlands or from the United States, to any part of the world, except the United States, reaſonable ſea ſtores excepted.

Provided alſo, that it ſhall and may be lawful, during the ſame period, for Britiſh veſſels to import from the ſame iſlands into the United States, and to export from the United States to the ſaid iſlands, all articles whatever, being of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the ſaid iſlands, or of the United States reſpectively, which now may by the laws of the ſaid ſtates be ſo imported and exported. And that the cargoes of the ſaid Britiſh veſſels, ſhall be ſubject to no other or higher duties or charges, than ſhall be payable on the ſame articles, if ſo imported or exported in American veſſels.

It is agreed that this article and every matter and thing therein contained, ſhall continue to be in force during the continuance of the war in which his majeſty is now engaged; and alſo for two years, from and after the day of the ſignature of the preliminary or other articles of peace by which the ſame may be terminated.

And it is further agreed, that at the expiration of the ſaid term, the two contracting parties will endeavour further to regulate their commerce in this reſpect, according to the ſituation in which his majeſty may then find himſelf with reſpect to the Weſt Indies, and with a view to ſuch arrangements, as may beſt conduce to the mutual advantage and extenſion of commerce.

And the ſaid parties will then alſo renew their diſcuſſion, and endeavour to agree, whether in any or what caſes, neutral veſſels ſhall protect enemy's property; and in what caſes, proviſions and other articles, not generally contraband, may become ſuch. But in the mean time, their conduct toward each other in theſe reſpects, ſhall be regulated by the articles hereinafter inſerted on thoſe ſubjects.

13. His majeſty conſents that the veſſels belonging to the citizens of the United States of America ſhall be admitted and hoſpitably received in all the ſea ports and harbours of the Britiſh territories in the Eaſt Indies. And that the citizens of the ſaid United States may freely carry on a trade between the ſaid territories and the ſaid United States in all articles of which the importation or exportation reſpectively to or from the ſaid territories, ſhall not be entirely prohibited. Provided only, that it ſhall not be lawful for them, in any time of war between the Britiſh government and any other power or ſtate whatever, to export from the ſame territories, without the ſpecial permiſſion of the Britiſh government there, any military ſtores, naval ſtores, or rice. The citizens of the ſaid United States ſhall pay for their veſſels, when admitted into the ſaid ports, no other or higher tonnage duty than ſhall be payable on Britiſh veſſels when admitted into the ports of the United States. And they ſhall pay no other or higher duties or charges on the importation or exportation of the cargoes of the ſaid veſſels, than ſhall be payable on the ſame articles when imported or exported in Britiſh veſſels. But it is expreſsly agreed, that the veſſels of the United States ſhall not carry any of the articles exported by them from the ſaid Britiſh territories to any port or place except to ſome port or place in America, where the ſame ſhall be unladen: and ſuch regulations ſhall be adopted by both parties, as ſhall

from time to time be found neceſſary to enforce the due and faithful obſervance of this ſtipulation.

It is alſo underſtood, that the permiſſion granted by this article, is not to extend to allow the veſſels of the United States to carry on any part of the coaſting trade of the ſaid Britiſh territories; but veſſels going with their original cargoes, or part thereof, from one port of diſcharge to another, are not to be conſidered as carrying on the coaſting trade. Neither is this article to be conſtrued to allow the citizens of the ſaid ſtates to ſettle or reſide within the ſaid territories, or to go into the interior parts thereof, without the permiſſion of the Britiſh government eſtabliſhed there: and if any tranſgreſſion ſhould be attempted againſt the regulations of the Britiſh government in this reſpect, the obſervance of the ſame ſhall and may be enforced againſt the citizens of America, in the ſame manner as againſt Britiſh ſubjects, or others tranſgreſſing the ſame rule. And the citizens of the United States, whenever they arrive in any port or harbour in the ſaid territories, or if they ſhould be permitted in manner aforeſaid to go to any other place therein, ſhall always be ſubject to the laws, government, and juriſdiction, of whatever nature, eſtabliſhed in ſuch harbour, port, or place, according as the ſame may be; the citizens of the United States may alſo touch for refreſhment at the iſland of St. Helena, but ſubject in all reſpects to ſuch regulations as the Britiſh government may from time to time eſtabliſh there.

14. There ſhall be between all the dominions of his majeſty in Europe and the territories of the United States a reciprocal and perfect liberty of commerce and navigation. The people and inhabitants of the two countries reſpectively ſhall have liberty freely and ſecurely, and without hindrance and moleſtation, to come with their ſhips and cargoes to the lands, countries, cities, ports, places, and rivers, within the dominions and territories aforeſaid, to enter into the ſame, to reſort there, and to remain and reſide there, without any limitation of time: and alſo to hire and poſſeſs houſes and warehouſes for the purpoſes of their commerce; and generally the merchants and traders on each ſide ſhall enjoy the moſt complete protection and ſecurity for their commerce, but ſubject always, as to what reſpects this article, to the laws and ſtatutes of the two countries reſpectively.

15. It is agreed, that no other or higher duties ſhall be paid by the ſhips or merchandize of the one party in the ports of the other, than ſuch as are paid by the like veſſels or merchandize of all other nations. Nor ſhall any other or higher duty be impoſed in one country on the importation of any articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other country, than on the importation of the like articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of any other foreign country. Nor ſhall any prohibition be impoſed on the exportation or importation of any articles to or from the territories of the two parties reſpectively, which ſhall not equally extend to all other nations.

But the Britiſh government reſerves to itſelf the right of impoſing on American veſſels, entering into the Britiſh ports in Europe, a tonnage duty equal to that which ſhall be payable by Britiſh veſſels in the ports of America; and alſo ſuch duty as may be adequate to countervail the difference of duty now payable on the importation of European and Aſiatic goods when imported into the United States in Britiſh or in American veſſels.

The two parties agree to treat for the more exact equalization of the duties on the reſpective navigation of their ſubjects and people in ſuch manner as may be moſt beneficial to the two countries. The arrangements for this purpoſe ſhall be made at the ſame time with thoſe mentioned at the concluſion of the 14th article of this treaty, and are to be conſidered as a part thereof. In the interval it is agreed, that the United States will not impoſe any new or additional tonnage duties on Britiſh veſſels, nor increaſe the now ſubſiſting difference between the duties payable on the importation of any article in Britiſh or American veſſels.

16. It ſhall be free for the two contracting parties, reſpectively, to appoint conſuls for the protection of trade, to reſide in the dominions and territories aforeſaid, and the ſaid conſuls ſhall enjoy thoſe liberties and rights which belong to them by reaſon of their function. But before any conſul ſhall act as ſuch, he ſhall be in the uſual forms approved and admitted by the party to whom he is ſent; and it is hereby declared to be lawful and proper, that in caſe of illegal or improper conduct toward the laws or government, a conſul may either be puniſhed according to law, if the laws will reach the caſe, or be diſmiſſed, or even ſent back; the offended government aſſigning to the other the reaſons for the ſame.

Either of the parties may except from the reſidence of conſuls ſuch particular places as ſuch party ſhall judge proper to be excepted.

17. It is agreed, that in all caſes where veſſels ſhall be captured or detained on juſt ſuſpicion of having on board enemy's property, or of carrying to the enemy any of the articles which are contraband of war: the ſaid veſſel ſhall be brought to the neareſt or moſt convenient port; and if any property of an enemy ſhould be found on board ſuch veſſel, that part only which belongs to the enemy ſhall be made prize, and the veſſel ſhall be at liberty to proceed with the remainder without any impediment. And it is agreed, that all proper meaſures ſhall be taken to prevent delay, in deciding the caſes of ſhips or cargoes ſo brought in for adjudication; and in the payment or recovery of any indemnification adjudged or agreed to be paid to the maſters or owners of ſuch ſhips.

18. In order to regulate what is in future to be deemed contraband of war, it is agreed, that under the ſaid denomination ſhall be compriſed all arms and implements ſerving for the purpoſes of war, by land or by ſea, ſuch as cannon, muſkets, mortars, petards, bombs, grenadoes, carcaſſes, ſauciſſes, carriages for cannon, muſket reſts, bandoliers, gunpowder, match, ſaltpetre, ball, pikes, ſwords, head pieces, cuiraſſes, halberds, lances, javelins, horſe furniture, holſters, belts, and generally all other implements of war; as alſo timber for ſhip-building, tar or roſin, copper in ſheets, ſails, hemp, and cordage, and generally whatever may ſerve directly to the equipment of veſſels, unwrought iron and fir planks only excepted; and all the above articles are hereby declared to be juſt objects of confiſcation, whenever they are attempted to be carried to an enemy.

And whereas the difficulty of agreeing on the the preciſe caſes, in which alone proviſions and other articles not generally contraband may be regarded as ſuch, renders it expedient to provide againſt the inconveniences and miſunderſtandings which might thence ariſe: It is further agreed, that whenever any ſuch articles ſo becoming contraband according to the exiſting laws of nations, ſhall for that reaſon be ſeized, the ſame ſhall not be confiſcated, but the owners thereof ſhall be ſpeedily and completely indemnified; and the captors, or in their default the government under whoſe authority they act, ſhall pay to the maſters or owners of ſuch veſſel the full value of all articles, with a reaſonable mercantile profit thereon, together with the freight, and alſo the demurrage incident to ſuch detention.

And whereas it frequently happens, that veſſels ſail for a port or place belonging to an enemy, without knowing that the ſame is either beſieged, blockaded, or inveſted; it is agreed, that every veſſel ſo circumſtanced may be turned away from ſuch port or place, but ſhall not be detained, nor her cargo, if not contraband, be confiſcated, unleſs after notice ſhe ſhall again attempt to enter: but ſhe ſhall be permitted to go to any other port or place ſhe may think proper; nor ſhall any veſſels or goods of either party, that may have entered into ſuch port or place, before the ſame was beſieged, blockaded, or inveſted by the other, and be found therein after the reduction or ſurrender of ſuch place, be liable to confiſcation, but ſhall be reſtored to the owners or proprietors thereof.

19. And that more abundant care be taken for the ſecurity of the reſpective ſubjects and citizens of the contracting parties, and to prevent their ſuffering injuries by the men-of-war, or privateers of either party, all commanders of ſhips of war and privateers, and all others the ſaid ſubjects and citizens, ſhall forbear to do any damage to thoſe of the other party, or commit any outrage againſt them; and if they act to the contrary, they ſhall be puniſhed, and ſhall alſo be bound in their perſons and eſtates to make ſatisfaction and reparation for all damages, and the intereſt thereof, of whatever nature the ſaid damages may be.

For this cauſe all commanders of privateers before they receive their commiſſions ſhall hereafter be obliged to give, before a competent judge, ſufficient ſecurity by at leaſt two reſponſible ſureties, who have no intereſt in the ſaid privateer, each of whom, together with the ſaid commander, ſhall be jointly and ſeverally bound in the ſum of fifteen hundred pounds ſterling, or if ſuch ſhip be provided with above one hundred and fifty ſeamen or ſoldiers, in the ſum of three thouſand pounds ſterling, to ſatisfy all damages and injuries which the ſaid privateer, or officers, or men, or any of them, may do or commit during their cruiſe, contrary to the tenor of this treaty, or to the law and inſtructions for regulating their conduct: and further, that in all caſes of aggreſſion the ſaid commiſſions ſhall be revoked and annulled.

It is alſo agreed, that whenever a judge of a court of admiralty of either of the parties ſhall pronounce ſentence againſt any veſſel or goods or property belonging to the ſubjects or citizens of the other party, a formal and duly authenticated copy of all the proceedings in the cauſe, and of the ſaid ſentence, ſhall, if required, be delivered to the commander of the ſaid veſſel, without the ſmalleſt delay, he paying all legal fees and demands for the ſame.

20. It is further agreed, that both the ſaid contracting parties ſhall not only refuſe to receive any pirates into any of their ports, havens, or towns, or permit any of their inhabitants to receive, protect, harbour, conceal or aſſiſt them in any manner, but will bring to condign puniſhment all ſuch inhabitants as ſhall be guilty of ſuch acts or offences.

And all their ſhips with the goods or merchandizes taken by them, and brought into the port of either of the ſaid parties, ſhall be ſeized as far as they can be diſcovered, and ſhall be reſtored to the owners, or the factors, or agents duly deputed and authorized in writing by them (proper evidence being firſt in the court of admiralty for proving the property) even in caſe ſuch effects ſhould have paſſed into other hands by ſale, if it be proved that the buyers knew or had good reaſon to believe, or ſuſpect that they had been piratically taken.

21. It is likewiſe agreed, that the ſubjects and citizens of the two nations, ſhall not do any acts of hoſtility or violence againſt each other, nor accept commiſſions or inſtructions ſo to act from any foreign prince or ſtate, enemies to the other party; nor ſhall the enemies of one of the parties be permitted to invite, or endeavour to enliſt in the military ſervice any of the ſubjects or citizens of the other party; and the laws againſt all ſuch offences ſhall be punctually executed. And if any ſubject or citizen of the ſaid parties reſpectively ſhall accept any foreign commiſſion, or letters of marque, for arming any veſſel to act as a privateer againſt the other party, and be taken by the other party, it is hereby declared to be lawful for the ſaid party to treat and puniſh the ſaid ſubject or citizen, having ſuch commiſſion or letters of marque, as a pirate.

22. It is expreſsly ſtipulated that neither of the ſaid contracting parties will order or authorize any acts of repriſal againſt the other, on complaints of injuries or damages, until the ſaid party ſhall firſt have preſented to the other a ſtatement thereof, verified by competent proof and evidence, and demanding juſtice and ſatisfaction, and the ſame ſhall either have been refuſed or unreaſonably delayed.

23. The ſhips of war of each of the contracting parties ſhall, at all times, be hoſpitably received into the ports of the other, their officers and crews paying due reſpect to the laws and government of the country. The officers ſhall be treated with that reſpect which is due to the commiſſions which they bear; and if any inſult ſhould be offered to them by any of the inhabitants, all offenders in this reſpect ſhall be puniſhed as diſturbers of the peace and amity between the two countries. And his majeſty conſents, that in caſe an American veſſel ſhould, by ſtreſs of weather, danger from enemies, or other misfortunes, be reduced to the neceſſity of ſeeking ſhelter in any of his majeſty's ports, into which ſuch veſſel could not in ordinary caſes claim to be admitted, ſhe ſhall, on manifeſting that neceſſity to the ſatisfaction of the government of the place, be hoſpitably received, and permitted to refit, and to purchaſe at the market price ſuch

neceſſaries as ſhe may ſtand in need of, conformably to ſuch orders and regulations as the government of the place, having reſpect to the circumſtances of each caſe, ſhall preſcribe. She ſhall not be allowed to break or unload her cargo, unleſs the ſame ſhall be *boná fide* neceſſary to her being refitted: nor ſhall ſhe be permitted to ſell any part of her cargo, unleſs ſo much only as may be neceſſary to defray her expences, and then not without the expreſs permiſſion of the government of the place; nor ſhall ſhe be obliged to pay any duties whatever, except only on ſuch articles as ſhe may be permitted to ſell for the purpoſe aforeſaid.

24. It ſhall not be lawful for any foreign privateers (not being ſubjects or citizens of either of the ſaid parties) who have commiſſions from any other prince or ſtate in enmity with either nation, to arm their ſhips in the ports of either of the ſaid parties, nor ſell what they have taken, nor in any other manner to exchange the ſame; nor ſhall they be allowed to purchaſe more proviſions than ſhall be neceſſary for their going to the neareſt port of that prince or ſtate from whom they obtained their commiſſions.

25. It ſhall be lawful for the ſhips of war and privateers belonging to the ſaid parties reſpectively, to carry whitherſoever they pleaſe the ſhips and goods taken from their enemies, without being obliged to pay any fee to the officers of the admiralty, or to any judges whatever; nor ſhall the ſaid prizes, when they arrive at, and enter the ports of the ſaid parties, be detained or ſeized, neither ſhall the ſearchers or other officers of thoſe places viſit ſuch prizes (except for the purpoſe of preventing the carrying of any part of the cargo thereof on ſhore in any manner contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws of revenue, navigation, or commerce) nor ſhall ſuch officers take cognizance of the validity of ſuch prizes; but they ſhall be at liberty to hoiſt ſail, and depart as ſpeedily as may be, and carry their ſaid prizes to the place mentioned in their commiſſions or patents, which the commanders of the ſaid ſhips of war or privateers ſhall be obliged to ſhow.

No ſhelter or refuge ſhall be given in their ports to ſuch as have made a prize upon the ſubjects or citizens of either of the ſaid parties; but, if forced by ſtreſs of weather, or the danger of the ſea, to enter therein, particular care ſhall be taken to haſten their departure, and to cauſe them to retire as ſoon as poſſible. Nothing in this treaty contained ſhall however be conſtrued or operate contrary to former and exiſting public treaties with other ſovereigns or ſtates. But the two parties agree, that while they continue in amity, neither of them will in future make any treaty that ſhall be inconſiſtent with this or the preceding article.

Neither of the ſaid parties ſhall permit the ſhips or goods belonging to the ſubjects or citizens of the other to be taken within cannon ſhot of the coaſt, nor in any of the bays, ports, or rivers of their territories by ſhips of war or others having commiſſion from any prince, republic or ſtate whatever. But in caſe it ſhould ſo happen, the party whoſe territorial rights ſhall thus have been violated, ſhall uſe his utmoſt endeavours to obtain from the offending party, full and ample ſatisfaction for the veſſel or veſſels ſo taken, whether the ſame be veſſels of war or merchant veſſels.

26. If at any time a rupture ſhould take place (which God forbid) between his majeſty and the United States, the merchants and others of each of the two nations, reſiding in the dominions of the other, ſhall have the privilege of remaining and continuing their trade, ſo long as they behave peaceably and commit no offence againſt the laws; and in caſe their conduct ſhould render them ſuſpected, and the reſpective governments ſhould think proper to order them to remove, the term of twelve months, from the publication of the order ſhall be allowed them for that purpoſe, to remove with their families, effects, and property, but this favour ſhall not be extended to thoſe who ſhall act contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws; and for greater certainty, it is declared that ſuch rupture ſhall not be deemed to exiſt, while negociations for accommodating differences ſhall be depending, nor until the reſpective ambaſſadors or miniſters, if ſuch there ſhould be, ſhall be recalled, or ſent home on account of ſuch differences, and not on account of perſonal miſconduct, according to the nature and degree of which, both parties retain their rights, either to requeſt the recal, or immediately to ſend home the ambaſſador or miniſter of the other, and that without prejudice to their mutual friendſhip and good underſtanding.

27. It is further agreed that his majeſty and the United States, on mutual requiſitions, by them reſpectively, or by their reſpective miniſters or officers authoriſed to make the ſame, will deliver up to juſtice all perſons, who being charged with murder or forgery, committed within the juriſdiction of either, ſhall ſeek an aſylum within any of the countries of the other, provided that this ſhall only be done on ſuch evidence of criminality, as, according to the laws of the place where the fugitive or perſon ſo charged ſhall be found, would juſtify his apprehenſion and commitment for trial, if the offence had there been committed. The expence of ſuch apprehenſion and delivery ſhall be borne and defrayed by thoſe who make the requiſition and receive the fugitive.

28. It is agreed, that the firſt ten articles of this treaty ſhall be permanent, and that the ſubſequent articles, except the twelfth, ſhall be limited in their duration to twelve years, to be computed from the day on which the ratifications of this treaty ſhall be exchanged, but fully ſubject to this condition—that whereas the ſaid twelfth article will expire by the limitation therein contained at the end of two years from the ſigning the preliminary or other articles of peace, which ſhall terminate the preſent war in which his majeſty is engaged, it is agreed, that proper meaſures ſhall by concert be taken for bringing the ſubject of that article into amicable treaty and diſcuſſion, ſo early before the expiration of the ſaid term, as that new arrangements on that head may by that time be perfected, and ready to take place. But if it ſhould unfortunately happen, that his majeſty and the United States ſhould not be able to agree on ſuch new arrangements, in that caſe all the articles of this treaty, except the firſt ten, ſhall then ceaſe and expire together.

Laſtly, this treaty, when the ſame ſhall have been ratified by his majeſty, and by the preſident of the United States, by and with the advice and conſent of their ſenate, and the reſpective ratifications mutually exchanged, ſhall be binding and obligatory on his majeſty, and on the ſaid ſtates, and ſhall be by them reſpectively executed and obſerved with punctuality, and the moſt ſincere regard to good faith; and whereas it will be expedient, in order the better to facilitate intercourſe and obviate difficulties, that other articles be propoſed and added to this treaty, which articles from want of time and other circumſtances, cannot now be perfected—it is agreed, that the ſaid parties will, from time to time, readily treat of and concerning ſuch articles, and will ſincerely endeavour to form them, as that they may conduce to mutual convenience, and tend to promote mutual ſatisfaction and friendſhip; and that the ſaid articles, after having been duly ratified, ſhall be added to, and make a part of this treaty. In faith whereof, we, the underſigned miniſters plenipotentiary of his majeſty the king of Great Britain, and the United States of America, have ſigned this preſent treaty, and have cauſed to be affixed thereto the ſeal of our arms.

Done at London, this nineteenth day of November, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-four.

GRENVILLE. (Seal.)
JOHN JAY. (Seal.)

The following is the Letter alluded to in the 7th Article of the above Treaty:

Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1793.

Sir,

I am honoured with yours of Auguſt 30. Mine of the 7th of that month aſſured you, that meaſures were taken for excluding from all further aſylum in our ports, veſſels armed in them to cruiſe on nations with which we are at peace, and for the reſtoration of the prizes, the Lovely Laſs, Prince William Henry, and the Jane of Dublin; and that ſhould the meaſures for reſtitution fail in their effect, the preſident conſidered it as incumbent on the United States to make compenſation for the veſſels.

We are bound by our treaties with three of the belligerent nations, by all the means in our power to protect and defend their veſſels and effects in our ports or waters, or on the ſeas near our ſhores, and to recover and reſtore the ſame to the right owners when taken from them. If all the means in our power are uſed, and fail in their effect, we are not bound by our treaties with theſe nations to make compenſation.

Though we have no ſimilar treaty with Great Britain, it was the opinion of the preſident, that we ſhould uſe toward that nation the ſame rule, which, under this article, was to govern us with the other nations; and even to extend it to captures made on the high ſeas, and brought into our ports, if done by veſſels which had been armed within them.

Having, for particular reaſons forborne to uſe all the means in our power for the reſtitution of the three veſſels mentioned in my letter of Auguſt 7, the preſident thought it incumbent on the United States to make compenſation for them. And though nothing was ſaid in that letter of other veſſels taken under like circumſtances, and brought in after the fifth of June, and before the date of that letter, yet when the ſame forbearance had taken place, it was and is his opinion that compenſation would be equally due.

As to prizes made under the ſame circumſtances, and brought in after the date of the above letter, the preſident determined, that all the means in our power ſhould be uſed for their reſtitution. If theſe fail, as we ſhould not be bound by our treaties to make compenſation to the other powers in the analogous caſe, he did not mean to give an opinion that it ought to be done to Great Britain. But ſtill, if any caſe ſhall ariſe ſubſequent to that date, the circumſtances of which ſhall place them on ſimilar ground with thoſe before it, the preſident would think compenſation equally incumbent on the United States.

Inſtructions are given to the governors of the different ſtates, to uſe all the means in their power for reſtoring prizes of this laſt deſcription, found within their ports. Though they will of courſe take meaſures to be informed of them, and the general government had given the aid of the cuſtom-houſe officers for this purpoſe, yet you will be ſenſible of the importance of multiplying the channels of their information, as far as ſhall depend on yourſelf, or any perſon under your direction, in order that the governors may uſe the means in their power for making reſtitution.

Without knowledge of the capture they cannot reſtore it. It will always be beſt to give the notice to them directly; but any information which you ſhall be pleaſed to ſend to me at any time ſhall be forwarded to them as quickly as diſtance will permit.

Hence you will perceive, ſir, that the preſident contemplates reſtitution or compenſation in the caſes before the 7th of Auguſt; and after that date, reſtitution if it can be effected by any means in our power. And that it will be important that you ſhould ſubſtantiate the fact, that ſuch prizes are in our ports or waters.

Your liſt of the privateers illicitly armed in our ports, is, I believe, correct.

With reſpect to loſſes by detention, waſte, or ſpoliation, ſuſtained by veſſels taken as before mentioned, between the dates of June 5th and Auguſt 7th, it is propoſed as a proviſional meaſure, that the collector of the cuſtoms of the diſtrict, and the Britiſh conſul, or any other perſon you pleaſe, ſhall appoint perſons to eſtabliſh the value of the veſſel and cargo, at the time of her capture, and of her arrival in the port, into which ſhe is brought, according to their value in that port. If this ſhall be agreeable to you, and you will be pleaſed to ſignify it to me, with the names of the prizes underſtood to be of this deſcription, inſtructions will be given accordingly to the collector of the cuſtoms where the reſpective veſſels are.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) THOMAS JEFFERSON.

George Hammond, eſq.

Convention between his Britannic Majeſty and the Emperor of Germany, ſigned at Vienna, 4th of May, 1795.

THE emperor and the king of Great Britain, being equally convinced of the neceſſity of acting with vigour and energy againſt the common enemy, in order to procure to their reſpective dominions a ſafe and honourable peace, and to preſerve Europe from the danger with which it is threatened, their Imperial and Britannic majeſties have thought proper to concert together upon the meaſures to be adopted for the next campaign, and to agree, for this purpoſe, on ſuch ſtipulations as may beſt conduce to the ſalutary object of their intentions already mentioned. With this view, their majeſties have appointed their reſpective plenipotentiaries; that is to ſay, his Imperial majeſty, his privy councellor actual, and miniſter for foreign affairs, baron de Thugut, commander of the order of St. Stephen; and his Britannic majeſty, ſir Morton Eden, knight of the Bath, one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, and his envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary at the court of Vienna; who, after having communicated to each other their reſpective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. 1. In order to aſſiſt the efforts which his imperial majeſty is deſirous of making, and to facilitate to him the means of bringing forward the reſources of his dominions, in the defence of the common cauſe, his Britannic majeſty engages to propoſe to his parliament to guarantee the regular payment of the half yearly dividends, on the ſum of four millions ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, which is, or is to be raiſed, on account of his Imperial majeſty, on the terms and in the manner ſpecified in the two engagements or octrois, the tenor of which is annexed to this convention; his Imperial majeſty ſolemnly engaging to his Britannic majeſty, that he will make due proviſion for the regular diſcharge of the payments which ſhall become due in conſequence of the ſaid loans, ſo as that thoſe payments ſhall never fall as a burthen on the finances of Great Britain.

2. In return for the ſtipulation contained in the preceding article, and by the means of the ſaid loan of four millions ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, aſſured by the guarantee of Great Britain, his Imperial majeſty ſhall employ in his different armies, in the enſuing campaign, a number of troops which ſhall not only amount at leaſt to two hundred thouſand effective men, but which his Imperial majeſty will exert himſelf, as much as poſſible, to augment even above that number; which troops ſhall act againſt the common enemy, according to the diſpoſitions agreed upon by a ſecret article, forming a part of this convention.

3. The emperor will ſee, with pleaſure, the appointment of general officers, or other perſons of confidence, to be preſent with his armies on the part of his Britannic majeſty, to whom all the neceſſary communication and information will be furniſhed, with reſpect to the ſtate and ſtrength of the armies, and the number of troops of which they may conſiſt; and if, in order to facilitate and promote the correſpondence and communication between the armies of the two courts, his Imperial majeſty ſhall think proper to ſend an officer, or other perſon, on his part, to the Engliſh armies, they ſhall, in like manner, receive from the generals of his Britannic majeſty all ſuch marks of confidence as are moſt analogous to

the intimate union ſo happily ſubſiſting between the two courts.

4. It is expreſsly agreed, that the ſaid loan is to reſt on the ſecurity of all the revenues of all the different hereditary dominions of his Imperial majeſty. All the neceſſary meaſures ſhall be taken on the part of his Imperial majeſty, in each of the ſaid dominions reſpectively, to give full and legal effect and validity to the ſaid loan, and to the engagements for the regular payment of the half-yearly dividends which ſhall fall due in conſequence thereof; ſo that if at any time there ſhould happen from whatever cauſe, to be any delay in any of the payments, after the period of their falling due, the holders of the ſecurities granted, or to be granted, on the part of his Imperial majeſty, for the ſaid loan, may ſue the receivers or treaſurers of his Imperial majeſty's revenues, in any of the ſaid dominions reſpectively, at the option of ſuch holders, and may recover from them, or any of them, by due courſe of law, the full amount of ſuch payments having ſo fallen due, in the ſame manner as any private individuals are admitted in the ſaid dominions reſpectively to proſecute and recover their juſt rights againſt other private perſons.

5. If it ſhould ever happen that, contrary to all expectation, any part of the dividends due on the ſaid loans ſhould, in conſequence of the failure of the payments ſtipulated to be made by his Imperial majeſty, be paid by the Britiſh government, it is agreed that ſuch payments ſhall be made at the bank of England, and only on the delivery of the tallies or certificates of the dividends ſo reſpectively paid; and every ſuch tally or certificate ſo delivered up ſhall be a valid and legal ſecurity, ſo as to enable the holder thereof to ſue any of the receivers or treaſurers of his Imperial majeſty's revenues, in any of his dominions aforeſaid, at the option of ſuch holder, and to recover from them, or any of them, the full amount of the ſum expreſſed in ſuch tally or certificate, with intereſt thereon, at the rate of five per cent. per annum, to be reckoned from the date of the payment made by the Britiſh government. And whereas it is provided, in the terms agreed upon for raiſing the ſaid loans, that as a collateral ſecurity for the ſaid loans, there ſhall be depoſited in the Bank of England mortgage actions of the Bank of Vienna, for a ſum, in the proportion of four to three of the loan to be ſo raiſed; it is further agreed, that the governor and company of the ſaid Bank ſhall, in caſe of any ſuch payment as aforeſaid being made by the Britiſh government, be authoriſed to withdraw from the ſaid depoſit ſuch a quantity of the ſaid actions, as ſhall be required to make up at leaſt the proportion of four pounds for every three which ſhall be ſo paid by the Britiſh government, to be by the ſaid government either uſed as a ſecurity or claim upon the Bank of Vienna, until re-payment of the ſaid ſum, and of the intereſt due thereon, or negociated at the time to ſuch extent as may be neceſſary in order to effect ſuch reimburſement, according as to the ſaid government may ſeem moſt eligible; and that the quantity of actions ſo withdrawn ſhall be deducted from or ſet off againſt any quantity, which, according to the terms of the ſaid loan, might thereafter be to be withdrawn from the ſaid depoſit, in proportion to the gradual redemption of the

bonds, and the payment of the annuities, as is ſpecified in the conditions of the ſaid loan.

6. And whereas certain advances have been made by the Britiſh government to his Imperial majeſty, on account and by way of loan; it is agreed that the ſame ſhall be repaid at London, in the courſe of the preſent year, in exchange for the receipts given by the generals commanding in chief the Imperial army, and conformably to the ſums contained in the ſaid receipts. The ſaid advances ſhall be reimburſed, at lateſt, in two equal parts, in the months of November and December, ſo that the total ſhall be reimburſed before the expiration of the preſent year.

7. The preſent convention ſhall be ratified on each ſide without any lelay, and the exchange of the ratiications, expedited in due form, hall be made within the ſpace of one nonth at lateſt.

In witneſs whereof we, the underigned, being furniſhed with the full owers of their Imperial and Britiſh najeſties, have, in their names, igned the preſent act, and have hereto ſet the ſeal of our arms.

Done at Vienna, the 4th day of May, 1795.

(L. S.) LE BN. DE THUGUT,
(L. S.) MORTON EDEN.

Treaty of Defenſive Alliance between his Britannic Majeſty and the Emperor of Germany, ſigned at Vienna, May 29, 1795.

HIS majeſty the emperor, and is majeſty the king of Great Briain, being deſirous to renew and to ement the ancient relations of friendhip and intimacy between their crowns and their reſpective dominions, as well as to provide in a ſolid and permanent manner for their future ſafety, and for the general tranquillity of Europe, have determined, in conſequence of theſe ſalutary views, to proceed to the concluſion of a new treaty of alliance: and they have nominated for that purpoſe, viz. his majeſty the emperor, his actual privy counſellor and miniſter for foreign affairs, baron de Thugut, and his majeſty the king of Great Britain, ſir Morton Eden, one of his majeſty's privy counſellors, knight of the Bath, envoy extraordinary, and miniſter plenipotentiary of his ſaid majeſty, at the court of Vienna; who, after having communicated to each other their reſpective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. 1. There ſhall be between his Imperial majeſty and his Britannic majeſty, their heirs and ſucceſſors, and between all the reſpective dominions, provinces, and ſubjects of their ſaid majeſties, a perfect and ſincere good underſtanding, friendſhip and defenſive alliance. The high contracting parties ſhall uſe all their endeavours for the maintenance of their common intereſts, and ſhall employ all the means in their power to defend and guarantee each other mutually againſt every hoſtile aggreſſion.

2. The high contracting parties ſhall act in perfect concert in every thing which relates to the re-eſtabliſhment and to the maintenance of general peace; and they ſhall employ all their efforts to prevent, by the means of friendly negociation, the attacks with which they may be threatened, either ſeparately or conjointly.

3. In caſe either of the high contracting parties ſhould be attacked,

moleſted, or diſturbed in the poſſeſſion of its dominions, territories, or cities whatſoever, or in the exerciſe of its rights, liberties, or franchiſes whereſoever, and without any exception, the other will exert all its endeavours to ſuccour its ally without delay, and in the manner hereinafter mentioned.

4. Their Imperial and Britannic majeſties reciprocally guarantee to each other, and in the moſt expreſs manner, all their dominions, territories, cities, rights, liberties, and franchiſes whatſoever, ſuch as they at preſent poſſeſs, and ſuch as they ſhall poſſeſs, at the concluſion of a general peace, made by their common agreement and conſent, in conformity to their mutual engagements in that reſpect, in the convention of the 30th of Auguſt, 1793.—And the caſe of this defenſive alliance ſhall exiſt from the moment whenever either of the high contracting parties ſhall be diſturbed, moleſted, or diſquieted in the peaceable enjoyment of its dominions, territories, cities, rights, liberties, or franchiſes whatſoever, according to the ſtate of actual poſſeſſion, and according to the ſtate of poſſeſſion which ſhall exiſt at the above-mentioned epoch.

5. The ſuccours to be mutually furniſhed, in virtue of this treaty, ſhall conſiſt in 20,000 infantry, and 6,000 cavalry, which ſhall be furniſhed in the ſpace of two months after requiſition made by the party attacked, and ſhall continue to be at its diſpoſition during the whole courſe of the war in which it ſhall be engaged. The ſuccours ſhall be paid and maintained by the power required, wherever its ally ſhall employ them; but the power requiring ſhall provide them with the neceſſary bread and forage, upon the ſame footing with its own troops.

If the party requiring prefers, it may demand the ſuccours to be furniſhed in money; and in that caſe the ſuccours ſhall be computed at the following rate, that is to ſay, 10,000 Dutch florins per month for every thouſand infantry, and 30,000 Dutch florins per month for every thouſand cavalry. And this money ſhall be paid monthly, in equal portions, throughout the whole year.

If theſe ſuccours ſhould not ſuffice for the defence of the power requiring, the other party ſhall augment them according as the occaſion ſhall require, and ſhall even ſuccour its ally with its whole forces, if the circumſtances ſhould render it neceſſary.

6. It is agreed that, in conſideration of the intimate alliance eſtabliſhed by this treaty between the two crowns, neither the one nor the other of the high contracting parties ſhall permit the veſſels or merchandize belonging to its ally, or to the people or ſubjects of its ally, and which ſhall have been taken at ſea by any ſhips of war or privateers whatſoever, belonging to enemies or rebels, to be brought into its harbours; nor any ſhip of war or privateer to be therein armed, in any caſe, or under any pretext whatſoever, in order to cruiſe againſt the ſhips and property of ſuch ally, or of his ſubjects; nor that there be conveyed by its ſubjects, or in their ſhips, to the enemies of its ally, any proviſions, or military or naval ſtores; for theſe ends, as often as it ſhall be required by either of the allies, the other ſhall be bound to renew expreſs prohibitions, ordering all perſons to conform themſelves to this article, upon pain of exemplary

puniſhment, in addition to the full
reſtitution and ſatisfaction to be
made to the injured parties.

7. If, notwithſtanding the prohibi-
tions and penalties abovementioned,
any veſſels of enemies or rebels ſhould
ring into the ports of either of the
igh contracting parties any prizes
aken from the other, or from its
ubjects, the former ſhall oblige them
o quit its ports in the ſpace of
wenty-four hours after their arrival,
pon pain of ſeizure, and confiſca-
ion; and the crews and paſſengers,
r other priſoners, ſubjects of its
lly, who ſhall have been brought
nto the ſaid ports, ſhall immedi-
tely after their arrival be reſtored
o their full liberty with their ſhip
nd merchandize, without any de-
ay or exception. And if any veſſel
hatſoever, after having been armed
r equipped, wholly or partially,
n the ports of either of the allies,
hould be employed in taking prizes,
r in committing hoſtilities againſt
he ſubjects of the other, ſuch veſ-
els, in caſe of their returning into
he ſaid ports, ſhall, at the requiſi-
ion of the injured parties, be
eized and confiſcated for their be-
efit.

The high contracting parties do
ot intend that the ſtipulations in
heſe two articles ſhould derogate
rom the execution of anterior trea-
ies actually exiſting with other
owers; the high contracting par-
ies not being, however, at liberty
form new engagements hereafter
the prejudice of the ſaid ſtipula-
ons.

8. Their Imperial and Britannic
ajeſties engage to ratify the pre-
nt treaty of alliance, and the ra-
fication thereof ſhall be exchanged
the ſpace of ſix weeks, or ſooner
it can be done.

In witneſs whereof we the underſigned, being furniſhed with the full powers of their Imperial and Britannic majeſties, have ſigned the preſent treaty in their names, and have cauſed the ſeals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Vienna, the 20th day of May, 1795.

(L. S.) Le Baron de Thugut,
(L. S.) Morton Eden.

Separate Article.

In caſe the eſtabliſhment, in general limited, of the land forces of Great Britain ſhould not permit his Britannic majeſty to furniſh, within the term ſpecified, the ſuccours in men ſtipulated by the 5th article of the preſent treaty of alliance, and that conſequently his Imperial majeſty ſhould be obliged to ſupply that ſuccour by an equal number of other troops, to be taken into his pay, the confidence which the emperor repoſes in the friendſhip and equity of the king of Great Britain leaves him no room to doubt but that his Britannic majeſty will readily grant him an indemnification for the difference, which, according to a juſt valuation at the time, ſhall exiſt between the expences of the taking into pay and ſubſiſtence of thoſe troops, and the eſtimate in Dutch florins, which, in order to avoid every delay of diſcuſſion, has been adopted in the above-mentioned 5th article, in conformity to the eſtimate contained in ancient treaties.

The ſeparate article, making part of the treaty of alliance, ſigned this day in the name of their Imperial and Britannic majeſties, ſhall have the ſame force and validity as if it were inſerted word for word in the ſaid treaty of alliance, In witneſs whereof, we the underſigned, being furniſhed with the full powers of their Imperial and Britannic majeſties, have in their names ſigned the preſent ſeparate article, and have cauſed the ſeals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Vienna, the 20th of May, 1795.

(L. S.) MORTON EDEN,
(L. S.) LE BARON DE THUGUT.

Separate Article.

Their Imperial and Britannic majeſties ſhall concert together upon the invitation to be given to her Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, in order to form, by the union of the three courts, in conſequence of the intimate connections which exiſt already between them, a ſyſtem of triple alliance, proper for the re-eſtabliſhment and maintenance in future of peace and general tranquillity in Europe.

This article ſhall have the ſame force as if it were inſerted in the preſent treaty.

In witneſs whereof, we the underſigned, being furniſhed with the full powers of their Imperial and Britannic majeſties, have in their names ſigned the preſent ſeparate article, and have cauſed the ſeals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Vienna, the 20th of May, 1795.

(L. S.) MORTON EDEN,
(L. S.) LE BARON DE THUGUT.

Treaty of Defenſive Alliance between his Britannic Majeſty and the Empreſs of Ruſſia. Signed at St. Peterſburgh, February 18, 1795.

IN the name of the Moſt Holy Trinity. His Britannic majeſty, and her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, animated with a deſire equally ſincere to ſtrengthen more and more the ties of friendſhip and good underſtanding which ſo happily ſubſiſt between them and their reſpective monarchies, have thought that nothing would more effectually contribute to this ſalutary end than the concluſion of a treaty of defenſive alliance, concerning which they ſhould occupy themſelves forthwith, and which ſhould have for baſis the ſtipulations of ſimilar treaties which have already been heretoforé concluded, and have made the objects of the moſt intimate union between the two empires. For this purpoſe their ſaid majeſties have named for their plenipotentiaries, that is to ſay, his Britannic majeſty, the ſieur Charles Whitworth, his envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary to her Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, knight of the order of the Bath; and her Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, the ſieur John count Oſterman, her vice-chancellor, actual privy counſellor, ſenator, and knight of the orders of St. Andrew, of St. Alexander Newſky, great croſs of that of St. Vladimir of the firſt claſs and of St. Anne; the ſieur Alexander count of Beſborodko, her great maſter of the court, actual privy-counſellor, director-general of the poſts, and knight of the orders of St. Andrew, of St. Alexander Newſky, and great croſs of that of St. Vladimir of the firſt claſs; and the ſieur Arcadi de Marcoff, privy-counſellor, member of the college of foreign affairs, knight of the order of St. Alexander Newſky, and great croſs of that of St. Vladimir of the firſt claſs: who, after having mutually exchanged their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. 1. There ſhall be a ſincere and conſtant friendſhip between his Britannic majeſty and her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, their heirs and ſucceſſors; and, in conſequence of this intimate union, the high contracting parties ſhall have nothing more ſtrongly at heart than to promote by all poſſible means their mutual intereſts, to avert from each other whatever might cauſe them any injury, damage, or prejudice, and to maintain themſelves reciprocally in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of their dominions, rights, commerce, and prerogatives whatſoever, by guaranteeing reciprocally for this purpoſe all their countries, dominions, and poſſeſſions, as well ſuch as they actually poſſeſs, as thoſe which they may acquire by treaty.

2. If, notwithſtanding the efforts which they ſhall employ by common conſent, in order to obtain this end, it ſhould nevertheleſs happen that one of them ſhould be attacked by ſea or land, the other ſhall furniſh him, immediately on the requiſition being made, the ſuccours ſtipulated by the following articles of this treaty.

3. His Britannic majeſty and her Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias declare, however, that in contracting the preſent alliance their intention is by no means to give offence thereby, or to injure any one, but that their ſole intention is to provide by theſe engagements for their reciprocal advantage and ſecurity, as well as for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, and for the maintenance of the general tranquillity of Europe, and above all that of the North.

4. As the two high contracting parties profeſs the ſame deſire to render each other their mutual ſuccours as advantageous as poſſible, and as the natural force of Ruſſia conſiſts in land troops, whilſt Great Britain can principally furniſh ſhips of war, it is agreed upon, that if his Britannic majeſty ſhould be attacked or diſturbed by any other power, and in whatever manner it might be, in the poſſeſſion of his dominions and provinces, ſo that he ſhould think it neceſſary to require the aſſiſtance of his ally, her Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias ſhall ſend him immediately 10,000 infantry and 2,000 horſe. If, on the other hand, her Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias ſhould find herſelf attacked or diſturbed by any other power, and in whatever manner it may be, in the poſſeſſion of her dominions and provinces, ſo that ſhe ſhould think it neceſſary to require the aſſiſtance of her ally, his Britannic majeſty ſhall ſend her forthwith a ſquadron of twelve ſhips of war and of the line, carrying 708 guns, according to the following liſt:—two ſhips of 74 guns, making together 148 guns, and the crews 960 men; ſix ſhips of 60 guns, making 360 guns, and the crews 2,400 men; four ſhips of 50 guns, making 200 guns, and the crews 1,200 men. In the whole 12 ſhips, 708 guns, and the crews 4,560 men. This ſquadron ſhall be properly equipped and armed for war. Theſe ſuccours ſhall be reſpectively ſent to the places which ſhall be ſpecified by the requiring party, and ſhall remain at his free diſpoſal as long as hoſtilities ſhall laſt.

5. But if the nature of the attack were ſuch, as that the party attacked ſhould not find it to his intereſt to demand the effective ſuccours, ſuch

as they have been ſtipulated for in the preceding article, in that caſe the two high contracting powers have reſolved to change the ſaid ſuccour into a pecuniary ſubſidy; that is to ſay, if his Britannic majeſty ſhould be attacked, and ſhould prefer pecuniary ſuccours, her Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, after the requiſition having been previouſly made, ſhall pay to him the ſum of 500,000 rubles yearly, during the whole continuance of hoſtilities, to aſſiſt him to ſupport the expences of the war; and if her Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias ſhould be attacked, and ſhould prefer pecuniary ſuccours, his Britannic majeſty ſhall furniſh her with the ſame ſum yearly, as long as hoſtilities ſhall laſt.

6. If the party required, after having furniſhed the ſuccour ſtipulated in the fourth article of this treaty, ſhould be himſelf attacked, ſo as to put him thereby under the neceſſity of recalling his troops for his own ſafety, he ſhall be at liberty to do ſo, after having informed the requiring party thereof two months beforehand. In like manner, if the party required were himſelf at war at the time of the requiſition, ſo that he ſhould be obliged to retain near himſelf, for his own proper ſecurity and defence, the forces which he is bound to furniſh his ally in virtue of this treaty; in ſuch caſe the party required ſhall be diſpenſed from furniſhing the ſaid ſuccour, ſo long as the ſaid neceſſity ſhall laſt.

7. The Ruſſian auxiliary troops ſhall be provided with field artillery, ammunition, and every thing of which they may ſtand in need, in proportion to their number. They ſhall be paid and recruited annually by the requiring court. With regard to the ordinary rations and portions of proviſions and forage, as well as quarters, they ſhall be then furniſhed to them by the requiring court, the whole on the footing upon which his own troops are or ſhall be maintained in the field or in quarters.

8. In caſe the ſaid Ruſſian auxiliary troops required by his Britannic majeſty ſhould be obliged to march by land, and to traverſe the dominions of any other powers, his Britannic majeſty ſhall uſe his endeavours jointly with her Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias to obtain for them a free paſſage, and ſhall ſupply them on their march with the neceſſary proviſions and forage in the manner ſtipulated in the preceding article; and when they ſhall have to croſs the ſea, his Britannic majeſty ſhall take upon himſelf either to tranſport them in his own ſhips, or to defray the expences of their paſſage; the ſame is alſo to be underſtood as well with regard to the recruits which her Imperial majeſty will be obliged to ſend to her troops, as reſpecting their return to Ruſſia, whenever they ſhall either be ſent back by his Britannic majeſty, or recalled by her Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias for her own defence, according to article 6 of this treaty. It is further agreed upon, that in caſe of recalling or ſending back the ſaid troops, an adequate convoy of ſhips of war ſhall eſcort them for their ſecurity.

9. The commanding officer, whether of the auxiliary troops of her Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, or of the ſquadron which his Britannic majeſty is to furniſh Ruſſia with, ſhall keep the command which has been entruſted to him; but the command in chief ſhall belong moſt certainly to him whom the requiring

party ſhall appoint for that purpoſe; under the reſtriction, however, that nothing of importance ſhall be undertaken that ſhall not have been beforehand regulated and determined upon in a council of war, in the preſence of the general and commanding officers of the party required.

10. And, in order to prevent all diſputes about rank, the requiring party ſhall give due notice of the officer to whom he will give the command in chief, whether of a fleet or of land forces; to the end that the party required may regulate in conſequence the rank of him who ſhall have to command the auxiliary troops or ſhips.

11. Moreover, theſe auxiliary forces ſhall have their own chaplains, and the entire free exerciſe of their religion, and ſhall not be judged in whatever appertains to military ſervice, otherwiſe than according to the laws and articles of war of their own ſovereign. It ſhall likewiſe be permitted for the general and the reſt of the auxiliary forces to keep up a free correſpondence with their country, as well by letters as expreſſes.

12. The auxiliary forces on both ſides ſhall be kept together as much as poſſible; and in order to avoid their being ſubjected to greater fatigues than the others, and to the end that there may be in every expedition and operation a perfect equality, the commander in chief ſhall be bound to obſerve on every occaſion a juſt proportion, according to the force of the whole fleet or army.

13. The ſquadron which his Britannic majeſty is to furniſh by virtue of this alliance, ſhall be admitted into all the ports of her Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, where it ſhall experience the moſt amicable treatment, and ſhall be provided with every thing which it may ſtand in need of, on paying the ſame price as the ſhips of her Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias; and the ſaid ſquadron ſhall be allowed to return every year to the ports of Great Britain, as ſoon as the ſeaſon will no longer permit it to keep the ſea; but it is formally and from this time forward ſtipulated, that this ſquadron ſhall return every year to the Baltic ſea about the beginning of the month of May, not to quit it again before the month of October, and that as often as the exigency of the treaty ſhall require it.

14. The requiring party, in claiming the ſuccours ſtipulated by this treaty, ſhall point out at the ſame time to the required party, the place where he ſhall wiſh that it may, in the firſt inſtance, repair; and the ſaid requiring party ſhall be at liberty to make uſe of the ſaid ſuccour during the whole time it ſhall be continued to him, in ſuch manner and at ſuch places as he ſhall judge to be moſt ſuitable for his ſervices againſt the aggreſſor.

15. The conditions of this treaty of alliance ſhall not be applicable to the wars which may ariſe between her Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias and the powers and people of Aſia, reſpecting whom his Britannic majeſty ſhall be diſpenſed with from furniſhing the ſuccours ſtipulated by the preſent treaty; excepting in the caſe of an attack made by any European power againſt the rights and poſſeſſions of her Imperial majeſty, in whatever part of the world it may be. As alſo, on the other hand, her Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias ſhall not be bound to

furniſh the ſuccours ſtipulated by this ſame treaty in any caſe whatever, excepting that of an attack made by any European power againſt the rights and poſſeſſions of his Britannic majeſty, in whatever part of the world it may be.

16. It has been in like manner agreed upon, that conſidering the great diſtance of places, the troops which her Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias will have to furniſh by virtue of this alliance, for the defence of his Britannic majeſty, ſhall not be ſent to Spain, Portugal, or Italy, and ſtill leſs out of Europe.

17. If the ſuccours ſtipulated in the fourth article of this treaty ſhould not be ſufficient, in that caſe the contracting parties reſerve to themſelves to make a further proviſion between themſelves with reſpect to the additional ſuccours which they ſhould give to each other.

18. The requiring party ſhall make neither peace nor truce with the common enemy, without including the required party, to the end that the latter may not ſuffer any injury in conſequence of the ſuccours he ſhall have given to his ally.

19. The preſent defenſive alliance ſhall in no way derogate from the treaties and alliances which the high contracting parties may have with other powers, inaſmuch as the ſaid treaties ſhall not be contrary to this nor to the friendſhip and good underſtanding which they are reſolved conſtantly to keep up between them.

20. If any other power would accede to this preſent alliance, their ſaid majeſties have agreed to concert together upon the admiſſion of ſuch power.

21. The two high contracting parties, deſiring mutually and with eagerneſs to ſtrengthen and to conſolidate as much as poſſible the friendſhip and union already happily ſubſiſting between them, and to protect and extend the commerce between their reſpective ſubjects, promiſe to proceed without delay to the forming of a definitive arrangement of commerce.

22. As circumſtances may make it neceſſary to make ſome change in the clauſes of the preſent treaty, the high contracting parties have thought proper to fix the duration of it to eight years, counting from the day of exchanging the ratifications: but before the expiration of the eighth year it ſhall be renewed according to exiſting circumſtances.

23. The preſent treaty of alliance ſhall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged here, in the ſpace of two months, or ſooner if it can be done.

In witneſs whereof the abovementioned miniſters plenipotentiary on both ſides have ſigned the preſent treaty, and have thereunto affixed the ſeals of their arms.

Done at St. Peterſburgh this eighteenth day of February, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-five.

(L. S.) CHARLES WHITWORTH.
(L. S.) CTE. JEAN D'OSTERMAN.
(L. S.) ALEXANDER CTE. DE BESBORODKO.
(L. S.) ARCADI DE MARCOFF.

Articles of Agreement for raiſing French Corps for the Service of Great Britain; 9th March, 1795.

Art. 1. THE French corps ſhall be raiſed under the authority with which his majeſty is inveſted by an act of the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, intituled, "An act to enable "ſubjects of France to enliſt as "ſoldiers in regiments to ſerve on "the continent of Europe, and in "certain other places, and to enable "his majeſty to grant commiſſions "to ſubjects of France, to ſerve "and receive pay as officers in ſuch "regiments, or as engineers, under "certain reſtrictions."

2. Each regiment ſhall conſiſt of two battalions, compriſing the number of officers, ſoldiers, &c. ſtated in the plan, No. II.

3. The recruits ſhall be taken from among the peaſants, deſerters, and ſoldiers, of the troops of the line. No man ſhall be enliſted who is not five feet five inches, or who has not been examined by a ſurgeon, who will vouch that he has no infirmity which can prevent him from ſerving.

4. For each man delivered at the depôts or places of rendezvous that ſhall have been fixed upon, the colonel ſhall be paid levy money, at the rate of 3l. 10s. which ſum of 3l. 10s. is to be in lieu of all charges reſpecting the ſaid recruits, for enliſting, for travelling, and all other expences whatſoever, until delivered at the place of rendezvous general aſſigned for each corps by the colonel, and approved by government.

5. Beſides the fixed bounty of 3l. 10s. a man, the government ſhall furniſh for each recruit the articles ſpecified in the liſt, No. V.

6. The funds neceſſary for the levy of 1,551 men, of which each regiment ſhall conſiſt, the ſtaff officers being deducted, ſhall be furniſhed at the rate of 3l. 10s. a man, as fixed by the 5th article of theſe regulations, and ſhall be paid into the hands of the colonels: that is to ſay, one third, or 1,809l. 10s. immediately after the delivery of the letters of ſervice, and the two other thirds, on the demand of the colonels, who ſhall proviſionally give proofs of the progreſs of their exertions for completing their corps.

7. The colonels ſhall nominate their officers, ſubject to the approbation of his majeſty; but no officer ſhall be named to any rank who does not poſſeſs at this moment, in the ſervice of France, the rank immediately ſuperior, or at leaſt equal to it; thus the lieutenant-colonels ſhall be choſen among the colonels, the captains among the officers ſuperior to captains, the lieutenants among the captains or lieutenants, the ſub-lieutenants among the lieutenants or ſub-lieutenants, or non-commiſſioned officers.

8. The officers, at the forming of the regiments, ſhall take rank in the degree to which they ſhall have been named in their reſpective corps, according to the ſuperiority of the commiſſions which they held in France on the 1ſt of July, 1789; and, in caſe of equal degree at that period, according to the date of the commiſſions of the rank which they held before. Such officers as ſhall ſubſequently obtain promotion, ſhall take rank from the dates of their new commiſſions in the Britiſh ſervice. When two or more officers of the ſame degree, and of different regiments of emigrants, either raiſed, raiſing, or to be hereafter raiſed, in the ſervice of Great Britain, ſhall do duty together, either on courts martial, detachments, or any other military ſervice, they ſhall take precedence, according to the ſuperiority of the commiſſions which they held in France on the 1ſt of July, 1789;

and, in caſe of equal degree at that period, according to the dates of the commiſſions which they held before. When officers of the emigrant regiments ſhall do duty with Britiſh officers, they ſhall take rank according to the dates of their commiſſions in the ſervice of Great Britain; but in caſes where two or more French officers of equal rank ſhall be on detachment with a Britiſh officer, if the Britiſh officer is ſenior to the French officer, who, in conformity to what has been above ſtated, would have the command over his countrymen, the Britiſh officer ſhall take the command of the whole, even although any of the ſaid French officers ſhould be ſenior to him in the Britiſh ſervice.

9. The rank of the officers, being once ſettled, ſhall never vary. Their promotion ſhall take place according to ſeniority. The firſt lieutenant ſhall advance to the firſt vacant company; the firſt ſub-lieutenant to the firſt lieutenancy; but the nomination of the ſtaff officers, and the ſelection of officers for the grenadiers, ſhall always be left to the colonel; ſubject, however, to the approbation or non-approbation of his majeſty.

10. The commiſſioned officers ſhall enjoy the pay allotted to their rank, to commence from the dates of their letters of ſervice, and the non-commiſſioned officers and privates, &c. to commence from the days of their arrival at the depôt. The amount of ſubſiſtence for the reſpective appointments ſhall be remitted to the colonel every two months, and in advance.

11. The pay of the officers ſhall be as ſtated in the table, No. III. that of the non-commiſſioned officers, privates, &c. as in the ſtatement, No. IV.

12. The ſurplus of the full pay above the ſubſiſtence ſhall always be paid for the complete eſtabliſhment, agreeably to the ſtatement, No. IV. annexed to theſe regulations: conſequently, there ſhall be remitted, every two months, into the cheſt of each regiment, in advance, the ſum of 21,705 livres, 6 ſols, 8 deniers, being the ſixth part of the ſum of 130,232 livres, deſtined to defray all expences not at the charge of the ſoldier.

13. By means of the deduction from the full pay, which is in lieu of what is called in France "*maſſe generale, maſſe de campement,* and *maſſe d'hoſpital,*" the commanders of regiments ſhall be obliged to defray all expences relative to the maintenance of all parts of the dreſs, arms, and equipment, of all the men of their regiments, and to provide for repairs of every kind.

14. At the end of every year an account ſhall be given in of all diſburſements out of the monies ariſing from the ſaid deduction, in order that the ſaving, if there ſhould be any, may be accounted for, and remitted into the pay-office, at the end of every year. All expences ſhall be properly ſupported by vouchers, without which they muſt remain at the charge of the commandant of the corps who ſhall have ordered them.

15. Subſiſtence ſhall be paid only for the effectives, and according to the numbers at the inſpection of the commiſſary, who ſhall verify the ſtrength of the regiment, and what is due for ſubſiſtence. The ſubſiſtence for ſuch recruits as ſhall join the corps in the interval between inſpections, ſhall be aſcertained at the firſt inſpection of the commiſſary, and a ſeparate ſtatement of the

amount thereof ſhall be made up, in order that the ſame may be reimburſed to the regiment, immediately after the ſaid inſpection.

16. Out of the ſubſiſtence which ſhall be paid to each man, as ſtated in the paper No. IV, he ſhall be obliged to defray all perſonal expences, and to provide for his nouriſhment, waſhing, and all charges of maintenance, repairs of linen and ſhoes, and all expences which were ſupplied in France, by what were called "*les maſſes de linge et chauſſure de compagnie et de boulangerie.*" The ſame deductions ſhall be made from his pay as from that of the troops of his Britannic majeſty, for articles furniſhed to him in kind, whether bread, meat, &c.

17. The ſums valued in French money, in the different ſtatements and articles of the regulations, ſhall always be paid to the regiment at the rate of one pound ſterling, for twenty-four livres French money.

18. The colonels ſhall engage to complete their regiments in the ſpace of four months from the date of the day on which they ſhall receive their letters of ſervice; and to deliver the number of men fixed at the depôts, or places of rendezvous, which ſhall be appointed for each regiment.

19. His Britannic majeſty will appoint commiſſaries, or other officers, who ſhall be ſtationed at the depôts, to receive the recruits of each regiment as they arrive, and to make the final arrangement of the different corps, as ſoon as they ſhall have been completed.

20. The colonels ſhall be reſponſible for the men who ſhall deſert from the depôt before the final inſpection, which ſhall take place as ſoon as their regiments ſhall be complete.

21. In caſe that any regiment ſhould not have been completed at the expiration of the period limited by the 18th article, the colonel, and all the officers of the ſaid regiment, ſhall be deprived of their appointments, and the non-commiſſioned officers, ſoldiers, &c. ſhall be incorporated into ſuch other regiments as government ſhall think proper to aſſign, and which may be more advanced in their recruitings.

22. The uniform ſhall be red, lined with white, white waiſtcoat and breeches, with no other ornament than the diſtinguiſhing marks of rank. The cockade ſhall be white, the colours white, with three gold fleur de lis: the eight regiments to be raiſed at preſent ſhall be diſtinguiſhed by the following colours:—

D'Autichamp's	light blue.
De Vioſmenil's	white.
De Bethiſy's	bright yellow.
De Mortemart's	black.
De Caſtries	bright green.
Du Dreſnay's	deep green.
D'Hervilly	buff.

23. The Engliſh government will endeavour to obtain every neceſſary facility that the recruiting parties of the different corps may enliſt ſuch deſerters from the troops of the line or peaſants, who are willing to ſerve in the different regiments, whether in Brabant, the Palatinate, the electorate of Treves, or in the whole extent of the French frontiers; and ſhould any difficulty ariſe, the Engliſh commiſſary ſhall inſtitute an inquiry to aſcertain whether the recruiting parties were in fault, or whether they were im-

peded by obſtacles not depending upon themſelves.

24. Quarters ſhall be provided at the expence of government by the commiſſaries eſtabliſhed by his Britannic majeſty, at the places of rendezvous or depôts fixed upon for aſſembling the regiments, and every charge which reſpects the conveying of the ſaid regiments, and of the articles to be furniſhed to them in kind, ſhall be defrayed by government.

25. The corps, as ſoon as they ſhall be formed, ſhall be ſubject to the military regulations and articles of war eſtabliſhed by his majeſty, in virtue of the powers with which he is inveſted by the 4th article of the act of parliament mentioned above.

26. The corps are to ſerve during the continuance of the war, and a year after the ceſſation of hoſtilities, unleſs his majeſty ſhould think proper to diſpenſe ſooner with the ſervice to which they are bound by the preſent capitulation.

27. The articles of dreſs and arms of the men loſt on ſervice ſhall be re-placed at the expence of government; as well as of the men killed in action, or who may die of their wounds, or of diſorders, in the hoſpitals, or at the regiment; which ſhall be aſcertained by the Engliſh commiſſary, by a certificate of their deaths, ſigned by himſelf, and the ſtaff of the regiment. But the colonels ſhall be bound to replace ſuch men as are loſt through deſertion, as well as the effects which they may carry with them.

28. In unforeſeen caſes, and in whatever may not be particularly ſpecified by the preſent regulations, the corps in Britiſh pay ſhall conform to the orders or regulations of his Britannic majeſty reſpecting his troops, and ſhall be upon the ſame footing with them.

Approved, Le Duc de Harcourt.
Grenville.
W. Windham.

Subſtance of the Treaty between Great Britain and the Dey of Algiers, concluded at the cloſe of the year 1795.

THE Algerines ſhall be permitted to carry their prizes to Corſica, and to ſell them publicly there.

There ſhall be ſent monthly from Corſica a veſſel, which ſhall fetch from Algiers private letters or commercial advices.

The Engliſh ſhall not, under any pretext, obtain poſſeſſion of what ſhall be found on board an Algerine ſhip. In caſe the property of the ſhip become the object of diſpute, it ſhall be referred to the Dey to decide.

The Algerines grant freedom to all the Corſican ſlaves, and permiſſion to fiſh in the environs of the coaſt. In conſequence of this arrangement the Dey is allowed to draw a draft upon the viceroy of Corſica, for the ſum of 179,000 piaſtres of Algiers, independently of another ſum of 24,000 piaſtres, for the payment of a cargo of grain taken by the Engliſh, which was Algerine property under Swediſh colours.

Treaty of Peace ſigned by Charette, on the part of the Royaliſt Inhabitants of La Vendee; and the Commiſſioners of the Convention, on the part of the French Republic, March 7, 1795.

Art. 1. THE repreſentatives of the people promiſe, in the name of the convention, that the ſum of eighty millions ſhall be granted to the inhabitants of La Vendee, to indemnify them for the loſſes, burnings, and devaſtations they have ſuffered.

2. Forty millions, on account of that ſum, ſhall be immediately paid, to be diſtributed.

3. All the contracts by the generals of the inhabitants of La Vendee ſhall be diſcharged by the French republic.

4. The ſum of ten millions ſhall be depoſited for that purpoſe.

5. The inhabitants of La Vendee acknowledge the French republic.

6. General Charette ſhall have the command of a body of 2,000 men in the pay of the republic.

7. That force ſhall conſiſt of three battalions; the one to be ſtationed at Machecoul, the ſecond at Challans, and the third at another place, to be determined afterwards.

8. A liſt ſhall be made of ſuch perſons as are to be baniſhed from La Vendee; that liſt to be drawn and preſented by general Charette.

9. The free exerciſe of the catholic worſhip ſhall be permitted. A place may be purchaſed for the building of a church, but there ſhall be no bells, nor any exterior ceremonies.

10. The baniſhed nonjuring prieſts may return to La Vendee, but can only be reſtored to their patrimonial eſtates.

11. There ſhall be in La Vendee no diſtricts nor municipalities, but only a national agent in every province.

12. There ſhall be no requiſitions in La Vendee for the ſpace of five years.

Treaty of Peace between the Chiefs of that part of the Royaliſts in Brittany, known by the name of Chouans, *and the French Convention.*

Art. 1. THE repreſentatives of the people charge the conſtituted authorities and commanders of the armed force immediately to execute the laws which give the freedom of religious worſhip.

2. The Chouans, who have neither profeſſion nor eſtate, ſhall be received into the armies of the republic.

3. The inhabitants of the inſurgent departments ſhall have the power of organizing and keeping on foot a body of chaſſeurs, which ſhall not exceed 2,400 men; 250 of theſe ſhall be ſtationed in each inſurgent department, and ſhall not be employed elſewhere.

4. The youths of the firſt requiſition ſhall remain at home in their communes, for the purpoſe of reſtoring agriculture and commerce.

5. The contracts entered into by the chiefs of the Chouans, for the purpoſe of defraying the expences of the war, ſhall be paid by the convention, to the amount of 1,500,000 livres.

6. The paſt conduct of the Chouans is buried in oblivion.

7. Succours ſhall be given to thoſe among the Chouans who have loſt all their property by the war.

8. The leaſes of farms, ſituated in Anjou and Upper Poitou, granted to inſurgent Vendeans, are annulled.

9. The crops of theſe farms ſhall be divided, one half to the proprietor, and the other to the farmer.

10. The farmers ſhall be indemnified for the loſſes they have ſuffered by the war.

11. The Chouans ſhall be reſtored to all their property, moveable and immoveable, on ſubmitting to the laws of the republic: the ſequeſtration put upon their eſtates ſhall be taken off, even though they may have been enrolled in the liſt of emigrants; and the ſequeſtration ſhall alſo be taken off from the eſtates of the widows and children of thoſe who may have been condemned.

Proclamation of the Royaliſts of Anjou and Upper Poitou, in Anſwer to the pacificatory Proclamation of the Repreſentatives of the People.

IN THE NAME OF THE KING.

The Military Council of Anjou and Upper Poitou to the Republicans.

Deluded Frenchmen,

YOU announce to us words of peace—this is the wiſh of our hearts; but by what right do you offer us a pardon which it is only your lot to beg? Stained with the blood of our kings, ſtained by the murder of a million of victims, by the conflagration and devaſtation of our property, what are your titles to inſpire us with confidence and ſecurity? Is it the puniſhment of Robeſpierre and Carrier? but indignant nature was raiſed againſt thoſe bloody monſters! The cries of public vengeance devoted them to death—In proſcribing them you did nothing more than yield to neceſſity. Amongſt you, one faction ſuperſedes another, and ſoon, perhaps, the ſame fate awaits that which at preſent reigns. Is it your pretended victories? But we are not ignorant that falſehood was always preſiding over your public preſs, and that, in experiencing the moſt ſevere defeats, you arrogantly aſſumed the haughty language of the conquerors of Europe, to impoſe on the credulity of your ſlaves! Is it the releaſe of our brethren who were priſoners? Was not that liberty due to them which tyranny only could have taken from them? And when you detain them amongſt you, unarmed and defenceleſs, have not we cauſe to fear that this temporary releaſe is an ambuſh craftily prepared to blend us all in the ſame misfortunes? Alas! were we to believe them, our murdered relations and friends would riſe from their graves to tell us, "Take care "of the poiſon concealed under thoſe "appearances; it was in proclaiming to us life and ſafety, we were "immolated—the ſame fate undoubtedly awaits you—the faction "that was then domineering is ſtill "reigning; its ſpirit is the ſame; "it aims at the ſame end; means "and agents only are changed."

If, however, your wiſhes are ſincere—if your hearts, ſoftened and changed, are bent towards peace, we muſt tell you, Reſtore the heir of your king his ſceptre and crown; to religion its worſhip and miniſters; to the nobility its rights and eſtates; to the whole kingdom its ancient and reſpectable conſtitution, free from the abuſes introduced in it by unfortunate events—then, forgetting all your wrongs and enormities, we may fly into your arms, and mingle with yours, our hearts, feelings, and wiſhes. But, without the previous adoption of theſe meaſures, we deſpiſe an amneſty that crime ſhould never have dared to offer to virtue—we deſpiſe your efforts and threats; ſupported by our brave and generous warriors, we will fight till death, and you ſhall reign but on the tomb of the laſt of us.

Reſolved unanimouſly, at Maulevriere, the 28th of January, the year of grace 1795, and the third of the reign of Louis XVII.

(Signed) STOFFLET, general in-chief,
TROTTOUIN,
MOUNIER,
MARTIN,
CORDE, and
GUIBERT, ſecretary-general.

We require the above proclamation to be printed, read, and publiſhed, through all the pariſhes compoſing the diſtricts of Anjou and Upper Poitou.

(Signed) BERNIER, Curé de St. Lo d'Angers, commiſſary-general.

Printed at the royal printing office at Maulevriere, by Chambon, printer.

The Declaration of the Chiefs of La Vendee, on accepting the Propoſals of Peace.

UNPRECEDENTED attempts againſt our liberty, the moſt cruel intolerance, deſpotiſm, injuſtice, and horrid vexations which we have experienced, have aſſembled us with arms in our hands. We have ſeen with horror our unfortunate country delivered over to the ambitious, who, under the appearances of the pureſt patriotiſm, and the ſeductive maſk of popularity, aſpired to a perpetual dictatorſhip. Diſcerning their projects through the veil in which they enveloped themſelves—could we do otherwiſe than try our laſt efforts to replace the authority in hands which our principles made legitimate?

Whilſt an oppreſſive government deprived our fellow-citizens of their moſt precious rights, we have defended our's with conſtancy and firmneſs. We have drawn new ſtrength from our misfortunes. Deſpair even lent us its frightful ſuccour, and rendering us inſenſible to thoſe conſiderations which ſoften the moſt ferocious hearts, engraved on our's the reſolution rather to die than to live under ſuch tyranny.

But now the government of blood has diſappeared. The leaders of that impious faction which covered France with cypreſs and mourning, have paid with their heads the forfeit of their criminal deſigns. The repreſentative Ruelle, the friend of the laws and of humanity, is come to bear among us the words of peace. That confidence which had been ſo lowered by the acts of barbarity, which have preceded his miſſion, begins now to revive. On his appearance we felt no diſinclination to ſuch approaches as may tend to remove the calamitous effects of the diviſions that afflict us. New repreſentatives, worthy of our eſteem and our praiſe, have been joined to the firſt; we have informed them of our intentions, and our deſire of a ſincere pacification, guaranteed by honour. In our conferences we have made them underſtand what intereſted the happineſs of our country, and what it belonged to their prudence and wiſdom to grant, for the purpoſe of obtaining the deſirable end of peace. United in the ſame tent with the repreſentatives of the people, we felt more ſtrongly, if poſſible, that we were ſtill Frenchmen, and ſhould be animated only by the general good of our country.

It is with theſe ſentiments that

we declare to the national convention and to France, our ſubmiſſion to the French republic, one and indiviſible, and our acknowledgment of its laws; and that we make a formal engagement not to make any attempt againſt them. We promiſe to ſurrender, as ſoon as poſſible, all the artillery and horſes in our poſſeſſion, and we make a ſolemn promiſe never to bear arms againſt the republic.

Done under the tent, the 29th Pluvioſe (new ſtyle) the third year of the republic.

(Signed) CHARETTE, FLEURIOT,
COUETUS, SAPINAUD,
COMARTIN, DEBRUC,
GUERIN AINÉ, CAILLAUD,
DESAIGNARD, GOGUET,
LEPINOY, SAUVAGET,
BAUDRY, GUERIN JEUNE,
SOLIHAC, BEJAY,
DEBRUC JEUNE, PRUDHOMME,
REJEAU, DELAROBORIE,
ROUSSEAU,
BOSSARD LE JEUNE,
AUVINET, FILS AINÉ,

A ſimilar declaration was made by the officers compoſing the military council of the army of Anjou.

(Signed) TROTTOUIN, DELAVILLE DEBAUGE, RENOU, MARTIN AINÉ, MARTIN LE JEUNE, TRISTAN MARTIN, ET GIBERT.

A third declaration, on the part of the Chouans, was made on the 28th Ventoſe.

(Signed) CORMARTIN, SOLIHAC, DE SCEPEAUX, DICUNSIE, GOURLET, ET MENARD.

Addreſs of CHARETTE, *and the other Leaders, to the Inhabitants of La Vendee.*

BRAVE inhabitants! Vile ſeducers, infamous intriguers, ambitious and perverſe men, who build their happineſs and their enjoyments on the ruins of the public fortune, and who ſacrifice, without remorſe, to the ſucceſs of their guilty deſigns, the lives and property of their fellow-men, ſeek now to miſlead you. They impute to our meaſures diſhonourable motives; they pervert our benevolent intentions; and they give to the treaty, which we have concluded, falſe and perfidious colours; with unparalleled impudence they circulate reports calculated to infuſe into every boſom miſtruſt, terror, and diſcord.

To watch over your intereſts, to forget our own, to labour for your good, without any perſonal conſiderations—ſuch is the glorious taſk which we propoſed to ourſelves; we think that we have not wandered from this honourable line of conduct.

Since, however, the malevolent dare yet to raiſe doubts, and injurious ſuſpicions reſpecting our conduct, it is our duty to diſſipate them, and to undeceive and inſtruct you; we ſhall now fulfil that duty.

We are not ignorant, brave inhabitants, of the powerful reaſons which provoked you to inſurrection, and which put arms in your hands.

The moſt deadly blows were aimed at the freedom of your religious opinions. New pontiffs and a new worſhip had been eſtabliſhed upon the ruins of your own. Intolerance hunted every where for the guilty, and delighted in ſeizing victims. The inſolent deſpotiſm of the authorities eſtabliſhed for your protection—the *corvées* of all kinds, and vexation of every ſpecies aggravated the afflicting picture. When the principle of a dangerous evil is entirely deſtroyed, the diſagreeable conſequences that flow from it ought to exiſt no longer. The neceſſity of putting an end to the melancholy conſequences, at the ſame time with the ſource of them, is one of your moſt urgent neceſſities, and one of your moſt ſacred duties.

The peaceful exereiſe of your religion is granted to you. You may ſecurely make uſe of this impreſcriptible right, which could not be taken from you without a total diſregard of your rights. From this moment you are free to offer to the Supreme Being your homage and your gratitude, according to your ancient uſages.

Your unhappy country has been laid waſte; fire has conſumed your habitations, an unbridled ſoldiery has exerciſed on your perſons and property the moſt horrible robberies. But the national convention has ſolemnly promiſed to indemnify you for your loſſes, and to repair, as far as poſſible, all the evils occaſioned by a ſyſtem of proſcription and injuſtice.

Succours are granted to you to rebuild your cottages. Cattle will be given you to revive agriculture, and to procure you the comforts of life. You will not long regret the want of your inſtruments of labour. You will not hear of taxes, till the period arrives in which your recovered happineſs ſhall afford you the means of contributing to the wants of the ſtate.

Let not the diſconſolate widow and the infirm father tremble for the fate of their children whom the laws may call to the defence of the republic. No; misfortune and old age will not be deprived of their ſupport.—What, could the republic reſolve to deprive misfortune of its ſupport, and reſpectable old age of its prop? no: the nation diſpenſes with your going to protect the frontiers, and only impoſes upon you the eaſy taſk of labouring in your fields to aſſiſt in the nouriſhing her defenders.

You have furniſhed, for the ſubſiſtence of the armies, the fruit of the ſweat of your brow, and your œconomy. We have given you receipts for it; the national convention will pay the amount.

What remains for you to deſire? what diſquiets can ſtill agitate hearts ſo long torn, it is true, by reſentment and misfortune? will you fear being oppreſſed anew by authorities unworthy of your confidence?

Diſmiſs your fears, brave inhabitants; let ſecurity re-enter your minds, and drive thence horrible deſpair. The men whoſe odious yoke you dread with reaſon; the men who are as much the enemies of their country as your enemies, will no more be the depoſitaries of power which they abuſed ſo cruelly.

The repreſentatives of the people will conſult us on the choice of men to replace them; we will point out to them perſons known to you; perſons who have acquired your eſteem and our's; perſons who, to ſweeten your exiſtence, are ready to ſacrifice their pleaſures, their fortunes.

Cuuld you then think, brave inhabitants, that we are capable of baſely betraying your intereſts? after having ſupproted them with ſo much ardour, ought you to fear for a moment that we are capable of giving the lie to the conduct we heve conſtantly held?

Ah, if theſe injurious ſentiments

proceeded from your hearts; if we were to impute them to jealouſy and malevolence, how muſt our hearts be for ever afflicted! how ſhould we ſupport the ſhocking idea, that in wiſhing to make men happy, we had only made them ungrateful.

But what, are not your intereſts our intereſts? are not our friends, our wives, our children among you? do not our poſſeſſions join your fields? yes, undoubtedly; and however precious may be theſe connections, think not that they have furniſhed the motives which have determined our conduct. We have thought only of you, we have ſacrificed every thing for your happineſs; and in eſtabliſhing it on a ſure and durable foundation, we have reſerved only to ourſelves the ineſtimable advantage of being the witneſſes of it.

(Signed) Charette,
Fleuriot, Sapinaud,
Couetus, Debruc.

Proclamation of Louis XVIII.

LOUIS, BY THE GRACE OF GOD,
KING OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE,

To all our ſubjects, greeting.

IN depriving you of a king, whoſe whole reign was paſſed in captivity, but whoſe infancy even afforded ſufficient grounds for believing that he would prove a worthy ſucceſſor to the beſt of kings, the impenetrable decrees of Providence, at the ſame time that they have tranſmitted his crown to us, have impoſed on us the neceſſity of tearing it from the hands of revolt, and the duty of ſaving the country, reduced, by a diſaſtrous revolution, to the brink of ruin.

The fatal conformity which ſubſiſts between the commencement of our reign and the commencement of the reign of the Fourth Henry, operates as an additional inducement with us to take that monarch for our model, and imitating, in the firſt inſtance, his noble candour, we ſhall now lay open our whole ſoul before you. Long, too long, have we had to deplore thoſe fatal circumſtances which imperiouſly preſcribed the neceſſity of ſilence; but now that we are allowed to exert our voice, attend to it. Our love for you is the only ſentiment by which we are actuated; our heart obeys with delight the dictates of clemency; and ſince it has pleaſed Heaven to reſerve us, like Henry the Great, to re-eſtabliſh in our empire the reign of order and the laws, like him we will execute this divine taſk, with the aſſiſtance of our faithful ſubjects, by uniting kindneſs with juſtice.

Your minds have, by dreadful experience, been ſufficiently enlightened as to the extent and origin of your misfortunes. Impious and factious men, after having ſeduced you by lying declamations, and by deceitful promiſes, hurried you into irreligion and revolt. Since that time a torrent of calamities has ruſhed in upon you from every ſide. You proved faithleſs to the God of your forefathers; and that God, juſtly offended, has made you feel the weight of his anger; you rebelled againſt the authority which he had eſtabliſhed, and a ſanguinary deſpotiſm, and an anarchy no leſs fatal have alternately continued to haraſs you with inceſſant rage.

Conſider an inſtant the origin and progreſs of the evils with which you are overwhelmed. You firſt conſigned

ſigned your intereſts to faithleſs repreſentatives, who, betraying the confidence which you had repoſed in them, and violating the oaths which they had taken, paved the way for their rebellion againſt their king, by treachery and perjury towards you: and they rendered you the inſtruments of their paſſions, and of your own ruin. You next ſubmitted to the deſpotic ſway of gloomy and auſtere tyrants, who conteſted with each other, while the conteſt was marked by mutual maſſacres, the right of oppreſſing the nation; and they impoſed upon you an iron yoke. You afterwards permitted their bloodſtained ſceptre to paſs into the hands of a rival faction, which, in order to ſecure their power, and to reap the fruits of their crimes, aſſumed the maſk of moderation, which ſometimes it lifts up, but which it dares not yet venture wholly to throw aſide; and you have changed ſanguinary deſpots, whom you abhorred, for hypocritical deſpots whom you deſpiſe. They conceal their weakneſs beneath an appearance of mildneſs, but they are actuated by the ſame ambition which influenced the conduct of their predeceſſors. The reign of terror has ſuſpended its ravages, but they have been replaced by the diſorders of anarchy. Leſs blood is ſhed in France, but greater miſery prevails. In ſhort, your ſlavery has only changed its form, and your diſaſters have been aggravated. You have lent a favourable ear to the calumnious reports that have been propagated againſt that ancient race which, during ſo long a period, reigned as much in your hearts as over France: and your blind credulity has increaſed the weight of your chains, and prolonged the term of your misfortunes. In a word, your tyrants have overthrown the altars of your God and the throne of your king, and have completed the ſum of your wretchedneſs.

Thus impiety and revolt have been the cauſe of all the torments you experience: in order to ſtop their progreſs you muſt dry up their ſource. You muſt renounce the dominion of thoſe treacherous and cruel uſurpers who promiſed you happineſs, but who have given you only famine and death: we wiſh to relieve you from their tyranny, which has ſo much injured you, to inſpire you with the reſolution of ſhaking it off. You muſt return to that holy religion which had ſhowered down upon France the bleſſings of Heaven. We wiſh to reſtore its altars; by preſcribing juſtice to ſovereigns and fidelity to ſubjects, it maintains good order, enſures the triumph of the laws, and produces the felicity of empires. You muſt reſtore that government, which, for fourteen centuries, conſtituted the glory of France and the delight of her inhabitants; which rendered our country the moſt flouriſhing of ſtates, and yourſelves the happieſt of people: it is our wiſh to reſtore it. Have not the various revolutions which have occurred augmented your diſtreſs, ſince the period of its deſtruction, and convinced you that it is the only government that is fit for you?

Give no credit to thoſe rapacious and ambitious men, who, in order to violate your property and to engroſs all power, have told you that France had no conſtitution, or, at leaſt, that its conſtitution was deſpotic. Its exiſtence is as ancient as the monarchy of the Franks; it is the produce of genius, the maſter-piece of wiſdom, and the fruit of experience.

In compoſing the body of the French people of three diſtinct orders, it traced with preciſion that ſcale of ſubordination, without which ſociety cannot exiſt. But it gives to neither of the three orders any political right which is not common to all. It leaves all employments open to Frenchmen of every claſs; it affords equal protection to all perſons and to all property; and by this means, in the eye of the law, and in the temple of juſtice, all thoſe inequalities of rank and fortune diſappear, which civil order neceſſarily introduces among the inhabitants of the ſame empire.

Theſe are great advantages; but there are others ſtill more eſſential. It ſubjects the laws to certain ſpecific forms preſcribed by itſelf; and the ſovereign himſelf is equally bound to the obſervance of the laws, in order to guard the wiſdom of the legiſlature againſt the ſnares of ſeduction, and to defend the liberty of the ſubject againſt the abuſe of authority. It preſcribes conditions to the eſtabliſhment of impoſts, in order to ſatisfy the people that the tributes which they pay are neceſſary for the preſervation of the ſtate; it confides to the firſt body of the magiſtracy the care of enforcing the execution of the laws, and of undeceiving the monarch, if he ſhould chance to be impoſed upon; it places the fundamental laws under the protection of the king and of the three orders, for the purpoſe of preventing revolutions, which are the greateſt calamities that the people can poſſibly ſuſtain; it has adopted a multiplicity of precautions in order to ſecure to you the advantages of a monarchical government, and to ſcreen you from its dangers. Do not your unexampled misfortunes, as much as its venerable antiquity, bear teſtimony of its wiſdom? Did your anceſtors ever experience the evils which you have borne, ſince the hands of ignorant and obſtinate innovators have overthrown their conſtitution? It was the common ſupport of the cottage of the poor, and the palace of the rich; of perſonal freedom, and of public ſafety; of the rights of the throne, and of the proſperity of the ſtate. The moment it was overthrown, property, ſafety, freedom, all ceaſed to exiſt. No ſooner did the throne become a prey to uſurpers, than your fortunes were ſeized by plunderers; the inſtant the ſhield of royal authority ceaſed to protect you, you were oppreſſed by deſpotiſm and ſunk into ſlavery.

To that ancient and wiſe conſtitution, whoſe fall has proved your ruin, we wiſh to reſtore all its purity which time had corrupted; all its vigour, which time had impaired: but it has itſelf fortunately deprived us of the ability to change it. It is our holy ark; we are forbidden to lay raſh hands upon it. Your happineſs and our glory, the wiſh of all true Frenchmen, and the knowledge we have acquired in the ſchool of misfortune, all tend to confirm in our mind the neceſſity of reſtoring it entire. It is becauſe France is dear to us, that we are anxious to replace her under the beneficent protection of a government, the excellence of which has been proved by ſo long a continuance of proſperity. It is becauſe we feel it to be our duty to quell that ſpirit of ſyſtem making, that rage for innovation which has been the cauſe of your ruin, that we are anxious to renovate and confirm thoſe ſalutary laws which are alone capable of promoting a general unity of ſentiment; of fixing the general opinion, and of oppoſing an inſurmountable barrier to the revolutionary rage, which every plan of a change in the conſtitution of our kingdom would again let looſe upon the public.

But while the hand of time gives the ſtamp of wiſdom to the inſtitutions of man, his paſſions are ſtudious to degrade them; and they either place their own work on the ſide of the laws, with a view to weaken their effect, or make it uſurp the place of the laws in order to render them uſeleſs. In thoſe empires which have attained the higheſt pitch of glory and proſperity, abuſes moſt generally prevail; becauſe in ſuch ſtates they are the leaſt likely to attract the attention of thoſe who govern. Some abuſes had therefore crept into the government of France, which were not only felt by the lower claſs of people, but by every order of the ſtate. The deceaſed monarch, our brother and ſovereign lord and maſter, had perceived and was anxious to remove them; in his laſt moments he charged his ſucceſſor to execute the plans which he had in his wiſdom conceived, for promoting the happineſs of that very people who ſuffered him to periſh on the ſcaffold. On quitting the throne, from which crime and impiety had hurled him, to aſcend that which Heaven had reſerved for his virtues, he pointed out to us our duties in that immortal will, the inexhauſtible ſource of admiration and regret. That martyred king, ſubmiſſive to the God who made him a king, followed his example without a murmur, in rendering the inſtrument of his death a trophy of his glory, and in attending to the welfare of his people at the very time when they were completing the ſum of his misfortunes! What Louis XVI. could not effect, we will accompliſh!

But though plans of reform may be conceived in the midſt of confuſion, they can only be executed in the boſom of tranquillity. To replace upon its ancient baſis the conſtitution of the kingdom, to give it its primitive impulſe, to put all its parts in motion, to correct the vices which have crept into the adminiſtration of public affairs, is the work of peace. Religious worſhip muſt be re-eſtabliſhed, the hydra of anarchy deſtroyed, the regal authority be reſtored to all its rights, before we can execute our intentions of oppoſing abuſes of all kinds with invincible firmneſs; of ſeeking them with diligence, and of proſcribing them with deciſion.

The implacable tyrants who hold you in ſubjection alone retard that happy moment. They do not attempt to deny that the time of illuſion is paſt; and that you feel all the weight of their ignorance, their crimes, and their depredations. But to thoſe fraudulent promiſes, of which you are no longer the dupes, they make ſucceed the dread of puniſhment, which they alone have deſerved. After having robbed you of your property, they repreſent us to you as an enraged avenger, who means to deprive you of life, the only good that you now have left. Diſmayed by the reproaches of their conſcience, they wiſh to aſſociate you to their fate, that they may profit by your deſpair; they endeavour to inſpire you with falſe alarms, that they may be able to quiet their own apprehenſions. But, know the heart of your ſovereign, and leave to him the taſk of preſerving you from the machinations of your enemies.

We ſhall not only forbear to magnify errors into crimes, but crimes themſelves which have originated in error we ſhall be ever ready to pardon. All Frenchmen who, abjuring pernicious opinions, ſhall throw themſelves at the feet of the throne, will be received: All Frenchmen, who have only become criminal in conſequence of being miſled, far from finding in us an inflexible judge, will diſcover a compaſſionate father. Thoſe who, in the midſt of revolt, have preſerved their fidelity; thoſe who by an heroic ſacrifice have become the companions of our exile and our aſſociates in misfortune; thoſe who have already ſhaken off the bondage of illuſion, and the yoke of revolt; thoſe who, being ſtill retained by a cruel perſeverance, ſhall haſten to return to reaſon and to duty, ſhall all be treated as our children. If one part of theſe have preſerved their character and their rights by unſhaken fidelity, the other part have recovered them by a ſalutary repentance; and they ſhall all ſhare in our affection. We are Frenchmen —a title, which the crimes of a few individuals can no more degrade, than the enormities of the duke of Orleans can pollute the blood of Henry the Fourth. This title, which was ever dear to us, renders us dear alſo to thoſe who bear it. We pity thoſe men who are ſtill retained in the paths of error, from weakneſs of mind, or by the arts of ſeduction; we water with our tears the aſhes of thoſe brave men who have fallen victims to their fidelity; we lament the fate of thoſe who have periſhed in ſupport of rebellion and ſchiſm, and whoſe reſtoration to the boſom of the church and the monarchy would have given us the moſt pleaſing ſatisfaction.— The evils which you experience conſtitute our only ſuffering; and to cure thoſe evils is the only felicity which we can henceforth hope to enjoy.

The exceſſes of which the people have been guilty, are certainly dreadful; but we cannot forget that ſeduction and violence have had greater influence over them than opinion and inclination; and we know, that even while they favoured the revolutionary ſchemes, their hearts remained faithful, and ſecretly diſavowed the conduct which terror directed. That people, alternately deceived and ſubdued, but always more deſerving of pity than of cenſure; that people, who have been ſufficiently, nay too ſeverely, puniſhed by ſix years of ſlavery and oppreſſion; by that multitude of calamities which they have drawn down upon their own heads; that people, who were always dearly beloved by the kings our predeceſſors, will make us amends for the cruel torments we have ſuffered, by affording us an opportunity of loading them with our benefactions.

Who would have ventured to believe, that perfidy and rebellion could ever have infected that army which was the ſupport of the throne, and at all times devoted to honour and to their ſovereign?—Their ſucceſſes have proved, that courage is never to be extinguiſhed in the heart of a Frenchman. But how many tears ought you to ſhed over thoſe fatal ſucceſſes! They have been the principle of the general oppreſſion; they have conſtituted the ſupport, and increaſed the audacity of your execrable tyrants; they are the inſtruments employed by the hand of God for the chaſtiſement of France. What ſoldier is there, who will not, when he returns to his home, find the ſtill bloody traces of thoſe calamities which his victories have occaſioned? But the French army cannot long remain the enemy of its king. Since it has preſerved its ancient valour, it will reſume its primitive virtues; ſince honour is not extinguiſhed in its boſom, it will follow her dictates; it will liſten to her voice. Soon, we doubt not, the cry of *Vive le roi* will replace the clamours of ſedition; ſoon will the army return, ſubmiſſive and faithful, to re-eſtabliſh our throne; to expiate at our feet even its own glory; and to read in our looks oblivion of paſt errors, and pardon of paſt crimes.

We might let juſtice take her courſe againſt the criminal authors of the people's errors; againſt the chiefs and inſtigators of the revolt; and perhaps we ought ſo to do; though how could we palliate the irreparable injury which they have done to France? But thoſe whom Divine juſtice has not yet overtaken, we will leave to their own conſcience; that will be puniſhment enough. May they, overpowered by this exceſs of indulgence, and remaining ſubmiſſively attached to their duty, juſtify us in our own mind for the unexpected pardon which we ſhall have granted them!

But there are crimes (why can they not be effaced from our recollection, and from the memory of man!)—there are crimes, the atrocity of which exceeds the bounds of royal clemency. In that horrid ſitting, in which ſubjects had the audacity to bring their king to trial, all the members who ſat as judges were accomplices in the crime.—But we are ſtill willing to believe, that thoſe whoſe ſuffrages wiſhed to ſave his ſacred head from the parricidal axe, were only induced to mix with his aſſaſſins by their deſire to preſerve his life; and that motive may ſuffice to enſure their pardon. But thoſe miſcreants, whoſe ſacrilegious tongues dared to pronounce the fatal ſentence, all thoſe who co-operated in and were the direct and immediate inſtruments of his death; the members of that tribunal of blood, which, after having given the capital the ſignal, and ſet it the example of judicial maſſacres, crowned their atrocious deeds by ſending their queen to the ſcaffold; a queen ſtill more exalted in her priſon than upon her throne; a princeſs, whom heaven had formed to be the finiſhed model of every virtue! all theſe monſters, whom poſterity will never name without horror, are devoted by the general wiſh of the French to the puniſhment which their crimes deſerve.

That ſentiment which leads us to confine the vengeance of the law within ſuch narrow bounds, is a certain pledge to you that we will never tolerate any acts of private revenge. Therefore, diſmiſs every apprehenſion which the idea of being expoſed to ſuch revenge may have excited.

The faithful princes of our houſe have the ſame principles, the ſame affections, and the ſame views with ourſelf: you are as dear to them as to us: like us, they are only anxious to ſee the end of your ſufferings. The only object of their labours, as well as of ours, is your deliverance; and if, in theſe days of mourning and of crimes, Providence ſhould have doomed us to periſh ſucceſſively by rebellious hands, you would ſee the ſceptre paſs from one to the other, without perceiving the ſmalleſt alteration in the exerciſe of the royal authority.

Thoſe Frenchmen who have remained among their countrymen to ſet them an example of unſhaken fidelity, will only pity thoſe who have not had the reſolution to imitate their conduct; and that unchangeable virtue which they have oppoſed to the torrent of corruption, will not be debaſed by criminal animoſity. Thoſe miniſters of a God of peace, who have only fled from the violence of perſecution to preſerve your religious faith, filled with the zeal that enlightens, with the charity that forgives, will teach, as well by their practice as their precepts, oblivion of injuries and the love of their enemies.—Could you poſſibly fear that they would tarniſh the immortal ſplendour which their generous conduct, and the blood of ſo many martyrs, have reflected on the Gallican church? Our magiſtrates, who have ever been diſtinguiſhed for their integrity in the adminiſtration of juſtice, will ſet an example of obedience to the laws, whoſe miniſters they are. Inacceſſible to the paſſions which it is their duty to repreſs, they will, by a due exertion of impartial firmneſs, give effect to thoſe ſentiments with which clemency inſpires us. The nobility, who have only left their country the better to defend it; who have only drawn their ſwords in the firm perſuaſion that they were fighting for France, and not againſt it; who offer you aſſiſtance even at the time when duty compels them to fight you; who oppoſe to the attacks of calumny their firmneſs in adverſity, intrepidity in battle, humanity in the moment of victory, and their invincible attachment to the principles of honour—thoſe nobles, againſt whom every effort is made to excite your hatred, will not forget that they are deſtined to enlighten, to aſſiſt, to ſupport the people; they will place their glory in their magnanimity; they will ennoble the numerous ſacrifices they have made by the ſacrifice of their reſentment; and that claſs of emigrants who are their inferiors in birth, though their equals in virtue; thoſe worthy Frenchmen, whoſe fidelity is the more deſerving of praiſe from the additional temptations they had to reſiſt, would, if it were neceſſary, offer themſelves to you as pledges for the ſincerity of thoſe generous ſentiments which they have ſo often witneſſed. Who would dare to inflict vengeance when the king forgives?

But the mercy which will ſignalize the firſt days of our reign, will be invariably united with firmneſs: that love of our ſubjects which leads us to be indulgent, teaches to be juſt. We ſhall forgive, without regret, thoſe men, criminal as they are, who have led the people aſtray;

but we ſhall treat with inexorable rigour all thoſe who may hereafter endeavour to ſeduce them from their duty. We will open our arms to thoſe rebels who may be induced by repentance to return to us; but if any of them ſhould perſiſt in rebellion, they will find that our indulgence will ſtop at the limits which juſtice preſcribes, and that force will reduce thoſe whom kindneſs has proved inadequate to reclaim.

That throne, which the revolution has twice deprived of its lawful ſovereign, is not to me an object of ambition or enjoyment!—Alas! ſtill ſmoaking with the blood of our family, and encompaſſed with ruins, it can promiſe us nothing but ſorrowful recollections, labours, and pains. But Providence orders us to aſcend it; and it is our duty to obey. We are called thither by our rights, and we know how to defend them. We may there be able to promote the happineſs of France, and that motive gives us courage to proceed. If we ſhould be reduced to the neceſſity of conquering our country, confiding in the juſtice of our cauſe, and in the zeal of true Frenchmen, we will advance to the conqueſt with indefatigable perſeverance, and with undaunted courage; we will advance to the conqueſt, ſhould it be neceſſary, through the cohorts of rebels, and the poniards of aſſaſſins. The God of St. Louis, that God whom we call to witneſs the purity of our intentions, will be our guide and our ſupport.

But no—we ſhall not be reduced to the neceſſity of uſing arms againſt deluded ſubjects. No; to themſelves alone, to their regret, to their love, ſhall we be indebted for the re-eſtabliſhment of our throne; and the mercy of heaven, moved by their tears, will make religion once more flouriſh in the empire of the Moſt Chriſtian kings.

This pleaſing hope revives our heart. Misfortune has removed the veil which was placed before your eyes; the harſh leſſons of experience have taught you to regret the advantages which you have loſt. Already do the ſentiments of religion, which ſhew themſelves with eclat in all the provinces of the kingdom, preſent to our ſight the image of the glorious ages of the church! already does the impulſe of your hearts, which brings you back to your king, declare that you feel the want of being governed by a father.

But it is not enough to form barren wiſhes; deciſive reſolutions muſt be adopted. It is not enough to groan beneath the yoke of your oppreſſors; you muſt be aſſiſted in ſhaking it off. Show the world how the French, reſtored to their ſenſes, can obliterate faults, in the commiſſion of which their hearts were not concerned; prove that as Henry the Great has tranſmitted to us with his blood his love of his people, ſo are you alſo the deſcendants of that people, one part of whom, always faithful to his cauſe, fought to reſtore him to his throne; and the other part, abjuring a momentary error, bathed his feet with the tears of repentance. Remember that you are the grandſons of the conquerors of Ivry and Fontaine Françaiſe.

And you, invincible heroes, whom God has appointed to reſtore the altar and the throne, and whoſe miſſion has been atteſted by a multitude of prodigies: you whoſe pure and triumphant hands have, in the heart of France, kept alive the torch of faith and honour's ſacred fire: you who have been the conſtant objects of our affection, and in whoſe labours we have been inceſſantly anxious to ſhare; who were always our conſolation and our hope; illuſtrious catholic and royal armies, worthy models for all Frenchmen to imitate, receive this teſtimony of your ſovereign's ſatisfaction. Never will he forget your ſervices, your courage, the integrity of your principles, and your unſhaken fidelity.

Given in the month of July, in
the year of grace, one thouſand
ſeven hundred and ninety-five,
and the firſt of our reign.
Louis.

The New French Conſtitution, adopted by the Convention, Auguſt 22, 1795.

DECLARATION.

Of the Rights and Duties of Man, and of a Citizen.

THE French people proclaim, in the preſence of the Supreme Being, the following Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, and of a Citizen:

RIGHTS.

1. The rights of man in ſociety are—liberty, equality, ſecurity, property.

2. Liberty conſiſts in the power of doing that which does not injure the rights of another.

3. Equality conſiſts in this—that the law is the ſame for all, whether it protect or puniſh—Equality admits no diſtinction of birth, no hereditary power.

4. Security reſults from the concurrence of all to ſecure the rights of each.

5. Property is the right of enjoying and diſpoſing of a man's own goods, his revenues, the fruit of his labour, and his induſtry.

6. The law is the general will, expreſſed by the majority either of the citizens or of their repreſentatives.

7. That which is not forbidden by the law cannot be hindered.—No man can be conſtrained to that which the law ordains not.

8. No one can be cited, accuſed, arreſted, or detained, but in the caſes determined by the law, and according to the forms it has preſcribed.

9. Thoſe who ſolicit, expedite, ſign, execute, or cauſe to be executed, arbitrary acts, are culpable, and ought to be puniſhed.

10. All rigour not neceſſary to ſecure the perſon of a man under charge, ought to be ſeverely repreſſed by the law.

11. No man can be judged until he has been heard or legally ſummoned.

12. The law ought not to decree any puniſhment but ſuch as is ſtrictly neceſſary, and proportioned to the offence.

13. All treatment that aggravates the puniſhment determined by the law is a crime.

14. No law, criminal or civil, can have a retroactive effect.

15. Every man may engage his time and his ſervices; but he cannot ſell himſelf, or be ſold: his perſon is not an alienable property.

16. All contribution is eſtabliſhed for general utility: it ought to be aſſeſſed upon the contributors in proportion to their means.

17. The ſovereignty reſides eſſentially in the univerſality of citizens.

18. No individual, and no partial union of citizens, can arrogate the ſovereignty.

19. No man can, without a legal delegation, exerciſe any authority, nor fill any public function.

20. Each citizen has an equal right to concur immediately or mediately in the formation of the law, the nomination of the repreſentatives of the people, and of the public functionaries.

21. Public functions cannot become the property of thoſe who exerciſe them.

22. The ſocial guarantee cannot exiſt if the diviſion of powers is not eſtabliſhed, if their limits are not fixed, and if the reſponſibility of the public functionaries is not aſſured.

DUTIES.

1. The declaration of rights contains the obligations of legiſlators: the maintenance of ſociety demands that thoſe who compoſe it ſhould equally know, and fulfil their duties.

2. All the duties of man, and of a citizen, ſpring from theſe two principles, engraved by nature in every heart:—"Do not to another that which you would not another ſhould do to you."—"Do conſtantly to others the good you would receive from them."

3. The obligations of each to ſociety, conſiſt in defending it, in ſerving it, in living obedient to the laws, and in reſpecting thoſe who are the organs of the laws.

4. No man is a good citizen, if he is not a good ſon, a good father, a good brother, a good friend, a good huſband.

5. No man is a good man, if he is not frankly and religiouſly an obſerver of the laws.

6. He who openly violates the laws, declares himſelf in a ſtate of war with ſociety.

7. He who, without openly infringing the laws, eludes them by craft or by addreſs, hurts the intereſts of all: he renders himſelf unworthy of their benevolence and of their eſteem.

8. Upon the maintenance of property reſt the cultivation of the earth, all produce, all means of labour, and all ſocial order.

9. Every citizen owes his ſervice to his country, and to the maintenance of liberty, of equality, and of property, as often as the law calls upon him to defend them.

CONSTITUTION.

1. The French republic is one and indiviſible.

2. The univerſality of French citizens is the ſovereign.

TITLE I.

3. France is divided into —— departments. Theſe departments are:—L'Ain, L'Aiſne, L'Allier, Les Baſſes-Alpes, Les Hautes-Alpes, Les Alpes-Maritimes, L'Ardèche, Les Ardennes, L'Arriege, L'Aube, L'Aude, L'Aveyron, Les Bouches Du Rhône, Le Calvados, Le Cantal, La Charente, La Charente-Inférieure, Le Cher, La Correze, La Côte-d'Or, Les Côtes-du-Nord, La Creuſe, La Dordogne, Le Doubs, La Drôme, L'Eure, Eure-et-Loire, —Le Finiſterre, Le Garde, La Haute-Garonne, Le Gers, La Gironde, Le Golo, L'Herault, Ille-et-Villaine, L'Indre, Indre-et-Loire, L'Iſére, Le Jura, Les Landes, Le Liamone, Loir et-Cher, La Loire, La Haute-Loire, La Loire-Inférieure,

rieure, Le Loiret, Le Lot, Lot-et-Garonne, La Lozere.—Maine-et-Loire, La Manche, La Marne, La Haute-Marne, La Mayenne, La Meurthe, La Meuſe, Le Mont-Blanc, Le Mont Terrible, Le Morbihan, La Moſelle, La Niévre, Le Nord, L'Oiſe, L'Orne, Le Pas-de-Calais, Le Puy-de-Dôme, Les Baſſes-Pyrénées, Les Hautes-Pyrénées, Les Pyrénées-Orientales, Le Bas-Rhin, Le Haut-Rhin, Le Rhône, Le Haute-Saône, Saône-et-Loire, La Sarthe, La Seine, La Seine-Inférieure, Seine-et-Marne, Seine-et-Oiſe, Les deux Sèvres, La Somme, Le Tarn, Le Var, Vaucluſe, La Vendée, La Vienne, La Haute-Vienne, Les Voſges.—L'Yonne.

4. The limits of departments may be changed or rectified by the legiſlative body; but, in this caſe, the ſurface of a department cannot exceed one hundred ſquare myriametres (400 ſquare leagues, of 2566 toiſes each.)

5. Each department is diſtributed into cantons, each canton into communes. The cantons retain their preſent limits. Their limits may nevertheleſs be changed or rectified by the legiſlative body; but, in this caſe, there cannot be more than one myriametre (two leagues, of 2566 toiſes each) from the moſt diſtant commune to the chief place of the canton.

6. The French colonies are integrant parts of the republic, and ſubject to the ſame conſtitutional law.

7. They are divided into departments as follow:—The iſland of St. Domingo, the legiſlative body of which ſhall ſettle the diviſion into four departments at leaſt, or ſix at moſt. Guadaloupe, Marie-Galante, La Deſirade, Les Saintes, and the French part of St. Martin. Martinico; French Guiana and Cayenne; St. Lucia and Tobago. The Iſle of France, Les Seychelles, Roderigue and the eſtabliſhments of Madagaſcar. The Iſle of Reunion. The Eaſt Indies, Pondicherrty, Chandernagor, Mahé, Karical, and other eſtabliſhments.

TITLE II.

Political State of Citizens.

8. Every man born and reſident in France, who being twenty-one years of age, has inſcribed his name on the civic regiſter of his canton, and who has lived afterward one year on the territory of the republic, and who pays a direct contribution, real or perſonal, is a French citizen.

9. Are citizens without any condition of contribution, Frenchmen who have made one or more campaigns for the eſtabliſhment of the republic.

10. A foreigner becomes a French citizen when, after having attained the age of twenty-one years, and having declared his intention of ſettling in France, he has reſided there for ſeven years following, provided he pays a direct contribution, and moreover poſſeſſes a real property, or an eſtabliſhment in agriculture or commerce, or has married a French woman.

11. French citizens alone can vote in the primary aſſemblies, and be called to the functions eſtabliſhed by the conſtitution.

12. The exerciſe of the rights of a citizen is loſt, 1ſt, By naturalization in a foreign country. 2d, By affiliation with any foreign corporation, which ſuppoſes diſtinctions of birth, or requires religious vows. 3d, By the acceptance of functions

or of penſions, offered by a foreign government. 4th, By condemnation to corporal or infamous puniſhment, until recapacitation.

13. The exerciſe of the rights of citizens is ſuſpended:—1ſt, By a judicial interdict on account of inſanity, idotiſm, or imbecility. 2d, By a ſtate of bankruptcy, or being an immediate heir and detaining gratuitouſly, the whole or part of the ſucceſſion of a bankrupt. 3d, By being a domeſtic on wages, attending on the perſon, or ſerving in the houſe. 4th, By being under accuſation. 5th, By a ſentence of contumacy, until that ſentence ſhall be annulled.

14. The exerciſe of the rights of citizen is neither loſt nor ſuſpended, but in the caſes expreſſed in the two preceding articles.

15. Every citizen who has reſided ſeven years following out of the territory of the republic, without miſſion or authorization given in the name of the nation, is reputed a foreigner. He becomes not a French citizen until he has conformed to the conditions preſcribed by Article 10.

16. Young men cannot be inſcribed on the civic regiſter, unleſs they prove that they can read and write, and exerciſe a mechanical profeſſion. The manual operations of agriculture belong to mechanic profeſſions. This article ſhall not operate till the twelfth year of the republic.

TITLE III.

Primary Aſſemblies.

17. The primary aſſemblies are compoſed of citizens domiciliated in the ſame canton. The domiciliation requiſite for voting in theſe aſſemblies is acquired by ſimple reſidence during a year, and is loſt by a year's abſence.

18. No man can ſend a deputy to the primary aſſembly, or vote for the ſame object, in more than one of theſe aſſemblies.

19. There is one primary aſſembly at leaſt for every canton. When there are ſeveral, each is compoſed of 450 citizens at leaſt, or 900 at moſt. Theſe numbers are underſtood of citizens, preſent or abſent, having a right to vote in them.

20. The primary aſſemblies are conſtituted proviſionally, under the preſidency of the oldeſt man; the youngeſt fills proviſionally the office of ſecretary.

21. They are definitively conſtituted by the nomination, by ballot, of a preſident, a ſecretary, and three ſcrutineers.

22. If difficulties ariſe upon the right of voting, the aſſembly decides proviſionally, ſaving recourſe to the civil tribunal of departments.

23. In every other caſe, the legiſlative body alone pronounces on the validity of the operations of the primary aſſemblies.

24. No man can appear in arms in the primary aſſemblies.

25. Their police belongs to themſelves.

26. The primary aſſemblies meet, 1ſt, To accept or reject the changes in the conſtitutional act, propoſed by the aſſemblies of reviſion. 2d, To make the elections which belong to them according to the conſtitution.

27. They aſſemble in full right on the 1ſt Germinal (March 21,) of each year, and proceed according as there may be occaſion to the election, 1ſt, Of the members of the electoral aſſembly. 2d, Of the juſtice of peace and his aſſeſſors. 3d,

Of the preſident of the municipal adminiſtration of the canton, or of the municipal officers in communes of more than 5000 inhabitants.

28. Immediately after theſe elections, there are held, in communes of leſs than 5000 inhabitants, communal aſſemblies, which elect the agents of each commune and their aſſiſtants.

29. Whatever is done in a primary or communal aſſembly, beyond the object of its convocation, and againſt the forms determined by the conſtitution, is null.

30. The aſſemblies, whether primary or communal, make no elections but thoſe which are attributed to them by the conſtitutional act.

31. All the elections are made by ſecret ballot.

32. Every citizen who is legally convicted of having ſold or bought a ſuffrage, is excluded from the primary and communal aſſemblies and from all public functions, for twenty years; in caſe of a ſecond offence, he is excluded for ever.

TITLE IV.

Electoral Aſſemblies.

33. Each primary aſſembly nominates one elector for 200 citizens, preſent or abſent, having a right to vote in the ſaid aſſembly. To the number of 300 citizens incluſively, but one elector is nominated. Two are nominated, for from 301 to 500. Three, for from 501 to 700. Four from 701 to 900.

34. The members of the electoral aſſemblies are nominated every year, and cannot be re-elected till after an interval of two years.

35. No man can be nominated an elector, if he be not twenty-five years of age, and if he do not unite to the qualifications, neceſſary for exerciſing the rights of French citizen, one of the following conditions, viz.—In communes of more than 6000 inhabitants, that of being proprietor or having the *uſufruct* of a property, valued at a revenue equal to the local value of two hundred days labour; or being leſſee, either of a habitation valued at a revenue equal to the value of one hundred and fifty days labour, or of a rural property, valued at one hundred and and fifty days labour. In communes of leſs than 6000 inhabitants, that of being proprietor or having the *uſufruct* of a property, valued at a revenue equal to the local value of 150 days labour; or of being leſſee, either of a habitation valued at a revenue equal to the value of 100 days labour, or of a rural property, valued at 100 days labour. And in the country, that of being proprietor or having the *uſufruct* of a property valued at a revenue equal to the local value of 150 days labour, or of being the renter *(Fermier ou Metayer)* of property valued at 200 days labour. [*Metayer* is a perſon who rents both the farm and the ſtock upon it.] With reſpect to thoſe who may, be proprietors, or have the *uſufruct* of one property, and be leſſees or renters of another, their means under both heads ſhall be taken cumulatively, to make out the neceſſary qualification for being eligible.

36. The electoral aſſembly of each department meets on the 20th Germinal (April 9) of each year, and terminates in one ſingle ſeſſion of ten days at moſt, and without the power of adjourning, all the elections to be made; after which it is diſſolved of full right.

37. The electoral aſſemblies cannot employ themſelves upon any object foreign to the election with which they are charged; they can neither ſend nor receive any addreſs, any petition, any deputation.

38. The electoral aſſemblies cannot correſpond with one another.

39. No citizen, having been a member of an electoral aſſembly, can take the title of elector, or meet in this quality with thoſe who have been members of the ſame aſſembly with him. The contravention of this article is an infringement of the general ſafety.

40. Articles 18, 21, 23, 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, and 32 of the preceding title on the primary aſſemblies, are common to the electoral aſſemblies.

41. The electoral aſſemblies chooſe, as there may be occaſion—1ſt, The members of the legiſlative body, viz. the members of the council of elders; afterwards the members of the council of five hundred. 2d, The members of the tribunal of annulment. 3d, The high jurors. 4th, The adminiſtrators of department. 5th, The preſident, public accuſer, and regiſter of the criminal tribunal. 6th, The judges of the civil tribunals.

42. When a citizen is elected by the electoral aſſemblies to replace a functionary who is dead, reſigned, or removed, that citizen is elected only for the time that remained to the functionary replaced.

43. The commiſſary of the executive directory at the adminiſtration of each department, is bound, on pain of removal, to inform the directory of the opening and the cloſing of the electoral aſſemblies: this commiſſary can neither ſtop nor ſuſpend the operations, nor enter the place of ſitting of the aſſembly; but he has a right to demand communication of the minutes of each ſitting within the twenty-four hours following; and he is bound to denounce to the directory infractions of the conſtitutional act. In all caſes, the legiſlative body alone pronounces on the validity of the operations of the electoral aſſemblies.

TITLE V.

Legiſlative Power.

General Diſpoſitions.

44. The legiſlative body is compoſed of a council of elders, and a council of five hundred.

45. The legiſlative body cannot, in any caſe, delegate to one or more of its members, or to any one whomſoever, any of the functions attributed to it by the preſent conſtitution.

46. It cannot exerciſe, by itſelf, or by delegates, the executive power or the judicial authority.

47. There is no incompatibility between the quality of member of the legiſlative body, and the exerciſe of any other public function, except that of *archiviſt of the republic.*

48. The law determines the mode of the definitive or temporary replacing public functionaries who are elected members of the legiſlative body.

49. Each department concurs, in proportion to its population only, in the nomination of members of the council of elders, and of members of the council of five hundred.

50. Every ten years, the legiſlative body, according to ſtatements of population ſent to it, determines the number of members of either council which each department ought to furniſh.

51. No change can be made

in this diſtribution during that interval.

52. The members of the legiſlative body are not repreſentatives of the departments which nominates them, but of the whole nation; and no inſtruction can be given them.

53. Both councils are renewed annually by thirds.

54. The members going out, after three years, may be immediately re-elected for the three years following, after which there muſt be an interval of two years to render them eligible again.

55. No man, in any caſe, can be a member of the legiſlative body during more than ſix years following.

56. If, by extraordinary circumſtances, one of the two councils find itſelf reduced to leſs than two-thirds of its members, it gives notice to the executive directory, which is bound to convoke, without delay, the primary aſſemblies of the departments which have members of the legiſlative body to replace, in conſequence of circumſtances. The primary aſſemblies immediately nominate electors, who proceed to the neceſſary replacings.

57. The members newly elected for either council, meet on the 1ſt Prairial (May 20) of each year, in the commune pointed out by the legiſlative body preceding, or in the commune where it held its laſt ſittings, if another be not pointed out.

58. The two councils reſide always in the ſame commune.

59. The legiſlative body is permanent: it may nevertheleſs adjourn itſelf for ſtated terms.

60. In no caſe can the ſame councils meet in the ſame hall.

61. The functions of preſident, and of ſecretaries, cannot exceed the duration of one month, either in the council of elders, or in that of five hundred.

62. The two councils have reſpectively the right of police, in the place of their ſittings, and its external circuit ſuch as they determine it.

63. They have reſpectively the right of police over their members; but they cannot pronounce a ſentence more ſevere than cenſure, arreſt for eight days, and impriſonment for three.

64. The ſittings of both councils are public: the perſons who attend cannot exceed the number of the half of the reſpective members of each council.—The minutes of their ſittings are printed.

65. Every vote is taken by ſitting down and riſing up: in caſe of doubt, their names are called over; but the individual votes are then ſecret.

66. On the demand of 100 of its members, each council may form itſelf into a general and ſecret committee; but only to diſcuſs and not to vote.

67. Neither council can create, in its own body, a permanent committee.—Only each council has the power, when a matter appears to it ſuſceptible of a preparatory examination, to nominate, from among its members, a ſpecial commiſſion, which confines itſelf ſolely to the object of its formation. This commiſſion is diſſolved as ſoon as the council has decided upon the object with which it was charged.

68. The members of the legiſlative body receive an annual indemnity: it is, in both councils, fixed at the value of 3,000 myriagrammes of wheat (613 *quintals* 32 *pounds.*)

69. The executive directory cannot

not cauſe to paſs, or ſtop, any body of troops, within the diſtance of ſix myriametres (12 *mean leagues*) of the commune where the legiſlative body holds its ſittings, unleſs upon its requiſition, or with its authority.

70. There is about the legiſlative body a guard of citizens taken from the ſedentary national guard of all the departments, and choſen by their brothers in arms.—This guard cannot be leſs than 1,500 men in activity of ſervice.

71. The legiſlative body determines the mode and duration of this ſervice.

72. The legiſlative body attends no public ceremony, and ſends thither no deputation.

Council of Five Hundred.

73. The council of five hundred is invariably fixed at this number.

74. To be elected a member of the council of five hundred, a man muſt be thirty years of age complete, and have been domiciliated upon the territory of the republic during the ten years which immediately preceded the election.—The condition of being thirty years of age ſhall not be requirable before the ſeventh year of the republic; till that period, the age of twenty-five years complete ſhall be ſufficient.

75. The council of five-hundred cannot deliberate if its ſittings be not compoſed of 200 members at leaſt.

76. The propoſing of laws appertains excluſively to the council of five hundred.

77. No propoſition can be debated or reſolved upon in the council of five hundred, without obſerving the following forms: The propoſition is read three times; the intervals between two of theſe readings cannot be leſs than ten days. The diſcuſſion is opened after each reading; and, nevertheleſs, after the firſt or the ſecond reading, the council of five hundred may declare that there is ground for adjournment, or that there is not ground for deliberating. Every propoſition muſt be printed and diſtributed two days before the ſecond reading. After the third reading, the council of five hundred decides whether or not there be ground for adjournment.

78. No propoſition, which, being ſubmitted to diſcuſſion, has been definitively rejected after the third reading, can be re-produced till after the revolution of a year.

79. The propoſitions adopted by the council of five hundred, are called reſolutions.

80. The preamble of every reſolution ſets forth,—1ſt, The dates of the ſittings in which the three readings of the propoſition took place. 2d, The act by which it was declared, after the third reading, that there was not ground for adjournment.

81. Are exempted from the forms preſcribed by article ſeventy-ſeven, propoſitions recognized as urgent, by a previous declaration of the council of five hundred. This declaration ſets forth the motives of urgency, and mention is made of it in the preamble to the reſolution.

Council of Elders.

82. The council of elders is compoſed of two hundred and fifty members.

83. No man can be elected a member of the council of elders—If he be not forty years of age complete; if he be not married, or a widower; and, if he has not been domiciliated on the territory of the

republic, during the fifteen years which immediately preceded the election.

84. The condition of domiciliation required by this article, and that preſcribed by article ſeventy-four, do not concern the citizens who are gone out of the territory of the republic with miſſion from government.

85. The council of elders cannot deliberate, if the ſitting be not compoſed of 126 members at leaſt.

86. It appertains, excluſively, to the council of elders to approve or reject the reſolutions of the council of five hundred.

87. As ſoon as a reſolution of the council of five hundred comes to the council of elders, the preſident reads the preamble.

88. The council of elders refuſes to approve the reſolutions of the council of five hundred, which have not been come to according to the forms preſcribed by the conſtitution.

89. If the propoſition has been declared urgent by the council of five hundred, the council of elders deliberates upon approving or rejecting the act of urgency.

90. If the council of elders reject the act of urgency, it does not deliberate upon the principle of the reſolution.

91. If the reſolution be not preceded by an act of urgency, it is read three times: the interval between two of theſe readings cannot be leſs than five days. The diſcuſſion is opened after each reading. Every reſolution is printed and diſtributed, two days at leaſt before the ſecond reading.

92. The reſolutions of the council of five hundred, adopted by the council of elders, are called *laws.*

93. The preamble to laws ſets forth the dates of the ſittings of the council of elders, in which the three readings took place.

94. The decree by which the council of elders recognizes the urgency of a law, is mentioned, with reaſons aſſigned for it, in the preamble to that law.

95. The propoſition of a law made by the council of five hundred, is underſtood of all the articles of one plan; the council of elders muſt reject them all, or approve the whole.

96. The approbation of the council of elders is expreſſed on each propoſition of law by this *formula,* ſigned by the preſident and ſecretaries: *the council of elders approves.*

97. The refuſal to adopt, on account of omiſſion of the forms pointed out in article ſeventy-ſeven of this title, is expreſſed by this *formula,* ſigned by the preſident and ſecretaries: *the conſtitution annuls.*

98. The refuſal to approve the principle of a law propoſed, is expreſſed by this *formula,* ſigned by the preſident and ſecretaries: *the council of elders cannot adopt.*

99. In the caſe of the preſent article, the plan of the law rejected cannot be again preſented by the council of five hundred, till after the revolution of a year.

100. The council of five hundred may, nevertheleſs, preſent, at any period whatever, a plan of a law which contains articles that made part of a plan which has been rejected.

101. The council of elders ſends the laws it has adopted, within the day, both to the council of five hundred, and to the executive directory.

102. The council of elders may change the reſidence of the legiſla-

tive body: it points out, in this caſe, a new place, and the period at which the two councils are bound to repair to it. The decree of the council of elders upon this ſubject is irrevocable.

103. On and after the day of this decree, neither of the councils can deliberate any more in the commune where they had till then reſided. The members who ſhall there continue their functions ſhall render themſelves guilty of an offence againſt the ſurety of the republic.

104. The members of the executive directory who ſhall retard, or refuſe to ſeal, promulgate, and diſpatch the decree of the tranſlation of the legiſlative body, ſhall be guilty of the ſame crime.

105. If, within twenty days after that fixed by the council of elders, the majority of each of the two councils has not made known to the republic its arrival at the new place pointed out, or its meeting in ſome other place, the adminiſtrators of department, or, in their default, the civil tribunals of department, convoke the primary aſſemblies to nominate electors, who proceed immediately to the formation of a new legiſlative body, by the election of 250 deputies for the council of elders, and of five hundred for the other council.

106. The adminiſtrators of department who, in the caſe of the preceding article, fail to convoke the primary aſſemblies, render themſelves guilty of high treaſon, and of an offence againſt the ſurety of the republic.

107. Are declared guilty of the ſame crime all citizens who oppoſe any obſtacle to the convocation of the primary and electoral aſſemblies in the caſe of article one hundred and ſix.

108. The members of the new legiſlative body, aſſemble in the place to which the council of elders had transferred the ſittings. If they cannot meet in that place, in whatever place the majority is, there is the legiſlative body.

109. Except in the caſe of article one hundred and two, no propoſition of law can originate in the council of elders.

Of the Guarantee of the Members of the Legiſlative Body.

110. The citizens who are, or who have been, members of the legiſlative body, cannot be examined, accuſed, or tried, at any time, for what they have ſaid or written in the exerciſe of their functions.

111. The members of the legiſlative body, from the moment of their nomination to the thirtieth day after the expiration of their functions, cannot be brought to trial but according to the forms preſcribed by the following articles.

112. They may, for criminal acts, be ſeized *in flagrante delicto*; but notice is given of it, without delay, to the legiſlative body; and the proſecution cannot be continued till after the council of five hundred has propoſed the bringing to trial, and the council of elders has decreed it.

113. Except in the caſe of *flagrans delictum*, the members of the legiſlative body cannot be carried before the officers of police, or put in a ſtate of arreſt, before the council of five hundred has propoſed the bringing to trial, and the council of elders has decreed it.

114. In the caſe of the two pre-

ceding articles, a member of the legiſlative body cannot be carried before any tribunal but the high court of juſtice.

115. They are carried before the ſame court for acts of treaſon, dilapidation, manœuvres to overturn the conſtitution, and offences againſt the internal ſurety of the republic.

116. No denunciation againſt a member of the legiſlative body can give room for a proſecution, if it be not drawn up in writing, ſigned and addreſſed to the council of five hundred.

117. If after having there been deliberated upon in the form preſcribed by article ſeventy-ſeven, the council of five hundred admit the denunciation, it declares it in theſe terms:—The denunciation againſt , for the act of dated the , ſigned by , is admitted.

118. The perſon inculpated is then cited; he has for his appearance a delay of three free days; and when he appears he is heard in the interior of the place of ſitting of the council of five hundred.

119. Whether the perſon inculpated be preſent or not, the council of five hundred declares, after this delay, if there be, or be not, room for an examination of his conduct.

120. If it be declared by the council of five hundred that there is room for an examination, the perſon under charge is cited by the council of elders: he has for his appearance a delay of two free days; and if he appear, he is heard in the interior of the place of ſitting of the council of elders.

121. Whether the perſon under charge be preſent or not, the council of elders, after this delay, and after having deliberated according to the forms preſcribed by article ninety-one, pronounces the accuſation, if there be room for it, and ſends the perſon accuſed before the high court of juſtice, which is bound to proceed to trial without any delay.

122. Every diſcuſſion, in either council, relative to charging or accuſing a member of the legiſlative body, is had in general council, (perhaps general committee):—Every vote upon the ſame ſubject is taken by calling over the names, and ſecret ballot.

123. The accuſation pronounced againſt a member of the legiſlative body carries with it ſuſpenſion:—If he be acquitted by the judgment of the high court of juſtice, he reſumes his functions.

Relation of the Two Councils with one another.

124. When the two councils are definitively conſtituted, they give mutual notice by a meſſenger of ſtate.

125. Each council nominates four meſſengers of ſtate for its ſervice.

126. They carry, to each of the councils and to the executive directory, the laws and acts of the legiſlative body; they have entrance to this effect into the place of ſitting of the executive directory:—They march preceded by two uſhers.

127. One of the councils cannot adjourn itſelf beyond five days, without the conſent of the other.

Promulgation of Laws.

128. The executive directory cauſes to ſeal and publiſh the laws and other acts of the legiſlative body, within two days after their reception.

129. It cauſes to ſeal and promulgate, within the day, the laws and acts of the legiſlative body, which are preceded by a decree of urgency.

130. The publication of the laws and acts of the legiſlative body is ordained in the following form:—
" In the name of the French republic (law) or (act) of the legiſlative body.—The directory ordains that the above law or act of the legiſlative body ſhall be publiſhed, executed, and the ſeal of the republic ſhall be affixed to it."

131. Laws of which the preamble does not atteſt the obſervance of the forms preſcribed by articles ſeventy-ſeven and ninety-one, cannot be promulgated by the executive directory, and its reſponſibility in this reſpect laſts ſix years:—Are excepted, the laws for which the act of urgency has been approved by the council of elders.

TITLE VI.

Executive Power.

132. The executive power is delegated to a directory of five members, nominated by the legiſlative body, performing the functions of an electoral aſſembly in the name of the nation.

133. The council of five hundred forms, by ſecret ballot, a liſt ten times the number of the members of the directory to be nominated, and preſents it to the council of elders, who chooſe, by ſecret ballot alſo, out of this liſt.

134. The members of the directory muſt be 40 years of age at leaſt.

135. They cannot be taken but from among the citizens who have been members of the legiſlative body or miniſters:—The diſpoſition of this article ſhall not be obſerved till the commencement of the ninth year of the republic.

136. From the firſt day of the ninth year of the republic, the members of the legiſlative body cannot be elected members of the directory, or miniſters, either during the continuance of their legiſlative functions, or during the firſt year after the expiration of thoſe functions.

137. The directory is partially renewed by the election of a new member every year:—Lot ſhall decide, during the firſt four years, upon the ſucceſſive going out of thoſe nominated the firſt time.

138. None of the members going out can be re-elected till after an interval of five years.

139. The aſcendant and the deſcendant in direct line; the brother, the uncle, and the nephew, couſins in the firſt degree, and connections by marriage in the ſame degrees, cannot be members of the directory at the ſame time, nor ſucceed one another in it, till after an interval of five years.

140. In the caſe of vacancy, the death, or otherwiſe, of a member of the directory, his ſucceſſor is elected by the legiſlative body within ten days at moſt:—The council of five hundred is bound to propoſe the candidates within the firſt five days, and the council of elders muſt complete the election within the laſt five days. The new member is not elected but for the remaining period of the perſon he ſucceeds. If, however, this does not exceed ſix months, he who is elected ſhall continue in office for five years and a half.

141. Each member of the directory is preſident of it in turn, for three months only:—The preſident

ſigns and keeps the ſeals. The laws and the acts of the legiſlative body are addreſſed to the directory, in the perſon of its preſident.

142. The executive directory cannot deliberate if there be not three members preſent at leaſt.

143. A ſecretary is choſen, not one of its members, who counterſigns diſpatches, and draws up the deliberation on regiſter, in which each member has the right of entering his opinion, with his reaſons for it:—The directory may, when it thinks proper, deliberate without the attendance of its ſecretary: in this caſe the deliberations are drawn up in a particular regiſter, by one of the members of the directory.

144. The directory provides, according to the laws, for the external or internal ſurety of the republic: it may make proclamations conformable to the laws, and for the execution of the laws:—It diſpoſes of the armed force, without in any caſe the directory collectively, or any of its members, being capable of commanding it either during the time of their functions, or during the two years which immediately follow the expiration of thoſe functions.

145. If the directory is informed, that any conſpiracy is plotting againſt the external or internal ſurety of the ſtate, it may iſſue warrants of ſummons, or warrants of arreſt, againſt the preſumed authors, or accomplices; it may interrogate them: but it is obliged, under the penalties againſt the crime of arbitrary detention, to ſend them before the officer of police, within the delay of two days, to proceed according to the laws.

146. The directory nominates the generals in chief, it cannot chooſe them among the relations or connections of its members within the degrees expreſſed by article one hundred and thirty-nine.

147. It ſuperintends and aſſures the execution of laws in the adminiſtrations and tribunals, by commiſſaries of its nomination.

148. It nominates, not of its own body, the miniſters, and diſmiſſes them when it thinks fit:—It cannot chooſe them under the age of thirty years, nor from among the relations or connections of its members, within the degrees ſet forth in article one hundred and thirty-nine.

149. The miniſters correſpond immediately with the authorities ſubordinate to them.

150. The legiſlative body determines the attributions, and the number of miniſters:—This number is ſix at leaſt, or eight at moſt.

151. The miniſters do not form a council.

152. The miniſters are reſpectively reſponſible both for the non-execution of laws, and the non-execution of orders of the directory.

153. The directory nominates the receiver of direct taxes in each department.

154. It nominates the ſuperintendants in chief of indirect contributions, and of the adminiſtration of national domains.

155. All the public functionaries in the French colonies, except the departments of the Iſles of France and Re-union, ſhall be nominated by the directory till peace.

156. The legiſlative body may authoriſe the directory to ſend into all the French colonies, according to the exigency of the caſe, one or more particular agents nominated by it for a limited time:—The particular

ticular agents ſhall exerciſe the ſame functions as the directory, and ſhall be ſubordinate to it.

157. No member of the directory can go out of the territory of the republic, till two years after the ceſſation of his functions.

158. He is bound, during that interval, to prove his reſidence to the legiſlative body:—Article one hundred and twelve, and the following to article one hundred and twenty-three incluſively, relative to the guarantee of the legiſlative body, are common to the members of the directory.

159 In caſe of more than two members of the directory being brought to trial, the legiſlative body ſhall provide, in the ordinary forms, for replacing them proviſionally during the trial.

160. Except in the caſe of articles one hundred and nineteen and one hundred and twenty, neither the directory nor any of its members can be cited either by the council of five hundred, or by the council of elders.

161. The accounts and information demanded of the directory, by either council, are furniſhed in writing.

162. The directory is bound every year, to preſent to both councils, in writing, an eſtimate of the expences, the ſituation of the finances, the ſtate of exiſting penſions, and the plan of thoſe which it thinks it expedient to eſtabliſh or create:—It muſt point out the abuſes that have come within its knowledge.

163. The directory may at all times invite the council of five hundred, in writing, to take a ſubject into conſideration; it may propoſe to it meaſures, but not plans drawn up in form of laws.

164. No member of the directory can abſent himſelf more than five days, or remove above four myriameters *(eight mean leagues)* from the place of the reſidence of the directory, without being authoriſed by the legiſlative body.

165. The members of the directory cannot appear in the exerciſe of their functions, either without or within their houſes, unleſs clothed in their appropriate dreſs.

166. The directory has its conſtant guard, paid at the expence of the republic, compoſed of 120 infantry and 120 cavalry.

167. The directory is attended by its guards in public ceremonies and proceſſions, in which it has always the firſt rank.

168. Each member of the directory is attended out of doors by two guards.

169. Every poſt of armed force owes to the directory, and to each of its members, the ſuperior military honours.

170. The directory has four meſſengers of ſtate, whom it nominates, and whom it may remove:—They carry to the two legiſlative bodies, the letters and memorials of the directory; they have entrance to this effect into the place of ſitting of the legiſlative councils.—They march preceded by two uſhers.

171. The directory reſides in the ſame commune with the legiſlative body.

172. The members of the directory are lodged at the expence of the republic, and in the ſame edifice.

173. The ſalary of each of them is fixed, for each year, at the value of 150,000 myriagrammes of wheat (10,222 *quintals.)*

TITLE

TITLE VII.

Adminiſtrative and Municipal Bodies.

174. In each department there is a central adminiſtration, and in each canton one municipal adminiſtration at leaſt.

175. Every member of a departmental or municipal adminiſtration ought to be twenty-five years of age at leaſt.

176. The aſcendant and deſcendant, in direct line, brothers, the uncle and nephew, and connections by marriage to the ſame degrees, cannot be members of the ſame adminiſtration at the ſame time, or ſucceed one another in it till after an interval of two years.

177. Each adminiſtration of department is compoſed of five members; it is renewed by a fifth every year.

178. Every commune, of which the population is from 5,000 to 100,000 inhabitants, has for itſelf alone a municipal adminiſtration.

179. In each commune, of which the population is leſs than 5,000 inhabitants, there is a municipal agent and an aſſiſtant.

180. The union of the municipal agents of each commune forms the municipality of canton.

181. There is, moreover, a preſident of municipal adminiſtration choſen out of the whole canton.

182. In communes, of which the population is from five to ten thouſand inhabitants, there are five municipal officers:—Seven for from ten thouſand to fifty thouſand.—Nine for from fifty thouſand to an hundred thouſand.

183. In communes, of which the population exceeds 100,000 inhabitants, there are three municipal adminiſtrations at leaſt:—In theſe communes the diviſion of municipalities is made in ſuch manner, that the population of the juriſdiction of each exceeds not 50,000 individuals, and is not leſs than 30,000. The municipality of each juriſdiction is compoſed of ſeven members.

184. In communes divided into ſeveral municipalities, there is a central office for matters judged indiviſible by the legiſlative body:—This office is compoſed of three members, nominated by the adminiſtration of department, and confirmed by the executive power.

185. The members of every municipal adminiſtration are nominated for two years, and renewed every year by one half, or by a part approximating the neareſt to one half, and alternately by the larger and the ſmaller fraction.

186. The adminiſtrators of department, and the members of municipal adminiſtrations, may be re-elected once without an interval.

187. Every citizen who has been elected twice following, adminiſtrator of department or member of a municipal adminiſtration, and who has diſcharged the functions in virtue of both elections, cannot be elected again till after an interval of two years.

188. In caſe of a departmental or municipal adminiſtration loſing one or ſeveral of its members by death, reſignation, or otherwiſe, the remaining adminiſtrators may add to their number temporary adminiſtrators to act in that quality till the next elections.

189. The departmental and municipal adminiſtrations cannot modify the acts of the legiſlative body, or thoſe of the executive directory, or ſuſpend the execution of them:—

They cannot interfere in matters depending on the judicial order.

190. The adminiſtrators are eſſentially charged with the aſſeſſment of direct taxes, and the ſuperintendance of money ariſing from the public revenues in their territory:—The legiſlative body determines the rules, and the mode of their functions, both upon theſe objects and the other parts of the interior adminiſtration.

191. The executive directory nominates to each departmental and municipal adminiſtration a commiſſary, whom it recals when it thinks expedient:—This commiſſary ſuperintends and requires the execution of the laws.

192. The commiſſary to each local adminiſtration muſt be taken from among the citizens domiciliated for a year in the department where that adminiſtration is eſtabliſhed:—He muſt be 25 years of age at leaſt.

193. The municipal adminiſtrations are ſubordinate to the adminiſtrations of department, and the latter to the miniſters:—In conſequence, the miniſters (each in his department) may annul the acts of adminiſtrations of department, and the latter, the acts of municipal adminiſtrations when thoſe acts are contrary to the laws or to the orders of ſuperior authorities.

194. The miniſters may alſo ſuſpend the adminiſtrators of departments who have contravened the laws, or the orders of ſuperior authorities; and the adminiſtrations of department have the ſame right with reſpect to the members of municipal adminiſtrations.

195. No ſuſpenſion or annulment is definitive without the formal confirmation of the executive directory.

196. The directory may alſo annul immediately the acts of departmental or municipal adminiſtration:—It may alſo ſuſpend or remove immediately, when it thinks neceſſary, the adminiſtrators either of department or canton, and ſend them before the tribunals of department when there is ground for it.

197. Every order importing annulment of acts, ſuſpenſion, or removal of adminiſtrators, muſt have reaſons aſſigned for it.

198. When the five members of a departmental adminiſtration are removed, the executive directory provides for replacing them till the following election; but it cannot chooſe their proviſional ſucceſſors, but among the ancient adminiſtrators of the ſame department.

199. The adminiſtrations, either of department or of canton, cannot correſpond with one another, but upon the affairs which are attributed to them by the law, and not upon the general intereſts of the republic.

200. Every adminiſtration muſt give an annual account of its management:—The accounts rendered by the departmental adminiſtrations are printed.

201. All the acts of the adminiſtrative bodies are rendered public by a regiſter in which they are entered, and which is open to all perſons under their adminiſtration:—This regiſter is cloſed every ſix months, and is not depoſited for inſpection till the day on which it is cloſed. The legiſlative body may prolong, according to circumſtances, the delay fixed for this depoſit.

TITLE VIII.

Judicial Power.

General Diſpoſitions.

202. The judicial functions cannot be exerciſed either by the legiſlative body or by the executive power.

203. The judges cannot interfere in the exerciſe of the legiſlative power, or make any regulation:—They cannot ſtop or ſuſpend the execution of any law, or ſummon before them adminiſtrators on account of their functions.

204. No man can be withdrawn from the judges, whom the law aſſigns him, by any commiſſion, or by any other attributions than thoſe which are determined by an anterior law.

205. Juſtice is adminiſtered gratuitouſly.

206. The judges cannot be removed, but by forfeiture legally pronounced; or ſuſpended, but by an admitted accuſation.

207. The aſcendant and deſcendant in direct line, brothers, uncle or nephew, couſins in the firſt degree, and connections by alliance in theſe ſeveral degrees, cannot be members of the ſame tribunal at the ſame time.

208. The ſittings of the tribunals are public; the judges deliberate in ſecret; judgments are pronounced with a loud voice; reaſons for them are aſſigned, and the terms of the law applied ſet forth.

209. No citizen, if he be not thirty years of age complete, can be elected judge of a tribunal of department, or juſtice of peace, or aſſeſſor to a juſtice of peace, or judge of a tribunal of commerce, or member of the tribunal of annulment, or juror, or commiſſary of the executive directory with the tribunals of civil juſtice.

210. There can be no infringement of the right to cauſe differences to be pronounced upon by arbitrators of the choice of the parties.

211. The deciſion of theſe arbitrators is without appeal, and without recourſe to annulment, if the parties have not made an expreſs reſerve.

212. There is in each diſtrict determined by the law a juſtice of peace and his aſſeſſors: they are all elected for two years, and may be immediately and indefinitively re-elected.

213. The law determines the objects of which juſtices of peace and their aſſeſſors take cognizance in dernier reſort:—It attributes to them other matters of which they judge, ſubject to appeal.

214. There are particular tribunals for commerce by land and ſea: the law determines the places where it is uſeful to eſtabliſh them:—Their power of judging in dernier reſort cannot be extended beyond the value of 500 myriagrammes of wheat (102 *quintals* 22 *pounds*).

215. The affairs, of which judgment belongs not to juſtices of peace, or tribunals of commerce, either in dernier reſort, or ſubject to appeal, are carried immediately before the juſtice of peace and his aſſeſſors, to be conciliated:—If the juſtice of peace cannot conciliate them, he ſends them before the civil tribunal.

216. There is a civil tribunal for every department:—Each civil tribunal is compoſed of 20 judges at leaſt, of a commiſſary, and a ſubſtitute, nominated and removeable by the executive directory, and of a regiſter:—Every five years the election

of all the members of the tribunal is proceeded to. The judges may be always re-elected.

217. At the time of electing the judges, five ſuppleans are nominated, of whom three are taken from among the citizens reſident in the commune where the tribunal ſits.

218. The civil tribunal pronounces in dernier reſort, in all caſes determined by the law, on appeals from juſtices of peace, arbitrators, or tribunals of commerce.

219. The appeal from judgments pronounced by the civil tribunal is carried before the civil tribunal of one of the three neareſt departments, as is determined by the law.

220. The civil tribunal is divided into ſections—a ſection cannot judge under the number of five judges.

221. The whole of the judges of each tribunal nominate among themſelves, by ſecret ballot, the preſident of each ſection.

Of Correctional and Criminal Juſtice.

222. No man can be ſeized, but to be carried before the officer of police; and no man can be put under arreſt or detained, but by virtue of a warrant from the officers of police, or of the executive directory, in the caſe of article one hundred and forty-five, or of an order of caption from a tribunal of the director of a jury of accuſation, of a decree of accuſation by the legiſlative body, in the caſe in which it belongs to it to pronounce ſuch a decree, or of a ſentence of condemnation to priſon, or correctional detention.

223. In order that the act which ordains arreſt may be executed, it is requiſite - firſt, that it expreſs formally the motive of arreſt, and the law in conformity to which it is ordered; ſecondly, that it has been notified to him who is the object of it, and a copy of it left with him.

224. Every perſon ſeized and conducted before the officers of police, ſhall be examined immediately, or, at fartheſt, within the day.

225. If it reſult from the examination, that there is no ground of crimination againſt him, he ſhall immediately be ſet at liberty; or, if there be ground to ſend him to the houſe of arreſt, he ſhall be conducted thither in as ſhort a ſpace of time as poſſible, which, in no caſe, can exceed three days.

226. No perſon arreſted can be detained, if he give ſufficient bail, in every caſe where the law admits the remaining at liberty upon bail.

227. No perſon, in caſes where his detention is authoriſed by law, can be conducted to, or confined in, any places but thoſe legally and publicly appointed, as houſes of arreſt, houſes of juſtice, or of detention.

228. No keeper or gaoler can receive or detain any perſon, except by virtue of a warrant of arreſt, according to the forms preſcribed by articles two hundred and twenty-two and two hundred and twenty-three, an order of caption, a decree of accuſation, or a ſentence of condemnation to priſon, or correctional detention, which ſhall be tranſcribed upon his regiſter.

229. Every keeper or gaoler is bound, without any order being capable of diſpenſing with his ſo doing, to preſent the perſon of the priſoner to the civil officer, having the police of the houſe of detention, as often as ſhall be required by that civil officer.

230. The production of the perſon confined cannot be refuſed to his re-

lations and friends, who have an order of the civil officer, which he ſhall be bound to grant, except the keeper or gaoler preſent a direction from the judge tranſcribed upon his regiſter, to detain the perſon arreſted in ſecret cuſtody.

231. Every man, whatever be his place or employment, except thoſe to whom the law gives the right of arreſt, who ſhall give, ſign, execute, or cauſe to be executed, an order to arreſt an individual, or whoever, even in the caſe of arreſt authorized by the law, ſhall conduct, receive, or detain, an individual in a place of detention not publicly and legally appointed, and all keepers and gaolers, who ſhall contravene the regulations of the above articles, ſhall be guilty of the crime of arbitrary detention.

232. All rigours employed in arreſts, detentions, or executions, other than thoſe preſcribed by the law, are crimes.

233. There are in each department for the trial of offences, the puniſhment of which is neither corporal nor infamous, three correctional tribunals at leaſt, or ſix at moſt. Theſe tribunals cannot pronounce heavier puniſhments than impriſonment for two years. The cognizance of offences, the puniſhment of which exceeds not the value of three days labour, or impriſonment for three days, is delegated to the juſtice of peace, who pronounces in dernier reſort.

234. Each correctional tribunal is compoſed of a preſident, two juſtices of peace, or aſſeſſors to a juſtice of peace of the commune in which it is eſtabliſhed, of a commiſſary of the executive power, nominated and removeable by the executive directory, and of a regiſter.

235. The preſident of each correctional tribunal is taken every ſix months, and by turn, from among the members of the ſections of the civil tribunal of department, the preſidents excepted.

236. There is an appeal from the judgments of the correctional tribunal to the criminal tribunal of department.

237. In matter of offences ſubject to corporal or infamous puniſhment, no perſon can be tried but upon an accuſation admitted by the jurors, or decreed by the legiſlative body, in the caſe in which it belongs to it to decree accuſation.

238. A firſt jury declares if the accuſation ought to be admitted or rejected; the fact is tried by a ſecond jury, and the puniſhment determined by the law is applied by the criminal tribunal.

239. The juries vote only by ſecret ballot.

240. There are in each department as many juries of accuſation as correctional tribunals. The preſidents of the correctional tribunals are the directors of the juries, each in his diſtrict. In communes of more than 50,000 ſouls, there may be eſtabliſhed by law, beſides the preſident of the correctional tribunal, as many directors of juries of accuſation as the diſpatch of trials may require.

241. The functions of commiſſary of executive power, and of regiſter to the jury of accuſation, are diſcharged by the commiſſary, and the regiſter of the correctional tribunal.

242. Each director of a jury of accuſation, has the immediate ſuperintendance of all the officers of police of his diſtrict.

243. The director of the jury proſecutes immediately, as officer of

police, upon the denunciations made to him by the public accuſer, either officially, or by order of the executive directory:—1ſt, Offences againſt the liberty or individual ſurety of citizens. 2d, Thoſe committed againſt the right of perſons. 3d, Reſiſtance to the execution of judgments, and of all executive acts iſſuing from the conſtituted authorities. 4th, Troubles occaſioned, and acts of violence committed, to impede the collection of contributions, the free circulation of proviſions, and other objects of commerce.

244. There is a criminal tribunal for each department.

245. The criminal tribunal is compoſed of a preſident, a public accuſer, four judges, taken from among thoſe of the civil tribunal, the commiſſary of the executive power at the ſame tribunal, or his ſubſtitute, and a regiſter. There are in the criminal tribunal of the department of the Seine, a vice-preſident and a ſubſtitute of the public accuſer; this tribunal is divided into two ſections: eight members of the civil tribunal exerciſes in it the functions of judges.

246. The preſidents of ſections of the civil tribunals cannot diſcharge the functions of judges in the criminal tribunal.

247. The other judges do the duty in it, each in turn, for ſix months, in the order of their nomination, and cannot, during that period, exerciſe any function in the civil tribunal.

248. The public accuſer is charged:—1ſt, With proſecuting offences on acts of accuſation admitted by the firſt juries. 2d, With tranſmitting to the officers of police denunciations addreſſed to him directly. 3d, With ſuperintending the officers of police of the department, and acting againſt them according to the law, in caſe of negligence or more grave offences.

249. The commiſſary of the executive power is charged:—1ſt, With requiring, in the courſe of proceſs, the regularity of forms, and, before judgment, the application of the law. 2d, With following up the execution of judgments paſſed by the tribunal.

250. The judges cannot propoſe any complex queſtion to the jury.

251. The jury to try, conſiſts of twelve jurors at leaſt; the perſon accuſed may challenge, without aſſigning any reaſon, a number determined by the law.

252. The proceſs before the jury to try is public, and perſons accuſed cannot be refuſed the aid of counſel, whom they may chooſe, or who are nominated officially.

253. No perſon acquitted by a legal jury, can be apprehended or accuſed again upon account of the ſame fact.

Of the Tribunal of Annulment.

254. There is for the whole republic, one tribunal of annulment; it pronounces:—1ſt, On demands of annulment againſt deciſions in the laſt reſort given by the tribunals. 2d, On demands of reference from one tribunal to another, on grounds of lawful ſuſpicion, or public ſecurity. 3d, On the regulations of the judges, and exceptions taken to a whole tribunal.

255. The tribunal of annulment can never inveſtigate the merits of the caſe, but it annuls ſentences paſſed on trials, in which the forms have been violated, or which have been attended with any deviation

from the expreſs terms of the law, and refers the merits of the proceſs to the tribunal which ought to take cognizance of them.

256. When, after one annulment, the ſecond judgment on the merits is attacked by the ſame means as the firſt, the queſtion can be no longer agitated in the tribunal of annulment without having been ſubmitted to the legiſlative body, which paſſes a law to which the tribunal of annulment is bound to conform.

257. Every year the tribunal of annulment is bound to ſend to each of the ſections of the legiſlative body a deputation, to preſent to it a ſtatement of the ſentences paſſed, with a notice on the margin, and the text of the law, which determined the ſentence.

258. The number of the judges of the tribunal of annulment cannot exceed two-thirds of the number of departments.

259. One-fifth of this tribunal is renewed every year. The electoral aſſemblies of departments nominate ſucceſſively and alternately, the judges who are to ſucceed thoſe who go out of the tribunal of annulment. The judges of this tribunal may be always re-elected.

260. Each judge of the tribunal of annulment has a *ſupplean*, elected by the ſame electoral aſſembly.

261. There are with the tribunal of annulment a commiſſary and ſubſtitutes, nominated and removeable by the executive directory.

262. The executive directory denounces to the tribunal of annulment, through the national commiſſary, and without prejudice to the right of parties intereſted, the acts by which the judges have exceeded their powers.

263. The tribunal annuls theſe acts; and if they afford a ground of crimination, the act is denounced to the legiſlative body, who paſs a decree of accuſation, after having heard or cited the parties under charge.

264. The legiſlative body cannot annul the judgments of the tribunal of amendment, but may proſecute, perſonally, the judges who have incurred proſecution.

High Court of Juſtice.

265. There is a high court of juſtice, to try accuſations admitted by the legiſlative body, either againſt its own members, or thoſe of the executive directory.

266. The high court of juſtice is compoſed of five judges, and two national accuſers, taken from the tribunal of annulment, and of high jurors, nominated by the electoral aſſemblies of departments.

267. The high court of juſtice is not formed till after a proclamation of the legiſlative body, drawn up and publiſhed by the council of five hundred.

268. It is formed and holds its ſittings in the place appointed by the proclamation of the council of five hundred. This place cannot be nearer than twelve *myriameters* to that where the legiſlative body reſides.

269. When the legiſlative body has proclaimed the formation of the high court of juſtice, the tribunal of annulment draws by lot fifteen of its members in a public ſitting; it afterwards, in the ſame ſitting, nominates five of theſe fifteen by a ſecret ballot; the five judges thus nominated are the judges of the high court of juſtice; they chooſe among them a preſident.

270. The tribunal of annulment nominates, in the ſame ſitting, by ballot, with the abſolute majority, two of its members to exerciſe, in the high court of juſtice, the functions of national accuſers.

271. The acts of accuſation are prepared and drawn up by the council of five hundred.

272. The electoral aſſemblies of each department nominate every year a juror for the high court of juſtice.

273. The executive directory cauſes to be printed and publiſhed, a month after the date of the election, a liſt of the jurors nominated for the high court of juſtice.

TITLE IX.

Of the Public Force.

274. The public force is inſtituted to defend the ſtate againſt enemies abroad, and to ſecure at home the maintenance of order, and the execution of the laws.

275. The public force is eſſentially obedient: no armed body can deliberate.

276. It is divided into national guard ſedentary and national guard in activity.

Of the National Guard ſedentary.

277. The national guard ſedentary is compoſed of all the citizens, and ſons of citizens, capable of bearing arms.

278. Its organization and diſcipline are the ſame for all the republic; they are determined by the law.

279. No Frenchman can exerciſe the rights of citizen, if he is not inſcribed on the roll of the national guard ſedentary.

280. The diſtinction of ranks and ſubordination, ſubſiſts only with relation to the ſervice, and for the period of its duration.

281. The officers of the national guard ſedentary, are choſen for a time by the citizens who compoſe it, and cannot be re-elected till after an interval.

282. The command of a national guard of a whole department, cannot be habitually intruſted to one citizen.

283. If it be judged neceſſary to aſſemble all the national guard of a department, the executive directory may nominate a temporary commandant.

284. The command of the national guard ſedentary, in cities of an hundred thouſand ſouls and upwards, cannot be habitually intruſted to one man.

Of the National Guard in activity.

285. The republic maintains in its pay, even in time of peace, under the name of national guards in activity, an army by land and ſea.

286. The army is formed by voluntary enrolment, and, in caſe of neceſſity, by the mode which the law determines.

287. No foreigner, who has not acquired the rights of French citizen, can be admitted into the French armies, unleſs he has made one or more campaigns for the eſtabliſhment of the republic.

288. The commanders in chief, by land and ſea, are only nominated in caſe of war; they receive commiſſions, revocable at pleaſure, from the executive power. The duration of theſe commiſſions is limited to one campaign, but they may be renewed.

289. The general command of

the armies of the republic, cannot be confided to a ſingle man.

290. The army by land and ſea is ſubject to particular laws, with reſpect to its diſcipline, the form of ſentences, and the nature of puniſhments.

291. No part of the national guard ſedentary, or of the national guard in activity, can act for the ſervice of the interior of the republic, except on the requiſition, in writing, of the civil authority, according to forms preſcribed by law.

292. The public force cannot be called out by the civil authorities, except in the extent of their territory. It cannot be removed from one canton to another, without being authorized by the adminiſtration of department, or from one department to another, without the orders of the executive directory.

293. The legiſlative body, nevertheleſs, determines the means of ſecuring, by the public force, the execution of ſentences, and the proſecution of accuſed perſons, throughout all the French territory.

294. In caſe of imminent danger, the municipal adminiſtration of one canton may call out the national guard of the neighbouring cantons; in that caſe the adminiſtration which has ſo called out, and the chiefs of the national guard called out, are equally bound to render an account, at the ſame moment, to the departmental adminiſtration.

295. No foreign troops can be introduced upon the French territory, without the previous conſent of the legiſlative body.

TITLE X.

Public Inſtruction.

296. There are, in the republic, primary ſchools where the pupils learn to read, to write, the elements of arithmetic, and thoſe of morality. The republic provides only for the expence of the lodging of the inſtructors appointed for theſe ſchools.

297. There are, in different parts of the republic, ſchools ſuperior to the primary ſchools, and to ſuch a number, that there ſhall be at leaſt one for every two departments.

298. There is, for the whole republic, a national inſtitution charged to collect diſcoveries, and to improve the arts and ſciences.

299. The different eſtabliſhments of public inſtruction have not, with reſpect to each other, any connection of ſubordination, or adminiſtrative correſpondence.

300. Citizens have a right to form particular eſtabliſhments of education and inſtruction, as well as free ſocieties, to promote the progreſs of the ſciences, of letters, and of arts.

301. There ſhall be eſtabliſhed national feſtivals, to keep alive fraternity among the citizens, and to attach them to the conſtitution, to their country, and to the laws.

TITLE XI.

Finances—Contributions.

302. The public contributions are diſcuſſed and fixed every year by the legiſlative body. To it alone belongs to eſtabliſh them; they cannot ſubſiſt beyond that period, if they are not expreſsly renewed.

303. The legiſlative body may create ſuch kind of contributions as it ſhall judge neceſſary; but it muſt eſtabliſh, every year, an impoſition upon land, and a perſonal impoſition.

304. Every individual, who not coming within articles twelve and thirteen of the conſtitution, is not included in the roll of direct contributions, has the right of preſenting himſelf to the municipal adminiſtration of his commune, and to inſcribe himſelf for a perſonal contribution, equal to the local value of three days agricultural labour.

305. The inſcription mentioned in the preceding article cannot be made but during the month of Meſſidor every year.

306. Contributions of every deſcription are aſſeſſed upon thoſe who contribute, in proportion to their means.

307. The executive directory orders and ſuperintends the receipt and the paying in of contributions, and gives all the neceſſary orders for that purpoſe.

308. The detailed account of the expences of miniſters, ſigned and certified by them, are made public at the commencement of each year. The ſame ſhall be done with all the ſtatements of the receipt of different contributions, and of all the public revenues.

309. The ſtatement of theſe expences and receipts are diſtinguiſhed according to their nature; they expreſs the ſums received and expended, year by year, in each part of the general adminiſtration.

310. There are alſo publiſhed, accounts of the expences particular to the departments, and relative to the tribunals, to the adminiſtrations, to the promotion of the ſciences, and to all public works and eſtabliſhments.

311. The adminiſtrations of department, and the municipalities, cannot make any aſſeſſment beyond the ſums fixed by the legiſlative body, nor diſcuſs, nor permit, without being authorized by it, any local loan at the charge of the citizens of the department, of the commune, or of the canton.

312. To the legiſlative body alone belongs the right of regulating the coining and iſſuing of all kinds of money, fixing the value, the weight, and the impreſſion.

313. The directory ſuperintends the coining of money, and nominates the officers charged immediately with the inſpection of it.

314. The legiſlative body determines the contributions of the colonies, and their commercial connections with the mother-country.

National Treaſury and Account.

315. There are five commiſſaries of the national treaſury choſen by the council of elders from a treble liſt preſented by that of five hundred.

316. The duration of their functions is for five years, and one of them is renewed every year, and may be re-elected indefinitely without interval.

317. The commiſſaries of the treaſury are charged to ſuperintend the receipt of all the national money. To order the movements of funds, and the payment of all public expences conſented to by the legiſlative body. To keep an open account of receipt and expence with the receiver of direct contributions for each department; with the different national boards, and with the payers eſtabliſhed in the departments. To maintain, with the ſaid receivers and payers, with the boards and adminiſtrations, the correſpondence neceſſary for aſſuring the exact and regular paying in of money.

318. They

318. They can pay nothing, under penalty of forfeiture, but by virtue, 1ſt, Of a decree of the legiſlative body, and to the amount of the ſum decreed by it for each object. 2d, Of a deciſion of the directory. 3d, Of the ſignature of the miniſter who directs the expence.

319. They cannot, under penalty of forfeiture, approve of any payment, if the mandate ſigned by the miniſter, who directs the expence, do not ſet forth the date, the deciſion of the executive directory, and the decrees of the legiſlative body, which authorize the payment.

320. The receivers of direct contributions in each department, the different national boards, and the payers in the departments, give in to the national treaſury their reſpective accounts; the treaſury audits and paſſes them.

321. There are five commiſſaries of national accounts, elected by the legiſlative body at the ſame periods, and according to the ſame forms and conditions as the commiſſaries of the treaſury.

322. The general account of receipt and expenditure of the republic, with the particular accounts and documents, is preſented by the commiſſaries of the treaſury to the commiſſaries of accounts, who audit and paſs them.

323. The commiſſaries of accounts give notice to the legiſlative body of abuſes, malverſations, and all caſes of reſponſibility, which they diſcover in the courſe of their operations; they propoſe meaſures ſuitable to the intereſts of the republic.

324. The reſult of the accounts paſſed by the commiſſaries of accounts is printed and made public.

325. The commiſſaries of the national treaſury and accounts, cannot be ſuſpended or removed but by the legiſlative body. But during the adjournment of the legiſlative body, the executive directory may ſuſpend and replace, proviſionally, the commiſſaries of the national treaſury, to the number of two at moſt, bound to refer them to both councils of the legiſlative body, as ſoon as they have reſumed their ſittings.

TITLE XII.

External Relations.

326. War cannot be decided upon but by a decree of the legiſlative body, upon the formal and neceſſary propoſition of the executive directory.

327. The two legiſlative councils concur according to the ordinary forms in the decree, by which war is decided upon.

328. In caſe of hoſtilities imminent or actually commenced, of menaces, or preparations for war againſt the French republic, the executive directory is bound to employ, for the defence of the ſtate, the means at its diſpoſal, charged, however, with communicating them without delay to the legiſlative body. It may even, in that caſe, point out the augmentation of force, and the new legiſlative regulations, which circumſtances may require.

329. The directory alone can maintain political relations abroad, conduct negociations, diſtribute the land and naval forces as it judges neceſſary, and regulate their directions in caſe of war.

330. It is authorized to make preliminary ſtipulations, ſuch as armiſtices, treaties of neutrality: it

may likewiſe agree upon ſecret conventions.

331. The executive directory agrees to, ſigns, or cauſes to be ſigned, with foreign powers, all treaties of peace, alliance, truce, neutrality, commerce, and other conventions, which it may judge to be neceſſary for the intereſt of the ſtate. Theſe treaties and conventions are negociated in the name of the French republic, by diplomatic agents, nominated by the executive directory, and charged with its inſtructions.

332. In the caſe of a treaty containing ſecret articles, the regulations of thoſe articles cannot be ſubverſive of the open articles, or contain any alienation of the territory of the republic.

333. Treaties are not binding till after having been examined and ratified by the legiſlative body; nevertheleſs, the ſecret conditions proviſionally receive their execution from the moment they ſhall have been agreed upon by the executive directory.

334. Neither of the legiſlative councils deliberate upon war or peace, but in general committee.

335. Foreigners, whether eſtabliſhed in France or not, ſucceed to their foreign or French relations; they may contract for, acquire and receive property ſituated in France, and diſpoſe of it in the ſame manner as French citizens, by all the means authorized by the laws.

TITLE XIII.

Reviſion of the Conſtitution.

336. If experience ſhew the inconveniences of ſome articles of the conſtitution, the council of elders propoſes the reviſion of them.

337. The propoſition of the council of elders is, in that caſe, ſubmitted to the ratification of the council of five hundred.

338. When, in a period of nine years, the propoſition of the council of elders, ratified by the council of five hundred, has been made at three intervals, of at leaſt two years each, an aſſembly of reviſion is convened.

339. This aſſembly is formed of two members by department, all choſen in the ſame manner as members of the legiſlative body, and poſſeſſing the ſame qualifications as thoſe required for the council of elders.

340. The council of elders points out for the meeting of the aſſembly of reviſion, a place diſtant 20 *myriametres* at leaſt from that where the legiſlative body ſits.

341. The aſſembly of reviſion has a right to change the place of its reſidence, obſerving the diſtance preſcribed by the preceding article.

342. The aſſembly of reviſion exerciſes no function of legiſlation or government; it confines itſelf to the reviſion of the conſtitutional articles pointed out to it by the legiſlative body.

343. All the articles of the conſtitution, without exception, continue to be in vigour as long as the changes propoſed by the aſſembly of reviſion are not accepted by the people.

344. The members of the aſſembly of diviſion deliberate in common.

345. The citizens who are members of the legiſlative body, at the time of convoking an aſſembly of reviſion, cannot be elected members of that aſſembly.

346. The aſſembly o reviſion addreſſes immediately to the primary aſſemblies the plan of reform it has

agreed upon. It is diſſolved the moment the plan is addreſſed to them.

347. The duration of the aſſembly of reviſion can in no caſe exceed three months.

348. The members of the aſſembly of reviſion cannot be examined, accuſed, or tried, at any time for what they have ſaid or written in the exerciſe of their functions. During the continuance of thoſe functions they cannot be put upon trial, except by a deciſion of the members of the aſſembly of reviſion.

349. The aſſembly of reviſion attends no public ceremony; its members receive the ſame indemnity as the members of the legiſlative body.

350. The aſſembly of reviſion has the right of exerciſing, or cauſing to be exerciſed, the police of the commune in which it reſides.

TITLE XIV.

General Diſpoſitions.

351. There exiſts among the citizens no ſuperiority but that of public functionaries, and relative to the exerciſe of their functions.

352. The law acknowledges neither religious vows, nor any other engagement, contrary to the natural rights of man.

353. No man can be hindered from ſpeaking, writing, printing, and publiſhing his thoughts. Writings cannot be ſubject to any cenſure before their publication. No man can be reſponſible for what he has written or publiſhed, but in caſes provided for by the law.

354. No man can be hindered from exerciſing the form of worſhip he has choſen, while he conforms to the laws. No man can be forced to contribute to the expences of any form of worſhip. The republic pays for none.

355. There is neither privilege nor right of companies, nor corporation, nor limitation to the freedom of the preſs, of commerce, and to the exerciſe of induſtry and arts of every kind. Every prohibitory law of this ſort, when circumſtances render it neceſſary, is eſſentially proviſional, and has no effect beyond a year at moſt, unleſs it be formally renewed.

356. The law watches particularly the profeſſions which intereſt public morals, the ſafety and the health of citizens; but admiſſion to the exerciſe of theſe profeſſions cannot be made to depend upon any pecuniary ſecurity.

357. The law ought to provide for the recompence of inventors, or for the maintenance of the excluſive property of their diſcoveries or productions.

358. The conſtitution guarantees the inviolability of all property, of a juſt indemnity for that of which public neceſſity legally proved may require the ſacrifice.

359. The houſe of every citizen is an inviolable aſylum: during the night no one has a right to enter it, except in caſe of fire, inundation, or a call from within the houſe. During the day, the orders of the conſtituted authorities may be executed in it. No domiciliary viſit can be made but in virtue of a law, and for the perſon or object expreſsly ſtated in the act which orders the viſit.

360. No corporation or aſſociation, contrary to public order, can be formed.

361. No aſſembly of citizens can call itſelf a popular ſociety.

362. No particular ſociety em-

ploying itſelf upon political queſtions, can correſpond with any other, or affiliate with it, or hold public ſittings, compoſed of members and auditors, diſtinguiſhed from one another, or impoſe conditions of admiſſion and eligibility, or arrogate rights of excluſion, or make its members wear any external mark of their aſſociation.

363. The citizens cannot exerciſe their political rights, but in the primary or communal aſſemblies.

364. All the citizens are free to addreſs petitions to the public authorities, but the petitions muſt be individual: no aſſociation can preſent collective petitions, except the conſtituted authorities, and that only upon ſubjects appertaining to their functions:—The petitioners muſt never forget the reſpect due to the conſtituted authorities.

365. Every armed aſſemblage is an offence againſt the conſtitution; it ought to be inſtantly diſperſed by force.

366. Every aſſemblage, not armed, ought alſo to be diſperſed, at firſt by means of verbal command, and, if neceſſary, by the diſplay of armed force.

367. Several conſtituted authorities cannot meet to deliberate together; no act iſſuing from ſuch a meeting can be executed.

368. No man can wear diſtinctive marks which call to mind functions formerly exerciſed, or ſervices performed.

369. The members of the legiſlative body, and all the public functionaries, wear, in the exerciſe of their functions, the dreſs or ſign of the authority with which they are inveſted; the law determines the form of it.

370. No citizen can renounce, in whole or in part, the indemnity or ſalary allowed him by the law on account of public functions.

371. There is uniformity of weights and meaſures in the republic.

372. The French æra commences on the 22d of September 1792, the day of the foundation of the republic.

373. The French nation declares, that in no caſe will it ſuffer the return of the French, who, having abandoned their country ſince the 15th of July 1789, are not comprehended in the exceptions made to the laws againſt emigrants; and the nation interdicts the legiſlative body from creating new exceptions upon this point:—The property of emigrants is irrevocably confiſcated to the benefit of the republic.

374. The French nation proclaims alſo, as guarantee of the public faith, that after an adjudication legally completed of national property, whatever may have been its origin, the legitimate holder cannot be diſpoſſeſſed of it, but a perſon reclaiming it may, if there be reaſon, be indemnified by the national treaſury.

375. None of the powers inſtituted by the conſtitution has the right to change it, in whole or in part, ſaving the reforms that may be made in it, by means of reviſion, conformably to the diſpoſitions of title thirteen.

376. The citizens will call to mind inceſſantly, that it is upon the wiſdom of choice in the primary electoral aſſemblies, the duration, preſervation and proſperity of the republic principally depend.

377. The French people commit the depoſit of the preſent conſtitution to the fidelity of the legiſlative

body, of the executive directory, of the adminiſtrators and judges; to the vigilance of fathers of families; to wives and to mothers; to the affection of the young citizens, and to the courage of all the French.

Inſpected by the Repreſentatives of the People, Inſpectors of the Minutes.

(Signed) **LEHAULT, ENJUBAULT.**

Collated with the original, by us, preſident and ſecretaries of the National Convention. At Paris, the 5th Fructidor (Auguſt 22, 1795) third year of the French Republic.

(Signed)
M. J. CHENIER, Preſident;
DERASEY, SOULIGNAC,
BERNIER, LAURENCEOT,
DENTZEL, QUIROT,
Secretaries.

Speech of Boiſſy D'Anglas, on the Policy of the French Republic, with reſpect to Foreign Nations, adopted by the Convention, as a Declaration of the Principles of the French People, January 30, 1795.

IN a former diſcourſe I recapitulated the principles of juſtice and candour upon which the government of France now reſts. I ſhewed in what manner that government, at once republican and revolutionary, had laid among us the foundation of a real public credit, and created in the face of all Europe a power in ſome ſort new.

I ſhewed in what manner the French people, ſtarting from the ſleep of ſlavery, had reſumed their place among nations, from the number of which it was attempted to blot them out; had begun to repair their immenſe loſſes, and had prepared all the ſeeds of their future proſperity.

I am now going to take a view of the external ſituation of this vaſt empire—of the relations of France with other nations, and of their intereſts with reſpect to her. I will tell you how the happineſs of the world muſt neceſſarily reſult from the eſtabliſhment of the liberty of France, and the peace of the univerſe, from the peace you are going to negociate with your neighbours.

I will advertiſe the greater part of thoſe who make war upon us, of the dangers to which they expoſe themſelves by declaring againſt us; which dangers are of ſuch a nature, that ſucceſs itſelf, if ſucceſs were poſſible, would ſerve only to render them more imminent. I will repel the atrocious calumnies of thoſe orators in the pay of tyrants, who, having no longer any hope of enſlaving us by arms, would ſtill excite againſt us as many enemies as there are governments in Europe, and deprive us of that national credit which accrues to a great nation, from its reſpect for other nations and its public morality.

It is time that the formulas of an ancient and ill-adviſed policy give place to the frank and ſincere expreſſions of freemen; it is time that truth, in the tribune of the legiſlator, reſume that influence which ſhe ought never to have loſt. The language I ſhall hold, will form a remarkable contraſt to the inſidious words with which the ſittings of another *ſoi-diſant* repreſentative aſſembly reſound at this moment; an aſſembly which, in its counterfeit debates, its quixotic rodomontades, and fawning addreſſes, denies your ſucceſſes, diſſembles your victories, outrages your principles, and dares ſtill to threaten a liberty which three years of fruitleſs attack ought at length to have compelled it to reſpect.

When the moſt exaſperate paſſions are every where forging arms to divide us, to deſtroy or enſlave us, animated by the moſt noble paſſions, enflamed by the love of liberty and our country, we muſt oppoſe imperturbable juſtice to their violent fury, and republican conſtancy to their raſh impetuoſity.

Almoſt all the thrones of the earth have put themſelves in motion to fall upon us; their miniſters have leagued together; their armies have conglomerated; their thunders have flaſhed to deſtroy our infant liberty. But their ravaging cohorts, overthrown by our patriot battalions, have been diſſipated like thoſe thick clouds which ſeem to announce a tempeſt, and which a ſalutary wind diſperſes and annihilates.

While we had to combat only the hatred of coaleſced kings, and the fury of their ſoldiers, the burning valour of the French, their inexhauſtible courage, the conſtant ſacrifices of all the citizens, ſufficed to prove to the univerſe, how worthy we are of liberty, and how chimerical the hope of thoſe who would wreſt it from us. But now, citizens, that our triumphs have carried diſmay into the boſom of the countries which pretended to give chains to France, we have another kind of attack to ſuſtain, and other efforts to repulſe. They cannot conquer the French—they endeavour to calumniate them.

All the nations of the world admire our courage; they all lament ſeeing their blood and their treaſures exhauſted to tear from us our liberty. Attempts are made to deſtroy us in their opinion, and to impute to us alone the innumerable calamities which this long and terrible war has poured out upon them.—Neither the fury of the coaleſced kings, nor the efforts of their ſoldiers have we any cauſe to dread, but we will always reſpect the opinion of the people of other ſtates, whatever may be their government, their force, their weakneſs, their good or ill-fortune.

We will not ſeek, as we have been often charged with doing, to trouble their internal organization, and to make them adopt our laws; but we will not ſuffer our principles to be poiſoned in their eyes, their eſteem to be taken from us; and the ambitious authors of a ruinous war to charge us with the melancholy fruits of their own vanity, crimes, and ambition.

For three years, humanity has groaned and ſuffered—for three years, Europe has been inundated with blood, and the people weighed down with taxes. This inſenſate deſire to partition or enſlave France is evidently the cauſe or the pretext of all theſe evils; and when a part of our enemies, diſcouraged by our ſucceſs, or enlightened by experience, ſeem willing to let the earth reſpire—when the people, indignant at the calamities with which they are overwhelmed, ſeem every where commanding their governments to put an end to the horrors of war, ſome cruel and crafty politicians would perſuade them, that we alone are inſenſible to theſe cries of ſuffering humanity, that we alone thirſt for their blood; that no peace with us can be ſafe or honourable; that the continuation of the war is advantageous to them; and, finally, this abſurd contradiction, that, on the one hand, our pride and our ambition are too formidable for us to be treated with, and, on the other, that our efforts have too much exhauſted us not to afford hopes of certain ſucceſs, by continuing the conteſt.

We ought, citizens, out of reſpect to humanity, to expoſe theſe contradictions, reply to theſe calumnies, hold up the light to every eye, and unmaſk thoſe Machiavelian governments which, ſporting with the blood of men and the fortune of the people, aim at rearing a coloſſal greatneſs on the ruin of the principal powers in Europe.

We ought to convince all virtuous men that we deteſt war without fearing it; that we are always ready to put a ſtop to its horrors, when a peace ſhall be offered to us conſiſtent with our dignity, and capable of guaranteeing our ſafety. We ought, at the ſame time, to advertiſe the people of all nations that, ready to negociate with frankneſs, we will not ſuffer our arms to be paralized, or our triumphs to be ſuſpended by negociations, falſe or futile.

Our armies who brave the ſeaſons, maſter the elements, and turn to their advantage all the obſtacles which nature and art ſeem to oppoſe to them; our armies who, ruſhing over the frozen inundations of Holland, have completed the conqueſt of it in leſs time than was formerly neceſſary to make the tour, will charge themſelves with demonſtrating to our enemies that, far from being exhauſted by three years of war, we have only augmented our reſources, and added to the experience of our generals, to the diſcipline of our ſoldiers, to that republican ardour which has never ceaſed to inflame their ſouls. But we ought, above all, to prove to the univerſe that the ambition of the Engliſh government, the intereſted policy of the Houſe of Auſtria, and the pride of Ruſſia, are the ſole cauſes of the misfortunes of the world.

Powers of Europe! open your eyes, contemplate your true dangers; diſtinguiſh at laſt your true enemies; conſider with affright the abyſs into which they are dragging you, by ſometimes making France a bugbear to terrify, and ſometimes repreſenting it as a prey eaſy to be divided. Suffering people, deluded monarchs, envied republics, follow with me the courts of Vienna, of Peterſburgh, and, above all, of London, through the dark labyrinth of their crafty policy! the torch of evidence will conduct you, and you will then ſee what are the projects you ought to fear, the enemies you ought to combat, the friends you ought to embrace.

The politics of the cabinet of Vienna have been long unveiled. Conſtant in their ambitious projects, princes have ſucceeded one another on that throne for ſeveral ages, preſerving always the ſame ſpirit, purſuing inceſſantly the ſame ſyſtem. The object is always invariable; but the means of accompliſhing it continually changing. The houſe of Auſtria, for its aggrandizement, has, by turns, employed treaties, ruptures, marriages, intrigues, and arms. Before Ruſſia had civilized herſelf, and Pruſſia had become a power, France, Turkey, and Sweden, formed alone the rampart to protect the empire againſt the emperors.

Since the rivals of the court of Vienna increaſed in number and in force, that court has negociated ſo dexterouſly, that it has been very near deſtroying, by artifice, the counterpoiſe which balanced its power. It weakened the Turks by ſacrificing them to the Ruſſians; it ſeduced France to ſuch a degree, that Pruſſia once ſaw itſelf on the brink of complete deſtruction, in ſpite of the genius of Frederic and the diſcipline of his ſoldiers.

Twice ſince that period it has been on the point of poſſeſſing Bavaria; firſt by force of arms, and next by an exchange: finally, ſeeing that, notwithſtanding its connections with France, the French did not ſecond its views, it wiſhed perfidiouſly to deſtroy its ally; and profiting of the ſhocks of our revolution, it favoured our internal enemies, formed plots in the very boſom of our government, and leagued all Europe againſt us, under the haughty pretext of maintaining the cauſe of kings, but with the real deſign of taking from us Alſace, Lorraine, and a part of Flanders; and of ridding itſelf for ever of the obſervation of a people whoſe glory always excited its envy, and whoſe force always repreſſed its audacity. The event has deceived its expectation. It has already loſt the Pays Bas, its fortreſſes, its cannon, its treaſures; its armies have diſappeared before ours, the reputation of its generals is vaniſhed, and every thing announces that upon the cabinet of Vienna the day of juſtice is arrived. It now exhibits nothing but the ſpectacle of diſappointed ambition and impotent wrath. It fears peace, but it cannot continue the war; and there is not a power of Europe which does not ſee that its policy is to engage other powers to ruin themſelves to fight for its intereſts, and to recover for it what it has loſt.

Pruſſia muſt now know on what ſide was artifice, and on what ſide ſincerity. Every thing muſt make Frederic William regret having liſtened to the councils of his natural enemy, in preference to the pacific envoys of a free nation, which ſhewed him the truth, and offered him a uſeful amity; he muſt regret having been the dupe of ſome crowned intriguers, of ſome dexterous negociators, who led him into the only courſe that could ruin him. Spain, the Empire, Sardinia, muſt experience the ſame regret. These powers muſt ſhudder at ſeeing the abyſs into which it has been attempted to plunge them. They have only the melancholy proſpect of ſharing the fate of Holland, or of being annihilated under the yoke of the two courts that have ſeduced them. Ah! what we ought above all to ſhew to theſe deluded powers, for the intereſt of Europe, is the danger with which they are menaced by the two Coloſſuſes they ſupport, which will conclude by ſubjugating them, if our ſacrifices and our courage do not ſtop them in their progreſs. England and Ruſſia, theſe are the two enemies we ought to denounce to the univerſe; theſe are the tyrants we ought to denounce to the world; theſe are the wide-waſting torrents whoſe irruption we muſt ſtop. More dexterous, better ſituated, leſs unfortunate than Auſtria, they alone have hitherto profited of the general calamities and errors of the coalition.

Rouſe from your ſleep, ſtates of the empire, king of Pruſſia, and all ye maritime powers! — your fleets, your forces, your cultivators, your finances, your blood, all you have been made to ſacrifice, to give to Ruſſia the empire of the land, and that of the ſeas to proud Albion. Do you forget that the inhabitants of the north deſtroyed the Roman empire, more united, more formidable than you? Muſt you be reminded of thoſe irruptions of the Goths and Vandals, inundating all Europe, to deſtroy all the empires of it? Muſt you be reminded that, for 60 years, Ruſſia, introducing a groſs civilization among her barbarous people, preſerving a ſavage force, even while enriching herſelf with arts and modern tactics, has already humbled the Chineſe, and planted colonies on the coaſt of America; that ſhe has paſſed the Caucaſus, ſubjected Georgia, impoſed laws upon a part of Perſia, ſubjugated the Coſſacks, deſtroyed the Tartars, conquered the Crimea, partitioned Poland, diſmayed the Ottoman empire, raiſed inſurrection in Greece, and menaced Conſtantinople?

Muſt we open wounds not yet entirely healed, and mention the numerous battalions entering Berlin itſelf, which, but for the unforeſeen caprice of Peter III. would have annihilated the very name of the Pruſſian power? Do you not ſee that the ambitious Catharine, by holding out vain promiſes to the emigrants, by inflaming the rage of the German princes againſt French liberty, has contrived to entangle her rivals in a war which exhauſts them, in order to make herſelf miſtreſs of Poland, and ſo open to her the gates of Germany? I know it may be ſaid, with ſome foundation, that the Ruſſian empire is a Coloſſus with feet of clay; that in it corruption has preceded maturity; that the ſlavery which exiſts in it deprives its force of all ſolidity, and its reſources of all energy; that its extent is immenſe, but partly deſert; that it is proud but poor; that it is already too vaſt to be governed; that by extending itſelf it accelerates its own diſſolution; and that every conqueſt it makes is a ſtep towards its ruin. I admit theſe truths; but this giant, before he periſhes, will cruſh you; it is upon your ruins that he muſt fall; he will not diſmember himſelf till after you are ravaged, diſperſed, and annihilated. Danes, Swedes, Germans, Pruſſians, Ottomans, think of this! time flies, the thunder rattles; Vienna betrays you; the Muſcovite torrent is augmenting; Attila is once more advancing, and if you do not unite in time to arreſt this deſtructive ſcourge, you are undone.

You are taught to fear France. What a ſtrange error! If our government be wiſe, and founded on true principles, why envy us? if from its nature it be as diſaſtrous, as you are told, why dread a people that carries in its own boſom a ſource of weakneſs or of agitation, that muſt prevent it from meddling with you? — the conſtancy of our efforts, the duration of our ſacrifices, the permanence of our victories, do they not demonſtrate beforehand the ſtability of treaties that may be made with us? — Are not changes of ſyſtem, by a great nation, neceſſarily more rare than the changes and caprices of miniſters, of miſtreſſes, and of favourites? Ah! our intereſts are common. What ſignifies it, that we have outſtript you in the career of liberty! What ſignify our conſtitution and our laws, our principles and our opinions! policy commands you to unite with us, and to march with equal pace againſt the enemies that threaten us. When it is dinned in your ears that it is neither ſafe nor honourable to treat with us, tranſlate this language into its true meaning, and learn that Auſtria ſays—"fight, that I may regain my provinces;" and know that England does not urge you to fight, but in the hope you will prevent us from oppoſing her maritime conqueſts; finally liſten to Ruſſia: mark her very words—"fight, exhauſt yourſelves, laviſh all your blood, and all your treaſures, that I may, without obſtacle, quit my deſerts, and ſpread my warlike population over your fertile territories."

Oh! ye politicians of Europe, who boaſt of wiſdom ſo exalted, of penetration ſo profound, how is it poſſible that you have not yet lifted up the veil which hides from your eyes the Machiavelian politics of the Engliſh government!—How is it ye do not ſee to what degree it abuſes you, and what a game it makes of all it profeſſes to reſpect! That government accuſes us of immorality; and when, by an armed neutrality, the robbery of neutral commerce was to be repreſſed, it was the only civilized government which unbluſhingly oppoſed the meaſure. It accuſes us of having broken the peace and violated the right of nations, and it inſulted our ambaſſador. It profeſſes to hate intolerant papacy, and it takes up arms to defend the ſuperſtitions of Rome. It pretends to cheriſh liberty, and it is in alliance with the oppreſſors of Poland. It reproaches us with cruelties of which we execrate and puniſh the authors; and it has filled Aſia with pillage and dead bodies, has hired ſavages to enſlave the Americans, and purchaſed men of a German prince, fixing beforehand the price of each wound, of each mutilation; in a word, ſetting the tarif of every drop of blood of thoſe miſerable ſlaves. It charges us with ambition, and fooliſhly ſtrives to render itſelf maſter of all the colonies. It has the audacity to ſay, that we make war without humanity; and it has attempted to avenge its diſaſters, by expoſing twenty-four millions of men to a famine from which chance and our valour have protected us. It clamours every where that we want to attack the independence of other ſtates; and it attempted to compel Genoa, Venice, Sweden and Denmark, to renounce the moſt reſpectable and the moſt ſacred of all rights, that of remaining neuter amid the horrors of war. Finally, it has the aſſurance to declare, that it is not ſafe to treat with us—that government does ſo, which, when in alliance with Ruſſia, excited the Turks to make war upon her, and afterwards abandoned them—that government, which encouraged the Poles in their revolution, and left them without ſupport—that government which armed Sweden againſt the Ruſſians, and betrayed it—that government, which forced Holland to fight againſt us, and after lending it a feeble aid, confined its efforts to diminiſhing the account of its loſſes—that government, in fine, which, after having ſeduced the unfortunate inhabitants of La Vendée and Toulon, tranquilly enjoyed the ſpectacle of their ruin.

Irreſolute Spaniards, what do

you expect? if chance ſhould diſappoint our courage, if, perſiſting in your unaccountable coalition, you ſhould paralize our efforts againſt your implacable enemy, and if that enemy, eſtabliſhing herſelf in our colonies, ſhould deſtroy the aliment of our marine, do you not ſee her already laying hold of your galleons, digging your mines, wreſting from you the empire of Mexico, that of Peru, Porto-Rico, Cuba; driving you from all the ſeas, and from the heights of Gibraltar, inſulting your misfortunes, and enjoying your miſery? In 1790, had ſhe not already drawn the ſword againſt you, becauſe ſhe thought you in no condition to defend yourſelves? Did not we turn it aſide at the moment when, reckoning on our troubles, ſhe hoped to ſtrike you with impunity? Do not her attempts upon Corſica announce that ſhe wiſhes to expel you from the Mediterranean, as ſhe aſpires at chaſing you from the ocean?

Awake, then, at the call of truth; appreciate at their juſt value the calumnies ſpread againſt us; ſee in the ſpeeches with which the parliament of London reſounds, nothing but the fear of peace, but the language of ambition unmaſked, and let us take upon ourſelves the care of our vengeance and of our ſafety. It is not only ſafe, it is honourable to treat with us: but the meaſure is become indiſpenſable to your ſafety: we have made known to you the neceſſity of it, learn the means; we are too grand, too powerful, to have any thing to diſguiſe.

Our paſt dangers, the neceſſity of rendering the return of them impoſſible, the example of the menacing league which wanted to overrun us, and at one time carried deſolation into the heart of France; the ſincere deſire of rendering peace ſolid and durable, obliges us to extend our frontiers, to take for our limits great rivers, mountains, and the ocean, and thus, beforehand, and for a long ſeries of ages, to ſecure ourſelves from all invaſion and from all attack. At this price, the powers of Europe may depend upon an inviolable peace, and upon courageous allies, capable of diſengaging them from the weight of the two raſh Coloſſuſes that, in their guilty delirium, want to arrogate at once the empire of the land and of the ſeas.

Such, citizens, are the great truths which every thing now commands us to develope before the eyes of Europe.

In vain is it attempted to miſlead the people of other nations, by telling them that our government being only proviſional, no tie, no treaty, can have any guarantee. Our government is the plenipotentiary nominated by the totality of the French people to terminate in their name the revolution and the war; and I doubt if ever ambaſſador was ſeen inveſted with power more ample, or a character more auguſt.

What ſignify the combinations of which governments are formed, when treaties are formed with the people to whom thoſe governments belong! the peace which you will ſoon ſolicit, will be much more ſolid from being given to you by the aſſent of the whole people. Our government is the will of the nation; our forms are juſtice; our principles are humanity; your guarantee is the ſincerity and the courage of a nation which has willed to be free.

Appreciate our actual government by the ſpectacle which it offers to the world; it has repreſſed inteſtine troubles; annihilated rebel factions; broken down the ſcaffolds; opened the priſons; avenged innocent blood; devoted to death and infamy the miniſters of terror; it has reſtored liberty to commerce; tranquillity to agriculture: in the interior it has made juſtice the order of the day, and victory on the frontiers.

Ah! all enlightened nations will liſten with the ſmile of contempt and of pity to the abſurd or perfidious politicians who call in queſtion, whether a nation that can conquer has the power of negociating; who dare ſtill to maintain that peace is impoſſible at the moment when every thing demonſtrates that obſtinacy is inſenſate, and reſiſtance vain?

Adopt, citizens, the ideas I have traced; ſpeak with that noble frankneſs which befits the majeſty of the French people, and you will ſoon ſee the diplomatic ſubtleties of your enemies confounded by the wiſdom of your councils, as you have ſeen their temerity puniſhed by the courage of your warriors.

Report made to the National Convention by Roberjot, *(in the Month of Auguſt,* 1795,*) relative to his Miſſion into the Countries conquered by the Armies of the North, and of the Sambre and Meuſe.*

Topographical and Commercial Details, relating to the Countries acquired by Conqueſt on this ſide of the Rhine.

THESE conquered countries may be divided into two zones; one of which is bordered by the rivers of the Rhine and the Meuſe, and the other by the latter river and the ocean.

This vaſt territory is interſected by other rivers, the principal of which are the Moſelle, the Roer, the Sambre, the Lys, and the Scheldt: they are all in a great degree navigable.

The country between the Meuſe and the Rhine compriſes a part of the dutchy of Cleves, a part of Holland, the province of Guelderland, the principality of Meurs, the country of Juliers, the electorate of Cologne, the dutchy of Limburgh, the marquiſate of Franchemont, the principality of Stavelot, the dutchy of Luxemburgh, the greateſt part of the electorate of Treves, Bingen, the town of Mentz, and a very ſmall part of that electorate, ſome part of the biſhoprics of Worms and Spires, moſt of the Palatinate, the dutchy of Deux-Ponts, and other countries of inferior importance.

The territory beyond the Meuſe compriſes the low countries of Auſtria, the remainder of the country of Liege, Dutch Brabant, and ſome diviſions or parcels of territory between the Meuſe and the Rhine.

The firſt zone has a ſuperficies of one thouſand one hundred and thirty ſquare leagues, and contains a population of one million eight hundred and ſeven thouſand inhabitants; which gives a proportion of one thouſand one hundred and fifty-eight inhabitants to every ſquare league.

The ſecond contains a territory of nine hundred ſquare leagues; the population is about one million ſeven hundred and thirty thouſand. Each ſquare league contains an average of one thouſand nine hundred and twenty-two individuals.

The complete ſuperficies of the

two countries is two thouſand two hundred and thirty ſquare leagues, and the whole population about three millions five hundred and ſeven thouſand inhabitants.

On returning to the country between the Meuſe and the Rhine, it is obſervable, that different portions of the territory have an equal population: that induſtry is much varied, and the ſoil is more or leſs fertile.

The dutchy of Cleves belongs to the king of Pruſſia; it is very fertile in corn: its commerce and induſtry are principally directed to linen cloth, but leather is likewiſe manufactured.

I here allude only to the left bank: if I add the principality of Meurs, which is ſituated in the middle of Guelderland, there will be an extent of thirty-ſix ſquare leagues, and ſixty thouſand inhabitants.

Guelderland is in the poſſeſſion of Holland, Auſtria, and Pruſſia: the three portions belonging to theſe powers contain thirty-ſix ſquare leagues, their population amounts to ſeventy thouſand individuals. This province is very fertile, though it has ſome heaths of conſiderable extent: its commerce and induſtry are principally confined to damaſk and plain linen.

The country of Juliers contains one hundred and thirty ſquare leagues, and two hundred and eighty thouſand inhabitants. It belongs to the prince Palatine: this is one of the moſt fertile countries. It has manufactories of cloth, linen, and braſs; there are foundries and forges, a quantity of coal, and manufactories of various kinds, particularly thoſe of needles and thimbles.

The electorate of Cologne is a piece of land which extends along the Rhine: it contains about fifty-ſeven ſquare leagues, and compriſes ſixty thouſand inhabitants; it is the moſt fertile part of the whole country, and its manufacture is chiefly linen.

The dutchy of Limburgh belongs to the emperor: it produces a quantity of forage, but not much corn; it rears a number of cattle, and its induſtry is very extenſive; woollen cloth of all qualities is manufactured, and coal mines opened; it contains fifty-four ſquare leagues, and twenty-four thouſand inhabitants.

The marquiſate of Franchemont, and the principality of Stavelot belong, the former to the prince of Liege, and the latter to the Abbot of Stavelot, who is a prince of the empire. The territory of Liege, which is on the right bank of the Meuſe, contains ſixty-two ſquare leagues, and ninety thouſand inhabitants: they manufacture cloth and leather, and cultivate forage and grain, though to no very conſiderable extent.

The dutchy of Luxemburgh belongs to Auſtria: it contains three hundred and ſixty ſquare leagues, and three hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants: its principal trade is in wool. This dutchy poſſeſſes much wood, and is not fertile.

The electorate of Treves is the property of the biſhop elector: it contains an hundred and ſixty ſquare leagues, and one hundred and thirty thouſand ſouls. This country does not abound in grain, but it produces wine; there are many foundries and forges, particularly in the vicinity of Blankheim; where marble and ſlate are alſo procured.

The palatinate and the portions of the biſhoprics of Worms, Spires, and the dutchy of Deux-Ponts, Bingen, and Mentz; together with the ſmall portion of this electorate and ſome other parcels of adjoining territory, have a ſuperficies of four hundred leagues, and contain five hundred and ſixty thouſand inhabitants. This country is in a ſtate of the greateſt fertility; it has mines of very good iron, and ſeveral which abound in mercury have been opened. Laſtly, that nothing may be omitted, the territory near Nimeguen, and the portion of the country of Namur, ſituate on the right of the Meuſe, contain twenty-ſeven ſquare leagues, and twenty-ſeven thouſand inhabitants.

The ſecond zone is divided into three parts; it compriſes the Auſtrian Netherlands, the country of Liege, and Dutch Brabant. This extent of territory is more rich and fertile than that between the Meuſe and the Rhine.

The population of the Auſtrian low countries amounts to twelve hundred and thirty-five thouſand individuals, and its ſuperficies is five hundred and ſeventy ſquare leagues. This country contains mines of iron and lead, and a quantity of coal: its manufactures conſiſt of cloth and linen; and ſeveral ſubſtances uſed in the arts are alſo prepared; agriculture is carried to the greateſt perfection: great quantities of rape ſeed and other oils are produced; its trade is very great: in ſhort, this is the richeſt and moſt abundant country in Europe.

That part of the country of Liege which is to the left of the Meuſe, excepting the canton of Hezebaye and ſome communes near the river, is not generally fertile, but the people are very induſtrious; much coal is explored, and a quantity of allum and leather manufactured; there is alſo a great demand for the lime of this country. The town of Liege in particular, contains ſeveral manufactories of very good fire arms, and nails for ſhip-builders and others: the people are very active and laborious. This territory contains an hundred and ten ſquare leagues, and two hundred and ninety-five thouſand inhabitants.

Dutch Brabant, and other of the Dutch poſſeſſions extend to two hundred and twenty ſquare leagues, and have two hundred thouſand individuals. This country abounds in paſtures, and in ſome parts produces abundance of grain.

This vaſt territory being divided into numerous compartments, there is no part but what has its cuſtoms, exciſe duties, and tolls: here certain privileges are enjoyed, which do not exiſt elſewhere: the cuſtoms, idioms, and manners generally differ: induſtry prevails among theſe people more from the circumſtances and prodigality of nature, than from a wiſe adminiſtration, and laws calculated to promote the intereſt and happineſs of the people. Each prince has endeavoured to ruin his neighbour, by preventing importation, with more ardour than he has ſtudied the intereſt of his people. For many centuries feudality has exiſted in all its force: the clergy have conſtantly given proofs of their dominion.

This people, amidſt the riches of nature, are not permitted to enjoy her bounties: every thing is ſhackled in its commerce and induſtry; and whatever they have acquired to the preſent time is rather the fruit of their activity and genius, their natural inclination for the arts, and for the conception of great enterprizes, than of the combined meaſures of their government.

Holland has deprived this territory of its commerce; England has ruined its manufactures; in ſhort, it has been plundered of every thing except the riches of its ſoil, its happy ſituation, which facilitates its natural advantages, and its manufacture of linen and lace, becauſe of theſe it could not readily be deprived.

Notwithſtanding theſe reſtrictions, this country abounds in productions; its induſtry is exceſſive; and it has an extenſive trade. To form an idea as to the degree of proſperity it may attain, if a free government were to give full ſcope to the activity of the inhabitants, let us examine its different ſources of wealth.

You will have an exact picture of the fertility of the ſoil, when you know that the Dutch derive from this country a vaſt quantity of corn; that this neceſſary article is alſo ſent into France, and exported to the country of Munſter, the dutchy of Berg, and the countries of Mark and Sain, which are on the right bank of the Rhine; the preſence of the two armies did not hinder this exportation, and the inhabitants ſupplied thoſe armies with proviſions.

Independent of this conſumption, which was enormous, grain was uſed, the ſame as before the war, for making beer, which is the general drink of the inhabitants; a great quantity was alſo uſed for making the gin called Geneva, which is likewiſe in common uſe throughout the whole of the conquered country; in ſhort, the inhabitants have, even now, a ſufficient ſtock of proviſion to laſt till the month of Nivôſe.

It is conſidered as a general average, that the country produces corn enough for the ſupply of three times its own population.

With reſpect to its induſtry, notwithſtanding the reſtrictions and innumerable difficulties which the governments have never ceaſed to impoſe upon it, it is proportionably more extenſive than in any other country.

At Aix-la-Chapelle we find manufactories of needles: theſe articles are as good and as finely poliſhed as thoſe made in England: thirty mills are daily employed in poliſhing them.

In this town, and in thoſe of Verviers, Neaut, Montjoie, Enſival, Franchemont, &c. they make common woollen cloth, and ſeveral other articles, which are equal in quality to thoſe of England and France.

It is the activity of theſe inhabitants which has deprived England of two-fifths of her exports of ſerail cloth to the Levant.

At Stolberg ſeveral individuals manufacture braſs wire and plates, which are exported to all the neighbouring ſtates.

At Cologne manufactories have been eſtabliſhed for iron ſtoves, ſo generally ſought after in conſequence of their ſolidity and elegance of form.

At Liege they make fire arms, which are in general requeſt for their beauty and the excellence of their finiſhing: in this neighbourhood alſo, as well as in the courſe of the Meuſe, they extract allum, ſo neceſſary for dying, and other arts.

In Auſtrian Flanders are manufactured common and damaſk cloths and laces, which for beauty have never been equalled in any other country.

At Liege, Stavelot, and in part of Guelderland, they prepare leather, the goodneſs of which is univerſally admitted.

At Malmedi they make cards and paſteboards, which are equal in quality to thoſe of England.

In the country of Blankheim they caſt iron, and by a very good proceſs, prepare it for being converted into ſteel.

At Namur and its vicinity, braſs wire is made, and copper cauldrons, as good as thoſe of England. This laſt article is very important.

As to commerce it is not what it uſed to be; it is confined in the interior to the difficult conveyance of wrought articles from one country to the other, and externally, to whatever they may have in exceſs.

The former cannot proſper till the numerous duties on the frontiers are totally ſuppreſſed. The latter will be more conſiderable, when the ſame ſhackles are aboliſhed, and the navigation of the rivers made free. The articles for exportation are needles, which are ſent to France, Italy, Spain, the Levant, Germany, and the ſtates of the North.

The ferail cloths are particularly reſerved for Smyrna and the ports of the Levant.

The broad cloths are exported to Germany, Pruſſia, Poland, Ruſſia, Sweden, and Denmark.

The linen, laces, and flax are ſent to all parts of the globe.

The coal and iron are deſtined for Holland and France.

The plates of braſs are for Switzerland, Geneva, France, and all countries where clock and watch-making is general.

The leather is diſpatched to the northern countries, and the cauldrons to the neighbouring ſtates.

From this enumeration, it is eaſy to conceive the reſources of this country, and the riches which it contains; of thoſe it may yet procure, and of all the means that may contribute to this end; and we may foreſee the advantage which France will at a future time derive from a country unknown in the reſpects I have mentioned, and of the importance of which we do not ſeem to be ſufficiently aware.

Examination of the Queſtion relative to the Limits of the Rhine.

The queſtion here naturally preſents itſelf, Whether it is of importance to the republic to add theſe countries to its territory; whether this union ought to compriſe the whole or only a part of them, and in this caſe, what limits ought to be fixed upon?

This propoſition requires a ſerious examination, and to be conſidered under every aſpect. To treat of it completely, I ought to ſtate ſome principles, and previouſly to acquaint you with ſome facts. They will tend to illuſtrate the ſubject, and place it in a fair point of view.

The French being able to give the law to a powerful enemy, ought to dictate it in the treaty of peace which they are about to conclude, with all the conditions that may enſure their weakneſs, and our own ſtrength.

The treaty of peace ought to ſpecify the limits; it ſhould trace the direction of theſe barriers in ſuch a manner that they cannot be eaſily overcome.

The articles of this treaty ought to prevent the ſparks of war from being re-kindled, and ſhould be adapted to the preſent as well as to the future.

As ambition, jealouſy, and the ſpirit of competition, may tend to make this enemy, in certain times and places, project new enterpriſes againſt the French nation, this treaty ought to weaken his means of hoſtility, if not entirely to deprive him of ſuch means.

The arrangement of theſe conventions ſhould be ſo combined, that the execution of all the clauſes may turn to the profit and power of the republic.

Theſe data, the juſtice of which cannot be diſputed, will ſerve to reſolve the queſtion that has been propoſed.

There prevail in general three opinions reſpecting the conquered countries.

One is, that it is politic and juſt to abandon theſe countries, and reſume our own frontiers, remaining ſatisfied with having repulſed the enemy from our territory.

The ſecond is, to confine our boundaries to the courſe of the Meuſe.

The third is, to fix them at the Rhine.

The firſt of theſe opinions is defended by the neceſſity of our making peace, the inconveniences which will reſult from a territory too extenſive, and the neceſſity of preventing the enemy from every opportunity of attacking us, by leaving him no pretext for hoſtility; becauſe, ſay the partiſans of this opinion, he would never want the motives for ſuch a meaſure, if he were deprived of a country whoſe value would be the ſubject of perpetual regret.

The ſecond is founded upon the idea that, by the territory compriſed between the Meuſe and the Ocean, belonging to France, it would facilitate the preſervation of the advantages expected from the opening of the Scheldt, and the navigation of the Meuſe, ſecured by the treaty of peace with Holland.

That it is juſt for the French nation to be indemnified for her expenſes in defending her liberty, to the detriment of thoſe who wiſhed to deprive her of it.

That this territory, on account of the richneſs of its ſoil, and the induſtry of its inhabitants, cannot be otherwiſe than profitable, in every reſpect, to the French nation.

Thoſe who ſupport this opinion, think that a greater extent of territory than that of which they ſpeak, will be no addition to theſe advantages.

The third, in ſhort, reſts upon the conſolidation of the republic, which can only take place by the extenſion of her limits to the Rhine;

On the impoſſibility of Auſtria, under ſimilar limits, to form new ſchemes againſt the French;

On the indemnity juſtly due to the nation for the expences of a war of three years;

On the obſtacles which this arrangement preſents to the houſe of Auſtria, whoſe power it is neceſſary to diminiſh;

It alſo reſts upon the neceſſity of procuring an advantageous commercial and political balance to the nation; a balance which remains ſecured by the union of theſe countries, as we ſhall then be able to open more intimate commercial relations with the North, and with ſome of the circles of Germany, and to increaſe our maritime trade;

It is founded on the circumſtance of the free navigation of the Rhine, the ſlighteſt reſtriction on which would make the parts of this river which are ſecured to us, of no effect, while the liberty of its entire courſe renders incalculable the profits of its navigation;

On the means of appropriating to ourſelves the reſources afforded by induſtry, the progreſs of the arts, and the exploring of ſome mines, privileged by their ſcarcity, of which we are, in France, deprived;

On the infallible opportunity which offers of poſſeſſing ourſelves of ſeveral branches of commerce followed by the Engliſh, our moſt inveterate enemies;

On the goodneſs of diſpoſition of moſt of the inhabitants between the Meuſe and the Rhine, who have ſeveral times ſolicited their union with France, at the bar of the national convention: and, laſtly,

On the wiſh of the French nation, which is leſs anxious to make peace than to grant the moſt favourable conditions.

Firſt Opinion. The Return to the ancient Limits, impolitic and unjuſt.

I ſhall ſtop a little, in order to refute this opinion: it is the opinion of the partiſans of Auſtria, and of thoſe who are too eaſily alarmed about the future fate of France, in caſe her limits ſhould be remote.

In admitting this opinion, we are gratuitouſly deprived of thoſe advantages which France may expect to derive from the opening of the Scheldt, and the free navigation of the Meuſe, the two great ſources of wealth for the frontier departments.

The nation would degrade herſelf in the eyes of Europe, if ſhe ſo eaſily conſented to give up the fruits of her conqueſt; ſhe would leave to Auſtria, naturally jealous of our proſperity, every means of doing us injury: for the latter may break off our commercial connections whenever ſhe pleaſes, in order to profit by the firſt circumſtances which may be favourable to her for overthrowing the edifice of our liberty, and avenging herſelf for the humiliation ſhe has experienced from our armies during the laſt campaign.

This would be giving to our enemy the opportunity of recovering from the ſtate of diſtreſs in which the war has involved him; of reinforcing and reanimating his forces; and would leave him the means of again, and more adroitly, concerting his operations, and combining his plan with more maturity, whenever he may be inclined, under the weakeſt pretext, and profiting by our diſſenſions and wants, to declare a new war againſt us.

Hence it is neither politic nor juſt for us to return to our former limits.

Second Opinion. The withdrawing of the Limits to the Courſe of the Meuſe inſufficient and unſafe.

Let us now examine the ſecond opinion. Although this may be in many reſpects, more proper to conſolidate the republic than the firſt, and may be advantageous in ſeveral points of view; there are nevertheleſs thoſe who regard the courſe of the Meuſe as an inſufficient and unſafe limit.

They agree that the French nation would find, in the countries ſhe would retain, an indemnity proportionate to the greateſt part of her expenſes which have been occaſioned by the war, but it is not under this point of view alone that the boundary in queſtion ought to be conſidered; it ought to be known whether we do not leave to Auſtria all the means of recovering the territory which we ſhould reſerve to ourſelves, and whether ſuch a meaſure would tend to produce a durable peace?

Thoſe who have taken a ſurvey of the countries in queſtion, and have followed the courſe of the Meuſe, ought to know that this river proceeds between two ranges of mountains which decline only towards Maeſtricht: that the heights which border on both ſhores vary but little from each other; and that this river is fordable at certain ſeaſons of the year.

That Namur and Liege, the two principal towns ſituated on the left bank of this river, and which are the moſt frequented places of reſort, are commanded in every direction.

It was from the poſition of Chartreux, that the ſuburbs of Mercœur, and of the town of Liege, were burnt and deſtroyed by the Auſtrians, though the French were in poſſeſſion of the citadel on the left bank. From a ſimilar poſition the town of Namur might be deſtroyed in a few hours.

The poſitions of the river Meuſe, therefore, do not form obſtacles ſtrong enough to prevent the enemy from attempting a paſſage, and invading the territory we ſhould retain; it cannot alſo in any way ſerve as a frontier proper for guaranteeing the ſecurity of the country which it leaves between it and the ocean; it is only uſeful for fixing ſuch limits as will not be ſubject to diſpute, without affording a rampart, a means of ſecurity, or ſufficient points of defence.

The enemy, placed between the Meuſe and the Rhine would always be able to collect his forces, to make a proviſion of corn, to procure iron in large quantities for the uſe of artillery, and to equip his troops with Limburgh cloth; nothing, therefore, can prevent him from taking all theſe precautions, while he is in the territory which affords ſuch numerous reſources.

Occupying the heights, he will be able to effect, through the whole extent of the line, the firſt paſſage which negligence or weakneſs might induce him to attempt.

The country between the Meuſe and the Rhine is rich in population, and productions of every kind, in horſes, induſtry, and mines; the courage of the French and their enthuſiaſm for liberty, that intrepidity which is acquired after ſeveral victories, the terror and want of courage which prevail among an enemy always vanquiſhed, the aſcendency cauſed by the conviction that we ſpill our blood for our country and not for a maſter, that we fight for ourſelves, for our own happineſs, and for that of our brothers, all tended to make the French ſoldiers ſucceſsfully repulſe the Auſtrian troops who have always been celebrated for their bravery.

The limits fixed by the courſe of the Meuſe will not ſufficiently inſure the liberty of the French people: the enemy, it is true, will prove leſs powerful, when declaring war againſt us; but he will yet have means ſufficient to renew a war, whenever he may conſider it conſiſtent with his intereſt to attack us.

Third Opinion. Advantages of the Limits of the Rhine.

Let us now refer to the third opinion, againſt which there is a greater number of opponents, becauſe it is, perhaps, the intereſt of a power with whom we have treated, to prevent it from being received in a favourable light.

Thoſe who are in favour of this opinion are perſuaded that by adopting the limits of the Rhine, Auſtria and the Circles, will not be able to form new enterpriſes. This river differs in a great degree from the Meuſe; its current is more rapid, its bed is generally double as wide, it is likewiſe deeper; it is every where more difficult to navigate, and paſs; its banks are ſometimes ſteep, in other parts they admit of an eaſy landing.

By taking the Rhine for our limits, there is conſequently a greater advantage than by ſtopping at the Meuſe; but it is not from theſe conſiderations alone that it is neceſſary to adopt thoſe frontiers.

I have already ſtated that the country between the Meuſe and the Rhine would afford immenſe ſources to an enemy who may occupy it; that he would find at all times, and in great abundance, every thing neceſſary for the ſupport of a vaſt army. It is therefore to our intereſt to take advantage of circumſtances which may injure our enemy; the advantage which would thereby reſult to us would be the greater, as the Auſtrian troops, being forced to occupy the right bank, could not maintain themſelves long there without a conſiderable expenſe, which would ſoon oblige them to ceaſe hoſtilities in that poſition.

From the dutchy of Cleves to Mentz, the country in general is not very fertile, the inhabitants not cultivating a ſufficient quantity of corn for their own uſe; it is not unuſual to ſee them obliged to eat bread made of oats. This country is mountainous, arid, and interſected by ravines, or hillocks, which render the conveyance of neceſſaries difficult: ſome very ſmall portions of good ſoil ought not to make an exception, and render leſs exact the deſcription which has juſt been given of almoſt the whole of the territory.

We know the difficulty which Auſtria has experienced to ſupport the diviſions of her army, which were poſted on the right bank of the Rhine and its vicinity, the neceſſity which that army was under of returning from this river, in order to encamp in a more fertile country, the exhauſted ſtate of its reſources, in conſequence of the expenſes which were neceſſary, for the precaution of ekeing out the ſmall quantity of corn, among the moſt important diviſions of this army; we know that neceſſity induced ſome larger farmers in this country, to diſpoſe of all the proviſions that could be ſpared at this period of ſcarcity.

This country alone, therefore, cannot ſupport a certain number of men who might be compelled, by a ſtate of war, to reſide in it for a length of time. Nobody is ignorant that the dutchies of Berg, the greateſt part of the country of Mark, and that of Sain, and a part of the dutchy of Weſtphalia, are annually ſupplied with their ſtock of proviſions from the country of Cologne, from Guelderland, the dutchy of Cleves, and the country of Juliers, which lie on the left of the Rhine. It is only, as may be perceived, with the greateſt precautions, expenſes, and trouble, that the Auſtrian troops are ſupported on the right ſide of the Rhine, and it is eaſy to be perſuaded that the ſupport of this army can only be the means of exhauſting the power to whom it belongs.

Let us add, that being deprived of ſuch a vaſt and populous territory, the armies of ſuch a power will be greatly diminiſhed, and conſequently this will be a real cauſe of a conſtant and immediate decay.

For ſeveral years the ambition of the houſe of Auſtria has been evident; this laſt war is a convincing proof of the aſſertion. It was not ſo much with a view of reinſtating our late king in his former power, as with that of acquiring ſome of the provinces of France, that it put itſelf at the head of the coalition; the project of the powers who formed it, is now no longer a myſtery. To deprive this houſe of a country which ſerved to nouriſh its ambition, to force it to be ſatisfied with a territory which policy would induce it to maintain, and the limits of which have been defined by nature, is to ſerve the intereſt of the nation. Our generoſity towards ſuch a great enemy ought not to make us loſe ſight of the happineſs of our fellow citizens, of future generations. Theſe motives alone are ſufficient to fix the limits of France at the Rhine; but there are other more important conſiderations, which may yet be appreciated by the partiſans of this opinion, and which are about to be diſcloſed.

It is of conſequence that we ſhould endeavour to acquire an advantageous balance, ſince on this does relative power at preſent depend. It is admitted that, till now, this balance has been to our diſadvantage, though the nature and genius of the French might have made every effort to obtain it. The principal means of acquiring it are, the exportation of an exceſs of commodities and of manufactures, objects of the arts which have become neceſſary among a poliſhed people; in ſhort, commerce, and the certainty of a market for every branch of induſtry; the real value of ſuch articles, and the profit on the workmanſhip, compoſe a maſs of wealth which conſtitutes the riches of the people who are able to devote themſelves to employments of activity and induſtry.

Now, it is eaſy to prove that France, by the propoſed union, will obtain this advantage, ſince, to the objects which proceed from her induſtry and her ſoil, may be joined thoſe procurable from this new territory.

I have already ſaid, that this country has an exceſs of articles of merchandize, two-thirds more than is required by its population. I have alſo obſerved, that the articles of induſtry particular to thoſe countries, ſuch as linens, laces, threads, and flax, cloths of Limburgh, Aix, &c. needles and thimbles, braſs-work, fire-arms, hats, ſtoves, nails, oils, refineries, alum, &c. &c. are exported in great quantities to Ruſſia, Pruſſia, Poland, the Iſlands, Denmark, Sweden, France, Germany, England, the Levant, Switzerland, Geneva, and Spain.

I have ſtated that pit-coal is exported to Holland, where it is preferred to that of England; that the country of Blankheim furniſhed a prodigious quantity of iron of a good quality; that the Palatinate contained very rich mines of cinnabar; that there was in the vicinity of Aix-la-Chapelle, a mine of oxide of zinc, which is exported to Sweden, Pruſſia, England, Denmark, and Germany: all theſe articles, of utility to foreigners, are inexhauſtible ſources of wealth, which would remain with the enemy, if we were to conſent to leave him in the poſſeſſion of ſuch a fruitful country.

This important territory being retained by France, its induſtry, ſo multiplied and various, cannot fail to give the French a preponderance which muſt turn the balance in their favour.

Another motive not leſs intereſting for the preſervation of this boundary is, that we may add to theſe immenſe riches the profits that muſt ariſe from the free courſe of a river, the importance of preſerving which is an object of the greateſt conſideration.

The Rhine, from the territory of France, paſſes through immenſe, fertile, and induſtrious countries, touching with one extremity the ſoil of liberty, and with its principal mouth the ocean; two of its branches extending to the ſea of Zuyder-Zee, receiving the Mein, the Necker, and other rivers, which proceed from the interior of Germany; it is the moſt intereſting of rivers, the moſt proper for communication, and for the conveyance of a multitude of objects of commerce, which would flow into a part of France and into the new territory, where liberty would require them, for the intereſt of individuals.

Already aſſured, by our property, and by the treaty of peace with Holland, of a part of its courſe ſufficiently extenſive, ſhall we, by frivolous pretexts, deprive ourſelves of views, the effects of which are incalculable, by conſenting to give up the barriers, and to other interruptions which would impoveriſh us, and enrich our neighbours or our enemies? No, we ought to wiſh for the ſucceſs of the French nation; we ought to accelerate and induce its ſucceſs, while the means are in our hands.

But one of the grand cauſes which ought to induce us to take the Rhine for our frontiers, is, that we ſhould thereby appropriate to ourſelves the branches of commerce, which are now poſſeſſed by England. Favouring with all her might the little views of political economy of the electors or princes who have poſſeſſions along the Rhine, ſhe has ſupported them in the opinion that to increaſe their revenues, it was neceſſary to maintain, increaſe, and multiply the duties on the articles of exportation, ſhe has excited a ſpirit of hatred and rivalry among them, ſo as to make them forbid, and proſcribe the uſe of the reſpective products of induſtry in each others country; ſhe has induced them to believe that theſe little means would ſerve to render the manufactories active, and to multiply the various branches of induſtry.

England, always active in acquiring certain markets for her manufactures of cloth, had caſt her attention towards the countries bordered by the Baltic, as Ruſſia, and ſome ſtates of the North.

Well aſſured that the proximity of the province of Limburgh would ſoon deprive her of that part of her traffic with thoſe vaſt countries, ſhe has inceſſantly endeavoured to ſhackle the tranſportation of ſimilar articles, by laying duties upon them, which augmented the price, and prevented them from reaching diſtant markets.

By uniting theſe dutchies to France, they will immediately enjoy the liberty of exportation; they will inſtantaneouſly furniſh the above-mentioned ſtates: the cheapneſs of the workmanſhip, the facility of conveyance, and the exemption from certain duties, will ſoon eſtabliſh a preference which will diſtance the Engliſh, becauſe they cannot furniſh ſimilar articles at the ſame price, and the republic will directly enjoy this branch of commerce, to the excluſion of her enemies.

There will be ſeveral other objects gained, as well as the latter; the arts and induſtry being encouraged, will flouriſh with rapidity; moſt of the neighbouring nations will trade, in preference, with the united countries, and our commercial relations extending far and wide, will increaſe the wealth of the French nation.

Wiſh of the Majority of the Inhabitants, that the Limits ſhould be fixed at the Rhine.

The determination of the limits by the courſe of the Rhine is ſtill the wiſh of the majority of the inhabitants. You have frequently heard their deſire of forming a part of the great family, expreſſed at your bar: their anxiety on this ſubject has been manifeſted by numerous addreſſes from the conſtituted authorities, which expreſſed the wiſh of the people: you are acquainted with the ſteps they have taken to facilitate an union which muſt prove of mutual advantage.

Malevolence has been exerted in vain to blacken their intentions, and calumniate their conduct. Without doubt there are to be found among them many enemies to the liberties of the people; enemies who were foſtered by oppreſſion, biaſſed by the prejudice of ſlavery, intereſted, perhaps, in ſupporting the ancient order of things. Theſe very perſons would in vain make us believe that their wiſh is that of their fellow-citizens: it is only neceſſary, in order to be convinced of the falſity of ſuch an aſſertion, to make a tour through the countries in queſtion.

There is no doubt that facts have occurred which prove the inclination of the partiſans of Auſtria, to induce the inhabitants of thoſe countries to execrate the very name of the French: ſeveral agents of the republic have been known to exerciſe a degree of deſpotiſm and injuſtice over thoſe inhabitants, ſufficient to induce them to revolt; but, animated with good-will towards us, they were capable of diſtinguiſhing the agents from the whole nation; their animadverſion and contempt were directed againſt thoſe agents, and their hearts ſtill remained attached to France.

A great error prevails reſpecting theſe countries. It is generally ſuppoſed that the people are not ſo much enlightened as thoſe of France; ſome are of opinion that the manners and climate there are ſo different, that our principles and our revolution can never be adopted by the people; that their union would be the ſource of troubles, the effects of which might extend even into the heart of our own departments.

They are thought to be entire ſtrangers to our cauſe; yet the progreſs of the revolution is followed by them with aſtoniſhing activity; a great part of the French laws are executed; at the time of invaſion, adminiſtrations were created ſimilar to thoſe of the departments and diſtricts; tribunals, juſtices of the peace, and municipalities were eſtabliſhed.

bliſhed. The grand events of the revolution are celebrated there, the ſame as in France, by civic fêtes.

The Flemiſh, Dutch, and German idioms prevail: it may indeed be ſaid that the Flemiſh and Dutch are the ſame, there is ſo great a reſemblance between them: but the French is ſpoken ſufficiently accurate, and it has become more general ſince the entry of the troops of the republic. There is conſequently no greater difference between thoſe provinces and our nation, than there is between the departments of the South and thoſe of the North: the cuſtoms and manners differ, it is true, but they are more congenial to the nature of a republican government than thoſe of our own. Let us caſt our attention towards Holland, ſhe was a republic; ſhe broke the chains of her ſlavery, while we ſupported ours even without a murmur.

This people has more than once manifeſted its love for liberty; but either for want of proper means, or through treaſon, it always failed in its attempts at revolution. Its efforts were taken for commotions, its opinion for that of a faction, its energy, for intrigue, it almoſt always failed, becauſe princes intereſted in cruſhing truth, cauſed the ringleaders to be arreſted and conducted to the ſcaffold; and by theſe tyrannical meaſures, inſurrections were ſuppreſſed, which might have effected a revolution.

The inhabitants of Liege have often ſhewn their hatred of ſlavery. Impatient to ſee their fetters broken, and indignant at the deſpotiſm of the prince biſhop, they have dared, lately, to riſe againſt oppreſſion. They have improved upon the rights of the ſovereignty of the people, and proclaimed their principles with courage; they ſhewed their heroiſm in defending them, when the great forces of a power, who, they ſuppoſed would ſupport them, ſoon gave them reaſon to loſe the hopes they had conceived: theſe, however, were re-animated by the commencement of the French revolution. The Liegois wiſhed it to be completed, that they might faithfully attach themſelves to the republic; they were influenced by the love of liberty, and by gratitude. They now ardently requeſt to be united to France, or to enjoy her protection in ſupport of their independence.

The majority of the inhabitants of the other countries are of the ſame opinion: they wiſh to aſſociate with the French, that they may enjoy their future proſperity. Having too clear an inſight into the advantages they had to expect from their union, calculating the effects of the liberty of commerce, and the conſequences of the encouragement afforded to induſtry and the arts, they are convinced that they will gain every thing by becoming Frenchmen; certain as to the fate which awaits them, they exert every effort to prevent themſelves from being deprived of their expectations. Profiting by the ſucceſs of a revolution, of which they have not experienced the horrors, they will be anxious to apply the effects of this happy event to themſelves.

Already a great number have joined with the ſoldiers of the republic in repulſing the ſatellites of the coalition. Our troops are not more brave than theſe heroes of liberty.

There are none, not even the moſt thoughtleſs, but are favourable to this union: they ſay that every government eſtabliſhed upon a firm baſis, and guided by juſtice and equality, muſt be agreeable to them, from theſe circumſtances alone: aware of the neceſſity of ſubmitting to wiſe laws, in order to avoid the horrors of anarchy, they are ready to enter into a compact that will ſecure to them their rights.

The abolition of religion would, undoubtedly have been an inſurmountable obſtacle to the union, but as the people will have the privilege of excerciſing it, and as the reforms that may be made among the clergy will not deprive them of this conſolation, nothing of this kind will occur to prevent the junction. The men who have devoted themſelves to a religious life, are neither conſidered nor eſteemed; they have loſt the confidence of the people, and the general opinion is already againſt them. Let theſe people, therefore, continue to have their religion and their miniſters, their ceremonies, and their creeds, and you will attach them to your principles, your liberty, and your fate.

England and Auſtria have ſecret emiſſaries amongſt them, to corrupt the public opinion, to induce a deteſtation of the French, to ſpread deſpair amongſt the inhabitants, to damp their patriotiſm, and prepare them for the reſtoration of the ancient order of things, to divide the opinions of thoſe who take an intereſt in political events, to pervert the public mind, calumniate the national repreſentation, to depreciate the aſſignats, and aboliſh all hopes of an union or eminent protection.

To theſe may be added the partiſans of deſpotiſm and of the ancient government, individuals who are intereſted from the ſituations which they hold, in the re-eſtabliſhment of things as they were before the war, thoſe who are inordinately ambitious, and ſpeculate on the chances of favour or protection from perſons of credit; and thoſe who are prepoſſeſſed in favour of dominion. But their whole number is not ſufficient to prevent the union; they are not ſtrong enough to inſpire the friends of the French revolution with alarm; they muſt therefore ſubmit to the vaſt majority who wiſh for liberty. How many there are who ſeem averſe to this union, but will energetically exult in it, at the moment they ſee it realized!

Motives for carrying the Union into effect. Indemnity for the Expenſes and Misfortunes of the War.

At length, after ſo many ſucceſſes, advantages, and victories over the coalition; when the French nation is exhauſting herſelf, in order to carry on a war made againſt her by injuſtice, and treachery, from a hatred of liberty, and a jealouſy of her future proſperity, from a combination of all the paſſions, to ruin and deſtroy her, will it be proper or politic to exact no indemnity from our enemies, to adopt no meaſure to relieve our finances, to increaſe our commerce, to pave the way for abundance; and to make us forget the conſiderable loſſes which they have occaſioned us to ſuſtain? Is it proper to devote ourſelves ſo generouſly to weakneſs and poverty, when we have the certain means of preventing ſuch alarming evils? We ought therefore to take the indemnity which offers, namely, the preſervation of that country which is now occupied by our troops.

Our firſt object, on terminating the war, and pacifying the powers now in arms againſt us, is to conſolidate the republic; the happineſs and proſperity of France are connected with this government. What nations will dare to make an attempt upon our ſafety, or our territory, while we poſſeſs ſuch powerful means of reſiſtance? What potentate will be hardy enough to attack us, when we ſhall have frontiers that can be ſo eaſily defended, and are, beſides, ſo tremendous in their aſpect.

But peace is not the only method of conſolidating the republic; we can alſo, when we have recovered from our exhauſtion, attempt to new model the edifice of our liberty; but with peace, an acceſſion of territory, a greater number of troops, and additional wealth, the revolution cannot fail to be eſtabliſhed, the republic is enſured for ever, and public proſperity is certain.

Promiſes made to the Inhabitants of the Left Bank of the Rhine.

Do not forget that you have flattered theſe people with hopes of the union: they rely upon your word: the repreſentatives of the people who know your intereſts, have proclaimed it: your committees of government adviſed them to prepare themſelves for the change, to form their opinions, and in ſhort, to act in every reſpect, as if they were to be united to France on the morrow. Zealous to fulfil your intentions, they have miſſed no opportunity of telling them with frankneſs, that they would ſoon be your brethren and your friends. Will you, then, at the time when you can carry your promiſes into effect, refuſe an alliance with theſe people, to their injury, and your own diſgrace? No, your loyalty will render the meaſure a duty, even when that duty would not be dictated by the general intereſt.

The Wiſh of the French People.

This opinion is alſo ſupported by the wiſh of the French people; for their intentions are that you ſhould employ every means to render them happy and tranquil; they have given you the power; their own will is known; they formally expreſſed it when they charged you with their intereſts; and you, on accepting the mandate, promiſed them implicitly to conform to it. Their ardent wiſh at preſent is to ſee the republic conſolidated, and its enemies weakened and defeated: every meaſure contrary to their intereſts fixes on you a reſponſibility, at the conſequences of which you ought to be alarmed.

The people are no longer what they were. Heretofore curbed by the yoke of kings, they took no part in political events: but now, being more enlightened, guided by their own reflections, ſeeing things juſtly, inſtructed by the various, though ſometimes regular events of the revolution, having always their misfortunes and ſacrifices before their eyes, they judge impartially, and are not deceived about what is fit for them.

Now, they will have you take for your frontiers, the Circles, the ſtates of the North, and of Germany, and the courſe of the Rhine; they are anxious for this demarcation; they already entertain the greateſt hopes from the adoption of the meaſure; the merchant ſpeculates beforehand on the new branches of commerce which are about to be opened, the artiſt, on new proceſſes, and the artizan on the facility of procuring ſeveral uſeful objects, of which he has been hitherto deprived. Conſult the general opinion and you will be convinced of the truth of my aſſertions.

Manœuvres employed to *prevent the Demarcation of our Limits at the Rhine.*

Every manœuvre has already been employed to prevent you from taking this reſolution. Several writings are circulated through the country, the object of which is to perſuade the people that you have no right to extend your frontiers to this diſtance. The princes intereſted in preſerving their poſſeſſions are taking every meaſure to oppoſe your plans. The powers who pretend to have ſome diſtant claim upon the electorates or principalities, alſo endeavour to put off a deciſion which could not but be contrary to their intereſts.

Auſtria, in her turn, perceiving that the vaſt territory of her empire would no longer join to that of the republic, and that to attack you, ſhe muſt be obliged to paſs through a foreign territory, has redoubled her activity to prevent the adoption of a project which does ſuch a ſerious injury to her preponderance, and plans of ambition.

But, it will be ſaid, do you wiſh to deprive of their rights and poſſeſſions princes who rejoiced in your revolution, who hate the houſe of Auſtria, as well as yourſelves, and who have an intereſt in conſtantly oppoſing the views of ambition and aggrandizement of this houſe? Is it not better to leave theſe princes in poſſeſſion of their property as chiefs of the intermediate ſtates, in order to counterbalance the power of Auſtria, than to deſpoil and annihilate their electorate?

It is known that they have only furniſhed their contingents, through the imperiouſneſs of circumſtances, and in order that they might not break thoſe conventions to which they had conſented before our revolution.

But, in this point of view, have they conducted themſelves leſs like enemies towards the French nation? Have they not attempted to deprive her of her liberty? Have they ſhewn themſelves inclined for peace? Have they been the firſt to make propoſals for accelerating this object? and when the moſt powerful ſtates, united like them to the coalition, had already treated, are they excuſable for purſuing a conduct ſo widely different?

Beſides, the firſt object, in treating for peace is to conſolidate the republic: if ſhe cannot be conſolidated except by the detriment and loſs of the vanquiſhed power, every other conſideration ought to be rejected.

Means of conciliating private Intereſts.

The nation, however, in the midſt of its ſucceſſes, may be generous enough to grant ſome indemnity to the electors.

Their revenues are derived from their great poſſeſſions, in conſequence of their title, and from the produce of indirect taxes: the direct tax being deſtined only for a more general uſe, as the repairing of roads, the conſtruction of bridges, ſupport of hoſpitals, &c. &c. is not a revenue for them. The firſt tax conſiſts of cuſtom-houſe and exciſe duties, with others of a ſimilar kind. They are very ſmall, and the expenſes of collecting them abſorb almoſt the whole amount. Their principal income conſequently proceeds from the produce of the vaſt poſſeſſions which they hold.

The French nation, therefore, in order that theſe princes may not be entirely ruined, might leave them their poſſeſſions, and only deprive them of all exerciſe of pretended ſovereignty, by aboliſhing the right of feudality.

When they are upon an equality with the other proprietors, they will ſubmit to the laws of the republic without preſerving privileges and diſtinctions: by this means they will have an indemnity which will recompenſe them for the loſſes they have been obliged to ſuſtain in conſequence of the war.

Final Motives for the Limits of the Rhine.

If you do not profit by this circumſtance, you will not again have ſuch an advantageous opportunity of conferring a benefit on the republic. The order of ſucceſſion and pretenſions of ſome princes will not always preſerve that country to electors: powerful houſes will lay claim to the right of ſucceeding the preſent elector Palatine in his eſtates; eſtates which they cannot, as heirs only, acquire till his death, and which they cannot at preſent turn to their advantage.

We know what diſputes aroſe about this ſucceſſion, at the death of the laſt elector, the conduct of the emperor towards the contending parties, the arrangements they made among themſelves, to oppoſe the latter in the ſequeſtration which he put upon the ſucceſſion. If you do not treat before the death of the prince Palatine, who is very old and without children, the palatinate being tranſmitted with the country of Juliers, and other poſſeſſions, to this powerful houſe, will prevent you from reaping theſe advantages, will cauſe uneaſineſs to Holland, your ally, and diſſipate the fruit of your victories.

There is another opinion prevalent, relative to the fate of the countries occupied by the French, which, without being developed and propagated, may nevertheleſs, when circumſtances will permit, render our victories completely null and illuſory; it is that of *independence*, whether theſe countries may form a complete body, or whether they are divided into ſtates and provinces. This opinion, you need not doubt, will gain ground, whether you decide upon renouncing them, or again reſign them to the deſpotiſm of their electors or princes, whoſe yoke they have for years deſired to throw off; and in ſuch a caſe can you promiſe yourſelves any advantages? Will you then have thoſe means which will render you the moſt powerful people in the univerſe. Shall we not feel the terrible ſhocks and troubles which will be produced by the criſis of this revolution? Will you be able to foreſee its period and its effects? Are you capable of providing yourſelves with neighbours who may be fit for you? Will the communication with theſe very neceſſary provinces be enſured to you. You may be well aſſured that there are powers, who, though they find no preſent intereſt in theſe countries,

tries, will nevertheleſs attempt to deprive you of them, in order to diminiſh a power whoſe increaſe of ſtrength proportionally tends to their deſtruction.

In ſhort, that nothing may be omitted relative to this grand queſtion, is it not your intereſt to ſend the emigrants out of your territory, who make thoſe countries their familiar reſort, for the purpoſe of exciting diſſenſions, nouriſhing a hatred of the revolution, and oppoſing the general proſperity?

Reſult and Concluſion.

I thought it my duty to enter into theſe details, and to ſubmit to you the reflections which originated from my local knowledge, the exerciſe of my miſſion, and the love of my country.

I have proved that the limits moſt proper to eſtabliſh a line of demarcation uſeful for the French nation, would be the courſe of the Rhine.

I have confirmed this opinion, by demonſtrating that theſe limits would ſerve to ſtrengthen the republic, to enſure tranquillity, to weaken the power of Auſtria, and to put a check upon her views of ambition; that we ſhall find in this arrangement an indemnity proportionate to our ſacrifices; that our commerce will be extended, our induſtry increaſed, that the balance will turn to our advantage, while we ſhall poſſeſs mines and manufactories of which we have hitherto been deſtitute.

I have ſtated that theſe limits would enable us to deprive the Engliſh of ſeveral branches of their commerce, and to injure their manufacture of cloth.

That the wiſh of the inhabitants has been declared, and the French nation herſelf demanded their opinion.

I believe, therefore, I have made it appear, that in every point of view, the courſe of the Rhine ought to be taken as the frontier of France.

Decree for incorporating the Auſtrian Netherlands, &c. with the French Republic.

Art. 1. THE decrees of the national convention of the 2d and 4th of March, and of the 8th of May, 1793, which annexed the countries of Liege, Stavelot, Longe, and Malmedi, to the French territory, ſhall be executed according to their form and tenor.

2. The decrees of the national convention of 1, 2, 6, 8, 9, 11, 19, and 23 of March, which annexed to the French territory Hainault, Tournaiſis, the country of Namur, and the majority of the communes of Flanders and Brabant, ſhall be in like manner executed.

3. The national convention accepts the wiſhes expreſſed in 1793, by the communes of Ypres, Grammont, and other communes of Flanders, of Brabant, and that part of Auſtrian Gueldres not compriſed in the ſaid decrees, for their union with the French territory.

4. All the other countries, on this ſide the Rhine, which were, before the preſent war, under the dominion of Auſtria, and thoſe which have been reſerved to the French republic by the treaty concluded at the Hague, the 27th of laſt Floreal, between their plenipotentiaries, and thoſe of the republic of the United Provinces, to which none of the diſ-

poſitions of the preſent decree attach, ſhall be alſo united to the French territory.

5. The inhabitants of the countries of Liege, Stavelot, Longe, Malmedy, and thoſe of the communes of Belgium, compriſed in articles two and three of this decree, ſhall enjoy from the preſent moment all the rights of French citizens, provided they poſſeſs, in other reſpects, the qualifications required by the conſtitution.

6. With reſpect to the communes compriſed in the fourth article, the inhabitants ſhall enjoy, until it ſhall be otherwiſe provided, all the rights guaranteed by the conſtitution to ſtrangers who reſide in France, or poſſeſs property there.

7. The countries, mentioned in the firſt four articles of the preſent decree, ſhall be divided into nine departments, viz. the Dyle (Bruſſels, chief place); the Scheldt, (Ghent, chief place); Gemappes, (Mons, chief place); Des Forets, (Luxembourg, chief place); the Sambre and Meuſe, (Namur, chief place); De Lourthe, (Leige, chief place); La Meuſe Inferieure, (Maeſtricht, chief place); Des Deux Nettes, (Antwerp, chief place); La Lys, (Bruges, chief place).

8. The repreſentatives of the people ſent to Belgium, are charged with fixing the different boundaries of theſe departments, and to divide them into cantons like other parts of the republic.

9. They ſhall nominate proviſionally the functionaries who ſhall compoſe the adminiſtrations of the departments, thoſe of the cantons, and the tribunals of the countries of Limburgh, Luxemburgh, Maeſtricht, Venlo, and their dependencies, with Dutch Flanders.

10. The legiſlative body ſhall determine the number of repreſentatives of the people each of the departments formed, according to article 7, ſhall nominate, conformably to the conſtitution, at the epoch of its renewal, which ſhall take place the fifth year of the republic.

11. The repreſentatives of the people, ſent to Belgium, ſhall take care that the extraordinary contributions levied on theſe countries, and forming their contingent of the expences of the war of liberty, be levied and paid.

12. The cuſtom-houſes now exiſting, whether between France and the countries mentioned in the firſt four articles of the preſent decree, or between the different parts of the ſame countries, ſhall be ſuppreſſed. Thoſe which are eſtabliſhed between theſe ſame countries, the United Provinces, and the countries not annexed between the Meuſe and the Rhine, ſhall remain as before.

Proclamation of the Repreſentatives of the French Nation to the People of Batavia.—Amſterdam, 1ſt of Pluvioſe (Jan. 20, 1795) in the third Year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

The Repreſentatives of the French Nation with the Armies of the North, the Sambre, and the Meuſe, to the People of Batavia:

THE tyrants who have combined againſt the freedom of nations declared war againſt us, and threatened to conquer and ſubjugate us.

The treacherous ſtadtholder, having reduced your government under his power, entered into the baſe confederacy formed by the tyrants, to force a great people to ſubmit to the yoke of ſlavery.

Your blood, your treaſures, were laviſhed for this vile purpoſe; but the ſucceſs of our arms has made manifeſt the juſtice of our cauſe, and our all-conquering armies have entered into your country.

Batavians! we knew you too well to imagine you could be accomplices of ſo abominable a conſpiracy. Our enemies are alſo your's. The blood of the founders of the republic of the United Netherlands ſtill flows in your veins; and in the midſt of the confuſion of war we conſider you as our friends and allies. It is under this name that we enter your country. We ſeek not to terrify but to inſpire you with confidence. It is but a few years ſince a tyrannic conqueror preſcribed you laws; we have aboliſhed them, and reſtore you to freedom.

We come not to make you ſlaves; the French nation ſhall preſerve to you your independence.

The armies of the republic ſhall obſerve the ſtricteſt military diſcipline.

All crimes, and civil offences of citizens againſt citizens, ſhall be puniſhed with the moſt rigid juſtice.

Perſonal ſafety ſhall be ſecured, and property protected.

The freedom of religious worſhip ſhall ſuffer no reſtraint.

The laws and cuſtoms of the country ſhall be, proviſionally, maintained.

The people of Batavia, exerciſing that ſovereignty which is their right, ſhall, alone, poſſeſs the power to alter or modify the form of their government.

GILLET, BELLEGARDE, J. B. LACOSTE, JOUBERT, PORTIEZ DE L'OISE.

Public Inſtrument of the new Order of Things ſolemnly publiſhed at the Hague.

Declaration of the Rights of Man, and of a Citizen.

LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.

THE provincial repreſentatives of the people of Holland, believing that they owe to their fellow-citizens a ſolemn declaration of the principles upon which their proceedings and actions depend, to all thoſe to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, or who ſhall hear them read, health, they make known,

That we are perfectly convinced the power, which has been confided to us, repoſes only on the free choice of our fellow-citizens, and that it is from this choice alone we have received it; that no ſupreme power reſides in us; but that the proper ſovereignty reſts in the people, and this in ſuch a manner, that the people can confer the exerciſe of it on their repreſentatives, but can never alienate it from themſelves: that we are aſſured the evils which this day bear ſo heavily on this country, and the other provinces, owe their origin principally to the perverſe ideas which have been inſtilled into the people by artifice and violence: and therefore it is the duty of the repreſentatives of the people, who deſire to be faithful to their duty, to lay down certain and evident principles, and to fix them as the rule of their conduct; for though we thought the final ſettlement of theſe rights ought to be the firſt work of a national convocation of the repreſentatives of the people named to decree and fix a form of government, we nevertheleſs owe to the confidence which our fellow-citizens have placed in us, to make a public and ſolemn recognition of the rights of man, and of a citizen, in declaring, as we recogniſe and declare by theſe preſents,

That all men are born with equal rights, and that theſe natural rights cannot be taken from them.

That theſe rights are equality, liberty, ſafety, property, and reſiſtance to oppreſſion.

That liberty is the faculty which belongs to every man, to be able to do that which does not affect the rights of other men; therefore its natural limitation is found in this principle, "Do not to another that "which thou wouldſt not wiſh him "to do unto thee."

That therefore it is permitted to all and to each to make known to others his thoughts and ſentiments, be it by the way of the preſs, or by any other means.

That each man has the right to ſerve God in ſuch manner as he pleaſes, without being in this reſpect any way reſtrained.

That ſafety conſiſts in the certainty of not being troubled by another in the exerciſe of his rights, nor in the peaceable poſſeſſion of property, legally acquired.

That each man has the right of ſuffrage in the legiſlative aſſembly, of the entire ſociety, either perſonally or by repreſentation, in the choice of which he has concurred.

That the end of all civil ſocieties ought to be to aſſure to men the peaceable enjoyment of their natural rights.

That therefore the natural liberty of being able to do every thing, which does not hurt the rights of others, ought never to ſuffer any infringement, except when the end of civil ſociety requires it.

That ſuch bounds to natural liberty cannot be impoſed, but by the people or their repreſentatives.

That conſequently no perſon can be obliged to cede, or ſacrifice any part of his particular property to the general commonwealth, unleſs this ſhall be expreſsly regulated by the will of the people, or their repreſentatives, and according to a previous indemnity.

That the law is the free and ſolemn expreſſion of the general will; that it is equal for all, either to puniſh or to reward.

That no perſon can be accuſed, arreſted, or put in priſon, but in ſuch caſe and according to ſuch formalities as ſhall be previouſly fixed by the law itſelf.

That in caſe it ſhall be judged neceſſary to hold any perſon priſoner, no one ought to be treated more rigorouſly than is abſolutely neceſſary for confining his perſon.

That all men being equal, all are eligible to all poſts or employments, without any other motives of preference than thoſe of virtue and of capacity.

That every one has the right to concur in requiring, from each functionary of public adminiſtration, an account and juſtification of his conduct.

That there never can be laid the ſmalleſt reſtriction on the right of each citizen, to repreſent that which is his intereſt to thoſe in whom the public authority is intruſted.

That the ſovereignty reſides in the entire people, and that therefore no portion of the people can arrogate it to themſelves.

That the people have at all times a right to change their form of government, to correct it, or to chooſe another.

That ſuch are the principles upon which we have believed it to be our duty to found our actions and our proceedings; and being deſirous of applying them to the order of things, which had heretofore taken place, we forthwith diſcovered that the form of government, which was confirmed in 1787 by means of the invaſion of the Pruſſian army, and conſequently by force only, was in every reſpect contrary thereto.

That the perſons who heretofore compoſed the aſſembly of the ſelf-named States of Holland and Weſt-Frieſeland, were never elected by their fellow-citizens to be repreſentatives, and that therefore this government could not exiſt, as being abſolutely contrary to the rights of man and of a citizen: that we alſo preſently perceived that all hereditary dignities, ſuch as that of hereditary ſtadtholder, captain general and admiral of this province, and of the equeſtrian order, as well as all hereditary nobility, are repugnant to the rights of man, and that they ought to be held and declared aboliſhed, as they are declared to be aboliſhed by theſe preſents.

That we aſſure ourſelves, by this declaration, all the extorted and illegitimate oaths on the ſoi-diſant ancient conſtitution preſcribed in 1787 and 1788, become in fact of no value, inaſmuch as ſuch an oath ought to have been previouſly binding; but to tranquiliſe all and each, we declare beſides in the name of the people of Holland, as it is well and expreſsly declared by theſe preſents, that all citizens who may have taken the above oath, are hereby diſcharged therefrom.

That in the ſame manner the college (as the ci-devant deputy counſellors of the Southern and Northern Quarter were called,) the diviſion of the economical adminiſtration in regard to finances, &c. and the chamber of accounts, are entirely incompatible with theſe principles, as they all reſulted from the old defective form of government, in which there was no real repreſentation whatever, and conſequently we have judged it to be our duty to ſuppreſs and aboliſh them all; and we now ſuppreſs and aboliſh them accordingly by theſe preſents, and eſtabliſh and appoint a committee of public ſafety, a military committee, a committee of finance, and a committee of accounts, the whole proviſionally, and only until definitive arrangements ſhall be made on theſe ſubjects by an aſſembly of repreſentatives, choſen by all the people, who ſhall be convoked for that purpoſe as ſpeedily as poſſible; that beſides, we have not thought it fit to attach any other title to our preſent aſſembly than that of proviſional repreſentatives of the people of Holland, without adding to it the name of Weſt Frieſeland, having judged that it would be better to comprehend the entire province of Holland under that denomination.

We will and ordain expreſsly the courts of juſtice in this province,

vince, as well as the regency of the cities and bleſſed places ſituated in it, that our preſent publication ſhall be made known to all the citizens of this province by the ſounding of trumpets and ringing of bells, and ſuch other ſolemn manner as ſhall be judged the moſt convenient in each city or place, and that it ſhall be poſted up according to cuſtom, and that each one ſhall conform himſelf to it preciſely.

Done at the Hague under the ſmall ſeal of the country, the 31ſt of January, 1795, the firſt year of Batavian liberty.

(Signed) P. PAULUS, Vt.
C. J. DE LANGE VAN WINGAERDE.

Proclamation of the French Commiſſioners at the Hague, iſſued on the 27th of January, 1795.

EQUALITY,

UNITY, LIBERTY, INDIVISIBILITY,

FRATERNITY.

Hague, the 7th Pluvioſe, the 3d year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

THE repreſentatives of the people belonging to the armies of the North, of the Sambre, and of the Meuſe, taking into their conſideration the wants of the army of the republic, and the neceſſity of ſupplying it with the objects of ſubſiſtence, ſupplies of proviſion and cloathing, of which it has occaſion in the countries where it is eſtabliſhed; wiſhing to avoid the means of particular requiſitions, and the intervention of ſubaltern agents, they think it moſt agreeable to addreſs themſelves to the ſtates general, and formally invite them to ſupply them in the ſpace of one month with the following quantities, viz.

200,000 quintals of wheat, avoirdupoiſe weight.
5 millions of rations of hay.
200,000 rations of ſtraw.
5 millions buſhels of corn.
150,000 pair of ſhoes.
20,000 pair of boots.
20,000 coats and waiſtcoats.
40,000 pair of breeches.
150,000 pair of pantaloons.
200,000 ſhirts.
50,000 hats.

To be delivered further, within two months, 12,000 oxen.

Theſe different objects are to be delivered at Thiel, Nimeguen, and Bois le Duc, at three different times.

The repreſentatives of the people anxiouſly expect, that the ſtates general will comply with the above requeſt, and do every thing in their power to prevent their fellow-citizens from being troubled with the forms of a requiſition, always perplexing to the inhabitants; and that they will uſe every exertion to complete their contingent. They hope that the ſlow form of ordinary adminiſtration, and the doubts of the competence of their authority, which may put ſome ſtoppage to this operation, will be carefully ſet aſide. They have a right to flatter themſelves that all the citizens of the United States, and all the conſtituted authorities, will uſe the ſame zeal to ſecond their views and amicable intentions. Every neceſſary meaſure ſhall be taken to ſettle for the payment of the above articles.

(Signed) N. HAUSSMAN,
JOUBERT, ALQUIER,
GILLET, ROBERJOT,
J. B. LACOSTE.

Proclamation, ſigned at the Hague, 27th Jan. 1795.

THE ſtates general of the United Provinces, to all who ſhall ſee or hear theſe preſents, greeting—give to know, that the repreſentatives of the French nation now in this country have intimated to us, that it is neceſſary that ſpeedy proviſion ſhould be made of ſeveral articles appertaining to the ſubſiſtence and cloathing of the French troops, namely the following:

200,000 quintals of corn.
5 million of rations of hay, at 15lb. each.
5 millions meaſures of oats, at 10lb. each, heavy weight.
200,000 rations of ſtraw, at 10lb. each.
150,000 pair of ſhoes.
20,000 pair of boots.
20,000 cloath coats and waiſtcoats.
40,000 pair of ſtocking breeches.
150,000 pair of trowſers, of coarſe linen.
200,000 ſhirts.
50,000 hats.

All which are to be delivered at Nimeguen, Thiel, and Bois le Duc, within the ſpace of a month, in three inſtalments—and, beſides,

12,000 oxen within two months.

The above-mentioned repreſentatives have alſo added, that, inſtead of following the practice introduced in other countries which their troops have entered, namely, that the requiſitions of ſimilar articles have been made, publiſhed, and carried into execution by themſelves, they have choſen to treat this republic in another manner, and thereby prove the inclination of the French nation, to conſider it in the light of an approaching ally; and, of conſequence, have begged of us to effectuate the delivery of the above-mentioned neceſſaries in the ſpecified quantities, and at the appointed times and places, adding, at the ſame time, that the payment ſhall be regulated according to arrangements which ſhall afterwards be made with the government.

Convinced of the neceſſity of taking the moſt effectual meaſures for complying with the ſaid requiſitions, we have judged that the beſt and leaſt burthenſome method of accompliſhing this object, will be for the government to contract for the articles in queſtion, and for the reſpective provinces to furniſh the neceſſary funds.

We doubt not that the inhabitants will be convinced of the abſolute neceſſity of enabling their provincial ſovereigns to furniſh theſe neceſſary funds without the ſmalleſt delay; but we think it nevertheleſs neceſſary to hold up to all, conjunctly and ſeverally, the diſtreſs to which they muſt expoſe themſelves, if they manifeſt the leaſt unwillingneſs or even procraſtination; for we are intimately perſuaded of the ſerious intention of the above-mentioned repreſentatives of the French nation, that theſe requiſitions ſhall be complied with at the appointed time, and muſt therefore warn all, in the moſt impreſſive manner, that they will have themſelves to blame if meaſures of force and violence muſt be employed to obtain what we wiſh to ſee accompliſhed with the greateſt poſſible order and regularity.

With this view it will be neceſſary that thoſe perſons who have any proviſion of the required articles, ſhould not refuſe to allow the ſame to be judicially valued at a reaſonable price, to ſell and deliver them to the perſons intruſted with the execution of this work, and manifeſt every poſſible readineſs to co-operate for the proper conveyance of the goods to the appointed places: and that in order not only to prevent the conſequences with which non-compliance with the requiſition of the above-mentioned repreſentatives will neceſſarily be attended, but alſo on pain of being rigorouſly puniſhed for diſobedience or unwillingneſs, according to the exigency of the caſe.

And that no perſon may pretend ignorance, we call upon and deſire the lords, the ſtates, their deputies in the reſpective provinces, and all juſticiaries and officers of the ſame, to publiſh immediately, affix, and make known this our proclamation in all places where it may be neceſſary, and is uſual to poſt up ſuch publications.

Reſolved and concluded in the aſſembly of their high mightineſſes the ſtates general of the United Provinces, at the Hague, the 27th of January, 1795.

(Signed) G. L. ROUSE.

Underſigned, by reaſon of the abſence of the greffier.

B. P. VAN LELYVELD.

Proclamation at the Hague, 11th Pluvioſe, 30 January, 1795, the third year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

THE repreſentatives of the French people, with the armies of the North, the Sambre, and the Meuſe, decree as follows:—

Art. 1. All goods, both moveable and immoveable, ſhips, merchandize, claims, and property of any kind whatever, belonging to governments at war with the French republic, or of French emigrants; likewiſe thoſe of prieſts, monks, members of churches, or ſpiritual corporations, having emigrated from the conquered provinces between the Rhine and the ſea; alſo all goods whatever given in truſt by members of churches and corporations, are ſeized and confiſcated for the benefit of the French republic.

2. All ſuch perſons as are debtors, concealers, or detainers of what is mentioned in the above article, are to give inventories of the ſame to the magiſtrates of their circuits, within eight days after the publication of theſe preſents.

All ſuch as neglect to conform themſelves to it are to pay a fine of double the value of the article of which they have not given in any account as above ſtated.

The fourth part of the fine, and likewiſe one-fourth of the value of the goods not declared, ſhall belong to the diſcoverers and informers.

3. An agent-general ſhall be appointed for all the United Provinces, who is to collect all the above inventories, and diſpoſe of the things mentioned therein, according to the inſtructions he ſhall receive from the repreſentatives of the people.

The magiſtrates are to deliver to him all the declarations made to them.

4. It is forbidden to accept of any notes or bills of exchange, or to make any negociations or loans for or on account of governments at war with the French republic, upon pain of confiſcation of the whole value of ſuch objects.

The tranſgreſſors of this ſhall be conſidered and dealt with as enemies of the French republic.

5. It is forbidden to all civil and military agents of the French republic, to ſeize upon any treaſure belonging to towns, communes, or to the government of the United Netherlands, upon pain of arreſt.

6. What has been decreed by theſe preſents ſhall be addreſſed to the ſtates general, deſiring them to ſend it to the reſpective ſtates of the United Provinces, in order to be printed in both languages, and to be ſent to, and poſted up, without delay, in all the towns, communes, and ports of the United Provinces.

Signed upon the original.

Ns. HAUSSMANN,
JOUBERT, and ROBERJOT.

Conformable to the original,
(Signed) Ns. HAUSSMANN.

Proclamation of the Proviſional Repreſentatives of the People of Amſterdam.

LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.

Citizens,

WHEN, on the 19th of January laſt, you eſtabliſhed us your proviſional repreſentatives, at the inſtance of the revolutionary committee, and when you called us to the town-houſe to take on us the proviſional government of this city, we reſolved that no difficulty whatever ſhould deter us from accepting that awful truſt in a moment ſo important.

The apprehenſion of the terrible conſequences which might be drawn on by anarchy were of but ſhort duration; for of the lively ſenſe we entertained of the diſorder, confuſion, and deſpair, which would infallibly reſult from it, we drew ſo ſtrong and melancholy a picture, that all oppoſition, even the moſt well-founded, vaniſhed before it. The juſt fear of our faculties being perhaps unequal to a taſk ſo difficult; the ſacrifice of our occupations, of our repoſe, and of our domeſtic enjoyments; all theſe gave way to this ſingle deciſive conſideration, that your intereſts, and your ſecurity, required an immediate adminiſtration: and that if we deſired to withdraw from that with which you charged us proviſionally, we really ſhould render ourſelves reſponſible for all the horrors that anarchy might bring upon us.

Citizens, ſuch have been our motives, ſuch have been our views. It is in them we confide, in the purity of our intentions, in a cauſe the moſt ſacred, the moſt juſt, the moſt ſublime of all cauſes, that of liberty; it is in theſe we truſt, and above all, in the aſſiſtance of the Almighty, whom we adore without ſuperſtition, and in the reſpectful hope of his approbation, we have courageouſly undertaken the arduous taſk which you have impoſed on us.

Our firſt work, citizens, has been to declare ſolemnly, and with a lively emotion, that the ſacred principles of juſtice and of equity ſhould be the ſole guide of our actions: that no baſe motive of vengeance, that no conſideration different from thoſe principles, ſhould influence our conduct; and that the preſervation of order in a city ſo populous, that the ſecurity of perſons and of property againſt all attack, under whatever pretext or colour, ſhould be with us the order of the day, during our proviſional adminiſtration.

How flattering and conſolatory muſt it be to us, dear citizens! to have been able to accompliſh this great object of our appointment! How happy is it for you, and all of us, that the ſublime cauſe of liberty has not been ſullied by any irregularity! How honourable for humanity, that at the dawn of liberty this town has been the theatre of the moſt pure ſentiments of joy and fraternity, and not of thoſe of animoſity, of hatred, and of vengeance! What ſweet emotions does not the true patriot and the friend of humanity feel in being able to ſay, that in a city, ſo populous as Amſterdam, we have, in the moment of the reſtoration of liberty, ſeen tears of joy flow, but not one drop of the blood of our fellow-citizens! What an admirable example for our Batavian brethren in the other cities of the republic! The Batavians ſhew themſelves generous in the midſt of their victories: they forget, they deſpiſe the injuries that have been done to them; they cordially hold out the hand of fraternity to all thoſe who have erred: they ſeek not vengeance nor pillage, but liberty: they are generous in reſpect to the paſt, but they will puniſh the more ſeverely the future offences againſt the cauſe of freedom.

Such, citizens, are our principles: you have ſhewn by your ſteady and tranquil conduct that they are alſo your's: it is to them that you owe the quiet of this city; and the great end of our proviſional adminiſtration is fulfilled.

It is time then, citizens, as we think, to terminate our adminiſtration; and, cordially thanking you all for the confidence you have teſtified in us, we return into the claſs of our fellow-citizens, and remit into their hands the powers you have given us: let ambitious tyrants, let cowards in poſts, into which they have intruded themſelves, endeavour to ſupport their uſurped authority by a thouſand ſecret plots; the true patriot knows no poſt more noble, nor no place more elevated, than the ſtate of a citizen, and he remits with ſatisfaction his powers into the boſom of thoſe from whom he received them.

But though every thing goes on with order at preſent, previous to reſigning our adminiſtration there muſt be made, in a regular manner, and in a proper place for that object, an appeal to all the citizens and inhabitants of this city, on purpoſe that they may chooſe for their ſupreme adminiſtration a proper number of repreſentatives, who may be able to replace us, under the name of a municipality, or under any other name whatever; and who choſen by your voice, freely given, to be the repreſentatives of the people of Amſterdam, may take care of your intereſts, and conſtitute all the ſubdiviſions of the adminiſtrations of this city, and its different branches, in ſuch manner as the nature of things ſhall require. In the mean time, the different committees ſhall remain in their functions till the aſſembly which will replace us ſhall have made, in that reſpect, the proper arrangements.

For theſe reaſons, and to the end

that the appeal to the citizens, and the manner of voting for the election of new repreſentatives may be conducted in a manner the leaſt ſubject to corruption, to confuſion, or to illicit influence, we have thought it our duty, as your proviſional repreſentatives, and for accompliſhing this deſirable end, to make uſe of the underſtanding of all the patriots, and to ſummon them by the love they have for their country to ſend us, in the ſpace of fifteen days after this publication, detailed plans on the manner of calling the citizens together, and of taking their ſuffrages; ſubjoining to them that which relates to the age and the other qualifications required for exerciſing the right of voting; the number of members, of which the aſſembly of the repreſentatives of this city ought to be compoſed; and the name moſt becoming for it to bear, on purpoſe that the proviſional repreſentatives, after mature deliberation, and after taking the advice of the different committees on the plan beſt calculated for attaining the end we have propoſed to you, and after having agreed on one, may put it in execution.

Proclaimed and publiſhed at Amſterdam, February 3, 1795, the firſt year of Batavian liberty.

By order of the proviſional repreſentatives of Amſterdam.

R. W. TADAMA, Sec.

Second Proclamation by the ſame.

LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.

Citizens,

THE aſſembly of proviſional repreſentatives of the commune of Amſterdam having received, from time to time, and on the part of different citizens, demands, tending to the embracing of meaſures which would put into a ſtate of arreſt in general the former members of the now-aboliſhed government, and other ſuſpected perſons; the aſſembly has not only been conſtantly of opinion that it ought not to embrace ſuch meaſures, but it alſo thinks itſelf obliged to explain to all its compatriots in general, and to the inhabitants of Amſterdam in particular, whom it repreſents, what is its manner of thinking on a ſubject of this importance, and what are the principles on which its opinion is founded.

We ſhall ſet out, citizens, with declaring, that we neither could nor would, for a ſingle moment, ſuppoſe that the repeated inſtances of a part of our fellow-citizens to make us take rigorous meaſures, could proceed from any motive of hatred or revenge. The Dutch, from the very moment when they firſt broke their chains, gave to aſtoniſhed Europe too grand an example of generoſity and humanity, to let us believe that they would ſully that glory in the moments of tranquillity, by avenging themſelves on a ſet of humbled deſpots, deprived of all ſtrength. He deſerves not to triumph who baſely abuſes his victory. He alone can promiſe himſelf the conſtant and agreeable fruits of victory, who makes his vanquiſhed foes bluſh by his juſtice and generoſity, and convinces them that they are the perſons who have choſen the worſt ſide of the cauſe to defend. Citizens, generoſity and juſtice carry with them irreſiſtible force. Nothing can ſave the cauſe of our country but a conſtant adherence to theſe virtues. The exerciſe of revenge may afford a tranſitory pleaſure in the moments of paſſion and delirium, but its conſequences are commonly ſad and fatal, while the exerciſe of equity and of generoſity leaves nothing but agreeable ſenſations.

Such, citizens, are our ſentiments; ſuch ought to be your's. Real guardians of freedom and equality, you are capable of perceiving their value and their force; and woe betide the country if this doctrine ſhall not become the univerſal doctrine of the nation.

Since then, citizens, we cannot differ on theſe principles, it will be eaſy to convince the virtuous patriot, that the ſyſtem which we have adopted in our aſſembly, is in effect the only one that agrees with the real intereſts of the country.

Let us begin by preſenting to your view the great end that every honeſt man, and, above all, every citizen, intruſted with any public authority, ought to propoſe to himſelf. This end ought to be, to ſettle this revolution upon the moſt immoveable foundations, to the end that all the inhabitants of the land may feel the permanent benefits of the ſocial life under the adminiſtration founded on the principles of freedom and equality.—See here, citizens, the great end that a good man ought perpetually to have before his eyes; and he who has other views, whether he be placed in the ſenate, whether he labour in another ſphere, or whether he be in a private ſituation, (the moſt enviable, doubtleſs, of all ſituations,) plays, under the maſk of patriotiſm, the part of an hypocrite, and a deceiver of the people.

But how to attain this end? No method more likely than to ſhew, on the one hand, grandeur and generoſity with reſpect to the paſt; on the other, to be ſevere and inexorable to all attempts againſt freedom and the ſupremacy of the people. Citizens, philoſophers of all nations and ages have invariably judged, that when civil diſſentions are over, the conquering party has always been guilty of injuſtice, when it has thought worthy of puniſhment actions which the chiefs of the conquered party have done to maintain their cauſe, and has, in conſequence of theſe principles, ſet on foot a general perſecution.—Actions, which are at all times criminal, actions, which are morally bad, independently of all political relations, and conſequently always puniſhable, are then the only ones that can, according to the principles of juſtice, be taken into conſideration. Theſe are alſo the only actions which a righteous judge, whoſe judgment ought not to be directed by any influence of political paſſions, will eſteem criminal and worthy of puniſhment; and not thoſe actions which we at preſent moſt juſtly conſider as highly pernicious, but which have been committed under the eyes, and with the plenary approbation of the preceding government.

If we reject theſe principles, there is no longer ſecurity for any human action; and let it not be diſſembled, that he who preaches a contrary doctrine, proclaims in effect the right of the ſtrongeſt, and conſequently the favourite right of tyrants.

Let none imagine, citizens, that

the true intereſt of the nation can, either in this point of view, or in any other, differ from the rules of juſtice. Never do the true intereſts of a nation exact the ſlighteſt deviation from the rules of juſtice and good faith, under whatſoever pretext. Our country will ſupport itſelf or be cruſhed, as it ſhall adopt or reject theſe truths. The ſyſtem of terror, already quite baniſhed from the French republic, cannot be tolerated a ſingle inſtant in that ſpot of the earth where we live; it would ſink us in ruin for ever. Our political conſtitution, our local ſituation, our commercial relations, are all circumſtances too delicate to ſupport repeated ſcenes of violence and political ſhocks.

Caſt your eyes, citizens, upon the ſtate of the finances of your country, of your city. Will it not require all the zeal, all the elaſticity of a commercial nation, to fill your exhauſted coffers? But are this zeal and this elaſticity compatible with a ſyſtem of terror? Doubtleſs not: in bringing to perfection this revolution, one ſort of terror only ought to be tolerated: terror to thoſe who have the hardineſs and malice to undertake any thing againſt the revolution. The moſt ſevere penalties againſt ſuch men will be ſo much the more equitable, as our conduct with reſpect to the paſt ſhall be noble and generous.

It is a great miſtake, citizens, to compare the circumſtances of France, in the courſe of her revolution, with our's. It was not in France a ſpirit of revenge for the crimes committed under the old government which occaſioned theſe repeated ſcenes of terror; but the violent oppoſition to the revolution itſelf which occaſioned the neceſſity of a proportionable vigilance to cruſh all conſpiracies. But what oppoſition, citizens, have we to expect? if a wiſe and juſt adminiſtration completes this revolution, is not the doctrine of freedom and equality ſo amiable in itſelf, ſo deeply graven in our nature, that it will ſoon penetrate all hearts with irreſiſtible energy? Will not all who have been misled by court artifices return from their error? Let us ſhew by facts, that a democratical government, well ordered, is not only poſſible, but that it is the ſole form of government that accords with the dignity of man; and ſoon will this order of things be eſtabliſhed by univerſal conſent upon the fureſt foundations. Let us prove the falſehood of all the rumours that have been ſpread among the multitude, whether they proceed (O ſhame!) from the chair, or from the boſom of the councils, and ſoon will the multitude itſelf deſpiſe its ſeducers. Slander painted the doctrine of freedom and equality, as the immediate ſource of confuſion, and the grave of religion. But, citizens, where will ſlande. now hide her head, when every citizen is protected in his perſon, in his property; and when the gates of the temples are open to every one, that he may adore our common father in the manner to which he is prompted by the feelings of his heart?

Theſe are the lively effects of a wiſe and philoſophic policy, which can and ought happily to accompliſh this revolution. All the political diſſentions, all the revolutions that have taken place in this ſtate ſince its origin, vaniſh before ſo intereſting a revolution as the preſent. They were only diſputes between party and party; trials of ſkill for the moſt part between knaves and knaves; in which the people had no part to play but the part of the dupe. To-day it is the cauſe of the people itſelf in which we labour, in which you all ought to labour. To-day it is not a faction, but the nation herſelf, who is victorious. We muſt direct our views, not to the welfare of a few deſpots, but to the happineſs of the whole nation.

Let us then always, citizens, conſider our revolution under this important regard. Let us endeavour to give it ſuch a direction that it ſhall be in vain to ſeek to foment new political diſſentions; let the example of our depoſed deſpots be to us a leſſon to avoid the baſe as well as the impolitic faults they have committed. Have their ſenſeleſs perſecutions made the priſons of this country cry for vengeance, and the complaints of the Dutch, become fugitives in all parts of the world, call forth curſes upon their adminiſtration? Let us make it our glory to convince Europe, that it is the Dutch nation, and not a faction, that now triumphs; that it is the cauſe of freedom and equality, not the ſpirit of revenge and deſtruction; in ſhort, that ſound policy now reigns on one ſide to make a cordial offer of the right-hand of fellowſhip to her ſtray brethren, and not to drive them to deſpair; on the other, to hold high the ſword of puniſhment, in order to ſtrike the firſt traitor that henceforth ſhall preſume to oppoſe the freedom and ſupremacy of the people. For though the firſt part of this alternative be the true end of the real friend of humanity, the other ought no leſs to fix the attention of the ſevere republican, that thoſe who lie in ambuſh againſt freedom, may ſee even from afar, that their actions are carefully watched, and that the nation which ſo generouſly pardons, is ready to inflict exemplary puniſhment on criminals the moment her freedom is attacked.

Such, citizens, are the motives of the conduct we have purſued; ſuch is the rule of our actions. We believe that a firm adherence to this ſyſtem is the only method of completing the revolution, and of fixing the univerſal national happineſs on the ſoil of Batavia.

Decreed the 11th of February, 1795, the firſt year of Dutch liberty.

Publiſhed the 13th of February following.

By order of the above-mentioned repreſentatives.

G. BRENDER,
A. BRANDIS, *Secretary.*

Proclamation to the Dutch People, from the Proviſional Repreſentatives of Holland; dated 26th March, 1795.

WHEREAS we gave to the inhabitants of Holland, in our publication of the 4th of March, a true deſcription of the melancholy ſituation of the finances of the country; every one muſt eaſily have been convinced of the neceſſity of reforming them, in order to extricate the country from the diſtreſs in which it is plunged, and to defend it vigorouſly againſt the threatened attack on the part of a nation which ſeemed formerly to be the friend of the Batavians, but which has already done great damage to them, and is now taking the neceſſary meaſures to attack them, as an avowed enemy, by force of arms, and to deſtroy them entirely, if poſſible. But whereas it is impoſſible to reſiſt the enemy, if we do not put our army and navy on a reſpectable footing; and whereas this cannot be done without ſome conſiderable ſums of money, &c. &c.

Every inhabitant is therefore ordered to furniſh, in the ſpace of one month, all the uncoined gold and ſilver or plate which he poſſeſſes. Spoons and forks are excepted, as well as medals and perſonal ornaments, provided theſe laſt do not exceed in value 300 florins. The receipts ſhall be deducted from the ſums which each individual will be bound to furniſh for the grand operation of finance which is in meditation.

Declaration of the Prince of Orange.

THE prince of Orange has hitherto thought it unneceſſary to publiſh the motives which induced him to abſent himſelf for ſome time from his country, being convinced that no perſon could, with any ſhadow of juſtice, accuſe him of the ſmalleſt crime in having quitted the territories of the provinces of Holland, after the ſtates of that province had thought proper to ſend deputies to the commanders of the enemy's forces to capitulate, or rather to ſubmit to them; but the reſolution taken by the pretended ſtates general, the 24th of February laſt, on the motion made in that aſſembly the 31ſt of January by the deputies of the pretended proviſional repreſentatives of the people of Holland, having come to his knowledge, in which they thought proper to aboliſh the office of ſtadtholder, captain general and hereditary admiral, with which this prince was inveſted, alleging, as a motive for this reſolution, that he himſelf had abdicated them, he feels it incumbent on himſelf to be no longer ſilent, and to repel this calumny by a ſimple and exact ſtatement of the facts which preceded and rendered neceſſary his departure from the territories of the United States.

The inundations formed for the defence of the republic, and in particular for that of the province of Holland (as well as the rivers in that country) being frozen in December laſt, there no longer remained any means of defending the provinces of Utrecht and Holland, after the retreat of the army commanded by general count Walmoden from the borders of the Waal and of the Rhine; the troops of the ſtate, which might have been employed in the defence of theſe two provinces, being reduced (as well by hardſhips which the army ſuſtained during the laſt campaign, as by ſickneſs) to too ſmall a number to garriſon ſufficiently thoſe poſts which it was neceſſary ſhould be occupied in order to prevent the enemy from penetrating.

It muſt here be obſerved, that a great part of the troops which were in theſe two provinces could not be employed againſt the enemy, in virtue of the capitulations which many places had made, and in which it was ſtipulated that their garriſons ſhould be ſent into the interior of the republic, after having ſworn not to ſerve againſt the armies of France during the war until they were exchanged.

The ſtates of Utrecht, therefore, thought it right to capitulate on Friday the 16th of January, after having ſome days before informed the ſtates general of their intention, and found themſelves obliged to ſubmit to thoſe conditions which the conqueror thought fit to grant: It will ſuffice to ſtate, that the ſtates of that province having requeſted that their conſtitution and form of government might be preſerved, the victor would only proviſionally agree to it, which afforded no ſecurity for the future.

The prince of Orange being informed, that the ſtates of the provinces of Holland were about to adopt the ſame reſolution on the ſame day, found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſending away the princeſſes, his wife, and daughter-in-law, with the prince his grandſon, on board a fiſhing-boat, on Sunday morning the 18th of January, and was himſelf obliged to follow them on the ſame day (with the two princes his ſons,) which however he did not do till he had acquainted the ſtates general, as alſo the ſtates of the Seven Provinces, and of the country of Drenthe, with his intended departure; writing to them, "That he eaſily foreſaw, from the preſent ſituation of the republic, what lot he muſt expect if the enemy ſhould penetrate further into the country; and not wiſhing to be any obſtacle to peace, he had reſolved to abſent himſelf and his family for a time from the territories of the ſtates, and hoped that their high mightineſſes would approve of this ſtep."

It ſhould here be remarked, that the prince did not depart till after his letter had been read, as well in the aſſembly of the ſtates general as in that of the ſtates of Holland; that his departure from the Hague and his embarkation were fully known to both aſſemblies, who did not take any ſtep to oppoſe the meaſure; and that his departure did not take place till the ſtates of Holland had reſolved to capitulate, and had required in their name, from the prince of Orange, as captain-general of that province, an officer and a trumpet to announce the commiſſion from the ſtates of Holland, who were to repair to the general of the enemy to aſcertain what articles ſhould form a capitulation for that province. The prince knew their deputies were commiſſioned not to make any difficulties, but to yield to every article. The ſame day after the prince had notified his intention of quitting the Dutch territories, four members of the college of counſellors, deputed by Holland, demanded an audience of the prince, and begged he would haſten his departure; that they could give no reply to any thing; and that even if it was inſiſted upon in the French general's anſwer that the prince and his family ſhould not be permitted to quit the country, they would be under the neceſſity of taking meaſures to prevent their departure, eſpecially in caſe the French general, or the commiſſioners of the national convention, ſhould require that the college of the deputed counſellors ſhould be made reſponſible, if the prince abſented himſelf before the arrival of the French troops. After ſuch a declaration the prince of Orange thought it no longer ſafe to remain at the Hague, and embarked at Scheveling on board a fiſhing-boat. Having conſulted the marine officers and pilot, who were on board the veſſel, what courſe he ſhould ſteer, they were unanimouſly of opinion that the beſt plan would be to make for an Engliſh port. The prince, before he quitted the road of Scheveling, wrote to M. Van Spiegel, counſellor penſionary of the province of Holland, with the opinion of the marine officers and pilot of the above-mentioned veſſel, ſigned by them. The counſellor penſionary having communicated the ſame to their high mightineſſes, they, by their reſolution of the 19th of January, approved of the prince of Orange's departure, as a meaſure of abſolute neceſſity; declaring, moreover, that they were deſirous of hearing that prince's ſafe arrival in one of the ports of the kingdom of Great Britain on board a ſhip of war belonging to the ſtates, and that he might ſhortly be able to return to the republic, in order to continue aſſiſting them with his counſel and preſence for the maintenance of the independence and conſtitution of the republic. The prince's intention, of which he had already informed M. Van de Spiegel, penſionary counſellor, in his letter, was to inform himſelf, during his ſtay in England, of the ſituation of affairs, as well in the provinces of Zeeland as in the provinces of Friezeland and Groningen, and to embark on board a ſhip of war of the ſtates for either of thoſe provinces in which it ſhould appear his preſence might be moſt uſeful. It is right to obſerve that all correſpondence between thoſe provinces and the Hague was at that time inintercepted, not only by the enemy but by the froſt.

As ſoon as the ſtates of Holland had reſolved to admit forces inimical to the republic of the United Provinces into the place where the ſtates general were aſſembled, and had given orders to their different garriſons no longer to oppoſe the progreſs of the French, the prince of Orange was deſirous that the ſtates general, to whom this reſolution had been communicated, ſhould determine to diſſolve their aſſembly, and to call it together again in one of the provinces which had not ſubmitted to the yoke of the conqueror.

The ſtates general thought proper to remain aſſembled in a place where the enemy's troops, joined by a number of malcontents, deprived them of the liberty of deliberating and doing what the public good required.

The French troops having arrived at the Hague, the ſtates general were compelled to do every thing that was exacted from them. The deputies lawfully named by the provinces of Holland were obliged to quit that aſſembly, and have been replaced by deputies named by thoſe who have taken upon themſelves the ſupreme power of that province, under the name of proviſional repreſentatives of the people. Theſe latter being admitted into the aſſembly of the ſtates general, that aſſembly ceaſes to be legal, and the reſolutions taken ſince that time cannot be conſidered as reſolutions dictated by the real ſtates general.

The prince of Orange's deſign was, as has already been obſerved, to go into Zeeland, as ſoon as he ſhould have received information relative to the ſituation of affairs in that province, hoping that his preſence there might be uſeful. But the ſtates general having given orders ſoon after the prince's departure, and nearly at the time of the arrival of the French troops at the Hague, to the commanding officers of Bergen-op-zoom, Breda, Wilhemſtadt, and Steenbergen, fortreſſes, which ſtill held out, to capitulate, likewiſe to the troops who were in thoſe provinces which had not yet ſubmitted to the French, as alſo to the ſhips of the ſtate, not to defend themſelves againſt the French, the ſtates of Zeeland were under the neceſſity of following the example of thoſe of Holland and Utrecht, in capitulating for their province, or rather in ſubmitting to the conqueror.

The prince of Orange being informed of this reſolution, and perceiving that his preſence could no longer be of any ſervice there, was obliged to give up his intention of going into Zeeland, and the ice having for a long while prevented all communication between the provinces of Frieſland and Groningen with England, during that time the prince could not receive any intelligence from thoſe provinces, and the firſt he received was, that they had ſubmitted in the ſame manner as the others had done, which fruſtrated his plan of going into either of thoſe provinces.

The prince of Orange waits with confidence the judgment which every impartial perſon will paſs on his conduct, and cannot think it was expected he ſhould remain in a country which had ſubmitted to the French arms, whilſt the French national convention had declared war againſt him perſonally, and deliver himſelf into the hands of his enemies, without being able thereby to render the leaſt ſervice to his country.

He leaves it to the impartial public to judge if it is with reaſon that the pretended ſtates general could declare, on the propoſal of the ſelf-named proviſional repreſentatives of the Dutch people, that the ſtadtholderſhip was aboliſhed, becauſe the ſtadtholder, captain and admiral general, had thought proper to quit his poſt whilſt the ſaid proviſional repreſentatives of the people of Holland judged it right, in the ſame aſſembly where they have changed the form of government, and uſurped the ſupreme power, to aboliſh thoſe charges for the province of Holland, without aſſigning any other motive than that the nobility and hereditary offices were incompatible with equality.

The prince of Orange conſiders himſelf authorized to appeal to the whole univerſe from a reſolution ſo unjuſt, and declares that he will not acknowledge as lawful any reſolution taken by thoſe who now call themſelves the ſtates general, or ſtates of the provinces, as long as the republic ſhall be occupied by the French troops. He flatters himſelf that if more fortunate circumſtances ſhould deliver his unhappy country from a foreign yoke, the nation reſtored to itſelf, and enjoying, as it has done for theſe two centuries, a true liberty founded upon law, will do him juſtice by not delaying to call him to the exerciſe of the hereditary charges which he poſſeſſes in that republic, and which have been granted to his houſe, by the will of the nation, with the view of contributing to the maintenance of the religion, good order, independence and proſperity of the ſtate, and of the true liberty and well-being of its inhabitants.

W. Pr. of Orange.

Hampton Court Palace,
May 28, 1795.

Proclamation of Victor Hugues at Guadaloupe.

LIBERTY, LAW, EQUALITY.

VICTOR HUGUES, delegated

commiſſary of the national convention to the Windward Iſlands.

Whereas the crimes committed by the Britiſh officers, as well in the capture as in the defence of the conquered iſlands, exhibited a character of ſo conſummate and odious a villainy, as not to be paralleled in hiſtory.

And whereas the rights of humanity, of war, and of nations, have been violated by Charles Grey, general; John Jarvis, admiral; Thomas Dundas, major-general and governor of Guadaloupe; Charles Gordon, a general officer; and other ſubaltern officers who imitated them.

And whereas alſo the robberies, murders, aſſaſſinations, and other crimes committed by them, ought to be tranſmitted to poſterity, it is reſolved, that the body of Thomas Dundas, interred in Guadaloupe, 3d June, (ſlave ſtile) ſhall be taken up, and given a prey to the birds of the air; that upon the ſame ſpot there ſhall be erected, at the expenſe of the republic, a monument, bearing on one ſide this decree; and on the other, the following inſcription; — "This ground, reſtored to liberty by the bravery of republicans, was polluted by the body of Thomas Dundas, major-general and governor of Guadaloupe, for the * * George the Third. In recollecting his crimes, the public indignation cauſed him to be taken up, and has ordered this monument to be erected to hand them down to poſterity."

Given at the port of Liberty, (20th Frimaire) December 11, 1794, in the third year of the French republic, one and indiviſible.

VICTOR HUGUES,
VIEL, ſecretary.

Proclamation by the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, March 1.

HIS royal highneſs having, ſince the very beginning of the preſent war, been of opinion, that it was neither juſt nor convenient for Tuſcany to take any active part in the tranſactions which at this preſent time convulſe Europe; that the welfare and ſafety of this country ſhould not be entruſted to the preponderance of any of the belligerent powers, but to the ſacred right of nations, and to the inviolable faith of thoſe treaties, which guarantee the immunities, and of courſe the neutrality of the port of Leghorn; and laſtly, that the natural and political ſituation of his dominions demands the moſt impartial line of conduct, has reſolved, with the ſtricteſt impartiality, to obſerve the edict of neutrality, publiſhed by his auguſt father, under date of the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1778, as a fundamental law of the duchy.

The beneficial conſequences of this reſolution rendered it highly agreeable to his beloved ſubjects, who, profiting by the trade and commerce of other nations, without hurting any of them, found themſelves relieved from thoſe alarms and troubles which are occaſioned by the fear of war. Whilſt his royal highneſs enjoyed the ſatisfaction of ſeeing, that Tuſcany, ſuperior as it were, to the occurrences of the times, reſted peaceful and quiet on that neutrality, which was conſtantly reſpected by the French republic, he found himſelf involved in thoſe unpleaſant tranſactions, which are already known to all Europe. Although his royal highneſs was unable to reſiſt them, yet he conſented to nothing but the removal of the French miniſter reſiding at his court, the only act which the imperious circumſtances of that period could extort from him, and which can never be quoted as an act derogatory to the conſtitutional neutrality of Tuſcany.

The ſincere explanation of theſe facts, which admit neither diſcuſſion nor refutation, and the impartial line of acting obſerved afterwards towards the French republic, as well as towards individuals of that nation, have reſtored Tuſcany to the enjoyment of all the bleſſings which had been taken from her. His royal highneſs having concluded with the national convention of France a treaty, calculated to reeſtabliſh his former neutrality for the benefit of his ſubjects, without encroaching upon the rights and intereſts of the belligerent powers, with reſpect to whom he had never taken upon himſelf any particular obligation, has thought proper to publiſh the terms of that treaty, which are as follows:

Art. 1. The great duke of Tuſcany repeals all acts of adheſion, conſent, and acceſſion to the armed coalition againſt the French republic.

2. In conſequence thereof, peace, friendſhip, and good underſtanding are to prevail between the French republic and the great duchy of Tuſcany.

3. The neutrality of Tuſcany is re-eſtabliſhed on the ſame footing as it was before the 8th of October, 1793.

4. The preſent treaty ſhall have no effect before it has been ratified by the national convention.

His royal highneſs, therefore, wills that in all his dominions, the edict of neutrality of the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1778, confirmed by the ordinance of the 22d of March, 1790, and republiſhed at Leghorn on the 28th of April, 1792, be ſcrupulouſly obſerved, for which purpoſe a ſufficient number of copies of this edict ſhall be ſent to the conſuls of foreign nations reſiding at Leghorn, and to the Tuſcan conſuls reſiding in foreign ports.

Given on the 1ſt of March, 1795.

FERDINAND.

V. ANTHONY SERRISTORI.

ERNEST DI GILKENS.

Treaty of Peace between France and Pruſſia.

THE French republic and his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, equally animated with the deſire of putting an end to the war which divides them, by a ſolid peace between the two nations, have nominated for their plenipotentiaries, viz. the French republic, the citizen Francis Barthelemy, its ambaſſador in Switzerland (and the king of Pruſſia, his miniſter of ſtate, of war, and of the cabinet, Charles-Auguſtus, baron de Hardenberg, knight of the order of the red eagle, of the white eagle, and of St. Staniſlaus; who, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

1. There ſhall be peace, amity, and good underſtanding between the French republic and the king of Pruſſia, conſidered both as ſuch, and as elector of Brandenbourg, and co-eſtate of the German empire.

2. In conſequence, all hoſtilities between the two contracting powers ſhall ceaſe, from the day of the ratification of the preſent treaty, and neither of them, from the ſame

period, ſhall furniſh againſt the other, in any quality, or under any title whatſoever, any ſuccours or contingent, in men, horſes, proviſions, money, warlike ſtores, or otherwiſe.

3. Neither of the contracting powers ſhall grant a paſſage through its territory to the troops of the enemies of the other.

4. The troops of the French republic ſhall evacuate, within fifteen days after the ratification of the preſent treaty, the parts of the Pruſſian ſtates they may occupy on the right bank of the Rhine. The contributions, deliveries, ſupplies, and ſervices of war, ſhall ceaſe entirely within fifteen days after the ſignature of this treaty. All arrearages due at that period, as well as billets and promiſes given or made in that reſpect, ſhall be null. Whatever ſhall be taken or received after the period aforeſaid, ſhall be reſtored gratuitouſly, or paid for in ready money.

5. The troops of the French republic ſhall continue to occupy the parts of the ſtates of the king of Pruſſia, ſituated on the left bank of the Rhine. All definitive arrangement with reſpect to theſe provinces, ſhall be deferred till the general pacification with the German empire.

6. Until a treaty of commerce between the two contracting powers ſhall be made, all the commercial communications and relations between France and the Pruſſian ſtates, ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed on the footing upon which they were before the preſent war.

7. As the diſpoſitions of article 6. cannot have their full effect, but in proportion as liberty of commerce ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed for all the north of Germany, the two contracting powers ſhall take meaſures for removing from it the theatre of war.

8. To individuals of the two nations reſpectively ſhall be granted the reſtoration of all effects, revenues, or property of what kind ſoever, detained, ſeized, or confiſcated on account of the war between France and Pruſſia, as well as prompt juſtice with reſpect to all debts due in the ſtates of either of the two contracting powers to the ſubjects of the other.

9. All priſoners taken reſpectively ſince the commencement of the war, without regard to the difference of number or rank, including Pruſſian marines and ſailors, taken either in Pruſſian ſhips or ſhips of other nations, as well as in general all thoſe detained on either ſide on account of the war, ſhall be reſtored within the ſpace of two months at the lateſt after the exchange of the ratification of the preſent treaty, on paying the private debts they may have contracted during their captivity. The ſame ſhall be done with reſpect to the ſick and wounded immediately after their getting well. Commiſſioners ſhall be immediately appointed on both ſides for executing this article.

10. The priſoners of the Saxon, Mentz, Palatine and Heſſian corps, with thoſe of Heſſe Caſſel and Darmſtadt, who have ſerved in the army of the king of Pruſſia, ſhall be included in the exchange abovementioned.

11. The French republic will accept of the good offices of his majeſty the king of Pruſſia in favour of the princes and ſtates of the German empire who ſhall deſire to enter directly into negociation with it,

ſt, and who to that end have already requeſted, or ſhall requeſt, the interpoſition of the king.

The French republic, to give to the king of Pruſſia a firſt proof of its deſire to concur in the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient bonds of amity which have ſubſiſted between the two nations, conſents not to treat as an enemy's country, during the ſpace of three months after the ratification of the preſent treaty, the territories of thoſe princes and ſtates of the empire aforeſaid, ſituated on the left bank of the Rhine, in whoſe favour the king ſhall intereſt himſelf.

12. The preſent treaty ſhall have no effect till after being ratified by the contracting parties; and the ratifications ſhall be exchanged in this city of Baſle within one month from this date, or ſooner if poſſible.

In teſtimony of which we the underſigned miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic, and his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, by virtue of our full powers, have ſigned the preſent treaty of peace and amity, and have affixed to it our reſpective ſeals.

Done at Baſle the 16th Germinal, the third year of the French republic, April 5, 1795.

(Signed) Francis Barthelemy.
Charles-Augustus, Baron de Hardenberg.

Second Treaty between the Republic of France and the King of Pruſſia.

THE republic of France and his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, having ſtipulated in the treaty of peace and amity concluded between them the 16th of laſt Germinal, (5th of April, 1795,) reſpecting ſome ſecret clauſes alluded to in the 7th article of the ſaid treaty, which eſtabliſh a line of demarcation and neutrality for the purpoſe of removing the theatre of war from the north of Germany, have thought proper to explain and definitively decree the conditions by an expreſs convention. For this purpoſe the reſpective plenipotentiaries of the two high contracting powers, viz. on the part of the French republic, citizen Francis Barthelemy, its ambaſſador in Switzerland, and on the part of the king of Pruſſia his miniſter of ſtate, of war, and of the cabinet, Charles Auguſtus, baron de Hardenberg, knight of the order of the red eagle, of the white eagle, and of St. Staniſlaus, &c. have agreed to the following articles:

Art. 1. In order to remove the theatre of war from the frontiers of the ſtates of his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, to preſerve the tranquillity of the north of Germany, and to re-eſtabliſh the entire freedom of commerce between that part of the empire and France, in the ſame manner as before the war, the French republic conſents not to puſh the operations of war, nor to ſend troops either by land or ſea into the ſtates ſituated beyond the following line of demarcation.

This line ſhall comprehend eaſt Frieſland, and deſcend along the Ems, and the Aa, or Alpha, to Munſter, taking afterwards its direction towards Coesfeld, Borken, Bockholt, to the frontier of the duchy of Cleves, near Iſſelbourgh, following this line of frontier to

Magenport, upon the new Iſſel, and aſcending the Rhine to Duyſbourgh; from thence extending along the frontier of the county of Marck, to Werden, Gemarke, and along the Wipper to Homburgh, Altenkirchen, Limburgh upon the Lahn; along that river, and from that which ſtretches from Idſtein to that city, Epſtein, and Hochſt upon the Mein; from thence to Rauenheim, along the Landgraben to Dornheim, thence, following the brook which croſſes that diſtrict, to the frontiers of the Palatinate; thence along the frontiers of the country of Darmſtadt, and the circle of Franconia, which the line will entirely encloſe, to Eberſbach upon the Necker, continuing along the courſe of that river to Wimpfen, a free town of the empire, and taking thence a courſe to Lœwenſtein, Murhard, Hohenſtadt, Noerdlingen, a free town of the empire, and Holzkirch upon the Wernitz; incloſing the county of Pappenheim and the whole circle of Franconia and Upper Saxony, paſſing along Bavaria, the Upper Palatinate, and Bohemia, to the frontiers of Sileſia.

2. The French republic conſiders as neutral country, and as neutral ſtates, all thoſe which are ſituated behind this line, on condition that they obſerve on their part the moſt ſtrict neutrality, the firſt point to which ſhall be to recal their contingents, and not to make any new contract, which can authorize them to furniſh troops to the powers at war with France.

Thoſe who ſhall not comply with theſe conditions, ſhall be excluded from the benefit of the neutrality.

3. His majeſty the king of Pruſſia engages to cauſe the moſt ſtrict obſervance of this neutrality by all the ſtates ſituated upon the right bank of the Mein, and compriſed in the line of demarcation abovementioned.

The king charges himſelf with guaranteeing, that no troops, the enemies of France, ſhall paſs that part of the line, or go out of the countries therein compriſed, in order to oppoſe the French arms; and to this effect the two contracting parties are bound to keep, upon the moſt eſſential points afterwards to be agreed upon between them, corps of obſervation ſufficient to make this neutrality reſpected.

5. The paſſage for troops, whether thoſe of the French republic, thoſe of the empire, or thoſe of Auſtria, ſhall remain entirely free through the roads leading to the right bank of the Mein, by Francfort.

1ſt, From Konigſtein and Limburgh, to Cologne.

2d, From Friedberg, Wetzlar, and Siegen, to Cologne.

3d, From Haderſheim, Wiſbaden, and Naſſau, to Coblentz.

4th and laſtly, From Haderſheim, to Mayence, and *vice verſa*; as well as through all the countries ſituated on the left bank of this river, and throughout the whole circle of Franconia, without doing the leaſt prejudice to the neutrality of all the ſtates and countries included in the line of demarcation.

5. The country of Sayn Alten Kirchen on the Weſterwald, compriſing therein the little diſtrict of Bendorf below Coblentz, being in the poſſeſſion of his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, ſhall enjoy the ſame benefits and advantages of the other ſtates, ſituated on the right bank of the Rhine.

6. The preſent convention ſhall be ratified by the two contracting parties, and the ratifications ſhall be exchanged in this city of Baſle, within the term of one month, or ſooner, if poſſible, reckoning from this day. In teſtimony of which, we, the underſigned plenipotentiaries of the French republic and his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, have, by virtue of our full powers, ſigned the preſent convention, and have affixed thereto our reſpective ſeals.

Done at Baſle, the 28th Floreal, the third year of the French republic, (17th May, 1795.)

(Signed) FRANCIS BARTHELEMY,
CHARLES-AUGUSTUS, Baron de HARDENBERG.

Treaty of Alliance, offenſive and defenſive, concluded between the republic of France and the republic of the Seven United Provinces.

Art. 1. THE republic of France acknowledges and guarantees the independence of the republic of the United Provinces, and the abolition of the ſtadtholderſhip.

2. There ſhall be a laſting peace, amity, and good underſtanding, between the two republics.

3. There ſhall alſo be an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, againſt all the enemies of the reſpective republics, during the preſent war.

4. There ſhall be an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, againſt Great Britain, for ever.

5. No treaty ſhall be entered into with Great Britain without the conſent of the two republics.

6. The French republic ſhall make no peace with any power whatever, without compriſing in it the republic of the United Provinces.

7. The republic of the United Provinces ſhall furniſh for the preſent campaign, twelve ſhips of the line, and eighteen frigates, for the North Sea and the Baltic.

8. The republic of the United Provinces ſhall furniſh for the preſent campaign half the number of the troops which the republic ſhall have on foot.

9. All the forces employed in actual ſervice ſhall be under the command of French generals. The arrangements for the campaign ſhall be made in concert: the States General may ſend a deputy, who ſhall ſit and have a deliberative voice in the committee of public ſafety at Paris.

10. All arſenals and ammunition belonging to the republic of the United Provinces ſhall be reſtored.

11. From the ratification of the preſent treaty, reſtitution ſhall be made of all the countries and places belonging to the United Provinces, with the exceptions contained in the following article.

12. Dutch Flanders and the right ſide of the Hondt, Maeſtricht, Venlo and their dependencies, ſhall be reſerved by the French republic as indemnities.

13. A French garriſon ſhall be admitted, in peace and war, into the town of Fluſhing, until other arrangements ſhall have been decided.

14. The port of Fluſhing ſhall be open to the two republics, conformably to the rules laid down in the ſeparate articles attached to this treaty.

15. In caſe of hoſtilities on the

ſide of the Rhine, or of Zealand, French garriſons ſhall be admitted into Breda, Bois-le-Duc, and Bergen-op-Zoom.

16. At the epoch of a general peace, ceſſion ſhall be made to the United Provinces of portions of territory equivalent in extent to the ceſſion contained in the 12th article, and in a poſition moſt convenient to the republic of the United Provinces.

17. Until the general peace, ſuch a number of troops ſhall be ſtationed in the neceſſary places as ſhall be deemed adequate to the defence of them.

18. The navigation of the Scheldt and the Hondt ſhall be open to the two republics: French and Dutch veſſels ſhall be indiſcriminately admitted, under the ſame conditions.

19. The French republic gives up to the republic of the United Provinces all the immovable effects belonging to the houſe of Orange, and all the moveable property not already diſpoſed of.

20. As an indemnification for the expenſes of the war, the republic of the United Provinces ſhall pay to the republic of France one hundred millions of livres, either in ſpecie, or in bills upon foreign powers, as ſhall be agreed upon.

21. The French republic ſhall uſe its good offices with foreign powers, in favour of the United Provinces, in order that they may obtain the payment of the ſums due to them before the war.

22. No aſylum ſhall be given by the republic of the United Provinces, to the French emigrants; and no aſylum ſhall be given by the republic of France to the Orange emigrants.

23. The preſent treaty ſhall be ratified within two decades, or ſooner if poſſible.

Separate Articles, relative to the Port of Fluſhing.

Art. 1. THE two nations ſhall indiſcriminately make uſe of the port and the docks.

2. Each nation ſhall have timber yards, &c.

3. From the ratification of the preſent treaty, the republic of the United Provinces ſhall relinquiſh the building for the Weſt India Company, and the ground adjacent to it, and alſo one of the docks.

4. All new acquiſitions for the conſtruction of freſh arſenals and all acquiſitions of ground, ſhall be made at the expenſe of the French republic.

5. The expenſes of the repairs of the baſon, and the quay, ſhall be defrayed by the two republics, but the direction of the remainder ſhall belong to the republic of the United Provinces. The French republic, however, ſhall be informed of every operation, and the *proces verbaux* ſhall be ſent to the French government, who will defray half the expenſe.

6. No admiral's ſhip, nor guardſhip belonging to either of the two republics, ſhall be in the port of Fluſhing.

7. If any diſpute ſhould ariſe relative to the foregoing regulations, which ſhall not be amicably adjuſted, they ſhall be decided by five arbitrators; two of whom ſhall be French, and two Dutch; and for the fifth, each republic ſhall chooſe one, and it ſhall be decided by lot.

8. Theſe regulations ſhall be carried into execution, as part of the treaty of alliance, offenſive and defenſive, between the republic of France and the republic of the United Provinces.

Concluded at the Hague, on the 15th of May, at noon, 1795, and afterwards ratified by both of the contracting parties.

Official Copy of the Treaty between the King of Spain and the Republic of France.

THE French republic and his majeſty the king of Spain, equally animated with a deſire to put a ſtop to the calamities of the war which now diſunites them, ſtrongly convinced that there exiſt between the two nations reſpective intereſts which demand a reciprocal return of friendſhip and good underſtanding, and wiſhing, by a ſolid and durable peace, to re-eſtabliſh that deſirable harmony which had for a long time been the conſtant baſis of the relations ſubſiſting between the two countries, they have charged with this negotiation, viz. the French republic, citizen Francis Barthelemy, their ambaſſador in Switzerland; and his Catholic majeſty, his miniſter plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to the king and republic of Poland, Don Domingo d'Yriarte; who, after having exchanged their powers, have agreed to the following articles:

Art. 1. There ſhall be peace, amity, and good underſtanding between the French republic and the kingdom of Spain.

2. In conſequence, all hoſtilities between the two contracting powers ſhall ceaſe from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty; and none of them ſhall, from that period, furniſh againſt the other, in any quality, or under any title, any aid, or contingent, either in men, horſes, proviſions, money, warlike ſtores, ſhips, or other articles.

3. Neither of the contracting powers ſhall grant a paſſage through their territories to any troops at war with the other.

4. The French republic reſtores to the king of Spain all the conqueſts which ſhe has made from him in the courſe of the preſent war: the conquered places and territories ſhall be evacuated by the French troops within fifteen days after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty.

5. The fortified places of which mention is made in the preceding article, ſhall be reſtored to Spain, with the cannons, warlike ſtores, and other articles belonging to theſe places, which ſhall have been in them at the moment of the ſigning of this treaty.

6. All ſorts of military contributions, requiſitions, and payments ſhall entirely ceaſe from the date of fifteen days after the ſigning of the preſent pacification: all the arrears due at that period, even bills and promiſſory notes, given for theſe objects, ſhall be of no effect: what ſhall have been taken or received after the above-named period, ſhall be gratuitouſly reſtored, or paid for to the amount of its value.

7. There ſhall immediately be named by both ſides commiſſioners, for the purpoſe of adjuſting a treaty of limits between the two powers: they ſhall, as much as poſſible, take as the baſis of this treaty with reſpect to the territories which were diſputed before the preſent war, the tops of the mountains which are the ſources of the rivers of France and Spain.

8. Neither of the contracting powers can, at the expiration of a

month after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, maintain on their reſpective frontiers more than the number of troops they had uſually been accuſtomed to have ſtationed there previous to the preſent war.

9. In exchange for the places reſtored by the 4th article, the king of Spain, for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, gives up and abandons to the French republic all right of property in the Spaniſh part of St. Domingo, one of the Antilles: a month after the ratification of the preſent treaty ſhall be known in that iſland, the Spaniſh troops ſhall be in readineſs to evacuate the places, ports, and eſtabliſhments which they at preſent occupy, in order to give them up to the troops of the French republic as ſoon as they ſhall arrive to take poſſeſſion of them; the places, ports, and eſtabliſhments, of which mention is made above, ſhall be delivered up to the French republic, with the cannons, warlike ſtores, and articles neceſſary for their defence, which ſhall be in them at the moment when the preſent treaty ſhall be known at St. Domingo. The inhabitants of the Spaniſh part of St. Domingo, who, from inducements of intereſt or other motives, ſhall prefer removing with their property into the dominions of his catholic majeſty, ſhall be able to do ſo within the ſpace of a year from the date of the treaty: the reſpective generals and commanders of the two nations ſhall concert the meaſures neceſſary to be taken for the execution of the preſent article.

10. There ſhall be reſpectively granted to the individuals of the two nations reſtitution of the effects, revenues, and property of all ſorts, detained, ſeized, or confiſcated, on account of the war which has ſubſiſted between the French republic and his Catholic majeſty; and likewiſe the moſt ſpeedy juſtice with reſpect to the particular claims which theſe individuals may have in the ſtates of the two contracting powers.

11. In the meantime, till there ſhall be a new treaty of commerce between the contracting parties, all correſpondencies and commercial relations ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed between France and Spain on the footing on which they ſtood before the preſent war.

All French merchants ſhall be allowed to paſs into Spain, there to reſume their commercial eſtabliſhments. They ſhall make new ones according to their convenience, ſubmitting, in common with all other individuals, to the laws and uſages of the country.

The Spaniſh merchants ſhall enjoy the ſame privileges, ſubject to the ſame conditions, in France.

12. All the priſoners reſpectively made ſince the commencement of the war, without regard to the difference of number and rank, comprehending the ſeamen and marines captured on board French or Spaniſh veſſels, or thoſe of other nations, as well as in general all thoſe impriſoned on either ſide on account of the war, ſhall be delivered up within the ſpace of two months at lateſt, after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, without any appeal on either part, diſcharging, however, the private debts which the priſoners may have contracted during their captivity. The ſame mode ſhall be adopted with reſpect to the ſick and wounded, immediately after their recovery or cure.

Commiſſioners on either ſide ſhall

be immediately appointed to proceed to the execution of the preſent article.

13. The Portugueze priſoners making a part of the troops of Portugal, who have ſerved with the armies and on board the ſhips of his Catholic majeſty, ſhall be in like manner comprehended in the abovementioned exchange. It ſhall be the ſame with reſpect to the French troops taken by the Portugueze troops in queſtion.

14. The ſame peace, amity, and good underſtanding, ſtipulated by the preſent treaty between France and the king of Spain, ſhall take place between the king of Spain and the republic of the United Provinces, allies of the French republic.

15. The French republic, wiſhing to give a teſtimony of amity to his Catholic majeſty, accepts his mediation in favour of the kingdom of Portugal, the king of Naples, the king of Sardinia, the infant duke of Parma, and the other ſtates of Italy, for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace between the French republic and each of theſe princes and ſtates.

16. The French republic, ſenſible of the intereſt which his Catholic majeſty takes in the general pacification of Europe, conſents likewiſe to accept of his good offices in favour of other belligerent powers, who ſhall apply to him, in order to enter into negotiation with the French government.

17. The preſent treaty ſhall not have effect till after having been ratified by the contracting parties; and the ratifications ſhall be exchanged within the ſpace of a month, or ſooner, from the date of this day.

In witneſs whereof we the underſigned plenipotentiaries of the French republic, and of his majeſty the king of Spain, in virtue of our full powers, have ſigned this preſent treaty of peace and amity, and have put to it our reſpective ſeals.

Done at Baſle the 4th of the month of Thermidor, the third year of the French republic (22d July, 1795.)

(Signed) FRANCIS BARTHELEMY,
DOMINGO D'YRIARTE.

Treaty concluded at Baſle, on the 11th Fructidor, (Aug. 8.) between the Republic of France and the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel.

THE French republic having accepted of the good offices of the king of Pruſſia in favour of his moſt ſerene highneſs the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, and being animated with the ſame ſentiments as the landgrave, to make a ſolid and permanent peace ſucceed to a war which had diſunited them, in conſequence of which the contracting powers have appointed as follows:

The French republic, on her part, citizen Francis Barthelemy, her ambaſſador in Switzerland, and the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, his privy councellor Frederick Sigiſmund baron of Waitz d'Eſchen.

Which miniſters, after having exchanged their reſpective powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. 1. There ſhall be peace, friendſhip, and good underſtanding between the French republic and the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel.

2. In conſequence of which, all hoſtilities between the two parties ſhall ceaſe from the ratifications of the preſent treaty, and none of the two powers ſhall after that period furniſh againſt each other, under

whatever quality or condition it may be, ſuccours or contingent, either in men, horſes, proviſions, money, ammunition, or other things.

3. As long as the war ſhall be continued between the French republic and England, the landgrave ſhall neither prolong nor renew the two ſubſidiary treaties exiſting between him and England.

This diſpoſition will begin to have its effect from the date of the preſent treaty.

4. With reſpect to the paſſing of any troops whatever through his ſtates, the landgrave ſhall conform himſelf to the diſpoſitions ſtipulated in the convention, concluded at Baſle, on the 17th of May, 1795, between the French republic and the king of Pruſſia.

5. The French republic will continue to occupy the fortreſs of Rheinfelds, the town of St. Goar, and the part of the county of Katzenellenbogen, ſituated on the left bank of the Rhine; the definitive arrangements with reſpect to theſe countries remain ſuſpended, until a general pacification between the French republic, and the parts of Germany, which are yet at war with the republic.

6. All commercial communications and relations ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed between France and the ſtates of the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, on the footing on which they were previous to the war.

7. Both the reſpective governments, and the individuals of the two nations, ſhall grant to each other a reſtoration of all goods or property of any kind whatever, detained, ſeized, or confiſcated, on account of the war which has taken place between France and Heſſe Caſſel, as alſo ſpeedy juſtice, with reſpect to debts exiſting in the ſtates of the reſpective contracting parties.

8. All the priſoners made reſpectively ſince the beginning of the war, without conſideration of the number or rank, ſhall be delivered up to each other within two months, at the lateſt, after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, without any reclamation of expences; paying, however, any private debts, which might have been contracted by them during their captivity. The ſame ſhall be obſerved with reſpect to the ſick and wounded, immediately after their recovery.

Commiſſioners ſhall be appointed, on both parts, to proceed to the execution of this article: the diſpoſitions of which ſhall be applied to the Heſſian troops in the ſervice of England, and who have been made priſoners of war.

9. The preſent treaty to have no effect until it is ratified by the contracting parties, and the ratifications to be exchanged in this city of Baſle, within a month from this day, or ſooner if poſſible.

We, the underſigned plenipotentiaries of the French republic, and of his moſt ſerene highneſs the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, in virtue of our reſpective powers, have ſigned this preſent treaty of peace, and have ſealed it with our reſpective ſeals.

Done at Baſle, the eleventh of the month Fructidor, of the third republican year, and the 28th of Auguſt, 1795.

(Signed) FRANCIS BARTHELEMY,
FREDERIC SIGISMUND,
Baron of Waitz d'Eſchen.

Imperial

Imperial Decree of Commiſſion from the Emperor to the Diet at Ratiſbon, reſpecting the Propoſition for negotiating a Peace with France.

The Preamble to this Decree contains a brief Statement of the Cauſes and Progreſs of the War, and the Proceedings of the Diet, till its laſt Reſolution relative to Peace, after which it proceeds to the following Purport:

THAT the reſtoration of tranquillity to the empire, by a ſpeedy peace, is an event to be deſired, and cannot admit of a doubt in the mind of any one, who ſhall, for a moment, compare the heavy calamities occaſioned by the preſent war, unexampled for the violence with which it has been conducted, with the bleſſings of peace. Whoever, alſo, ſhall duly conſider the ſtrenuous exertions made by his Imperial majeſty, during the laſt three years, the armies he has brought into the field, the treaſure he has expended, furniſhed principally by his hereditary dominions, cannot entertain a doubt of his paternal care and anxiety for the welfare of the empire, and that all his wiſhes tend to a concluſion of the miſeries of war by a ſpeedy re-eſtabliſhment of peace. But when we proceed to conſider by what means, and on what terms this peace, in itſelf ſo deſirable, is to be obtained, numerous and unexpected difficulties will be found to preſent themſelves, which have been rather overlooked than examined ſuitably to their great importance. Nothing, at leaſt, could have given greater pleaſure to his Imperial majeſty, than that the diet ſhould have preciſely ſtated the terms on which a juſt, honourable, and durable peace might be eſtabliſhed; eſpecially, ſince the electors, princes, and ſtates of the empire, have thought it conſiſtent with the preſent ſituation of affairs, with the preſent poſition of Germany, and with the general welfare, to diſcuſs the ſubject in a public debate, and to declare their wiſh for peace.

His Imperial majeſty, however, is far from intending to repreſent the wiſhes of the diet as unattainable, or in any manner very difficult; nor does he wiſh to prolong the execution of the ſubject in the concluſum, until the general opinion of the diet has pointed out the manner it which it is to be effected; but, on the contrary, his majeſty is determined to take every opportunity to ſecond the views of the diet, and the ſtates in general.

With reſpect to the ceſſation of arms, mentioned in the ſame decree of the diet, his Imperial majeſty, ever attentive with unremitting paternal care to the good and happineſs of his ſubjects, certainly agrees with the diet, that it would be for the general benefit of the German empire, were it to be of ſuch a kind as to lead to a ſafe, honourable, and laſting peace; and whenever there may be reaſon to believe that it may have ſo deſirable a conſequence, he will undoubtedly employ every means in his power, as head of the empire, for its procurement.

But ſince, in conſequences of the extraordinary ſucceſs of our enemies in the late campaign, it is not a little doubtful, whether they will be ſo willing as many may hope and believe, to accept of ſuch terms as ſhall not be diſhonourable to us; how much ſoever a peace may be deſirable for the ſake of ſuffering humanity, and how much ſoever it may be the wiſh of his Imperial majeſty, it will be incumbent on the empire to make the moſt ardent and unremitting preparations for the proſecution of the next campaign, ſhould an invincible fate, or the obſtinacy or extravagant demands of France render abortive all our hopes and wiſhes. His Imperial majeſty thinks this intimation the more neceſſary, ſince, according to reſolutions taken by the diet of October 28, it was determined that the firſt of February ſhould be the laſt term in which the increaſe of forces and armaments were to be furniſhed to the commander general of the united army of the empire for the opening of the next campaign; and particularly as the proceedings in the diet relative to peace appear to have cooled the zeal of ſeveral of the ſtates of the empire, a conſequence far from the intention of the elector of Mentz, at whoſe motion the ſubject was firſt diſcuſſed in that aſſembly.

His Imperial majeſty, therefore, conjures all the ſtates of the Germanic body, jointly and ſingly, by their love for their country, not to ſuffer themſelves to be lulled into incautious ſecurity by hopes, as yet, much too uncertain; but faithfully and aſſiduouſly to diſcharge thoſe duties which the conſtitution and laws of the empire, and the preſervation of every thing that ſhould be dear to them, render indiſpenſable; and conformably to the Imperial ordinance of the 14th of June laſt, reſpecting the arming the vaſſals in the different villages, and the forming of militias in every diſtrict or town, to give ſuch ſtrength to their military force, as may render vigorous and ſucceſsful a war, the continuance of which may, perhaps, be unavoidable. That the patriotic princes of the empire, whoſe dominions are ſituated within the circles moſt expoſed to the enemy, ſhould be ſupported and aſſiſted by the princes whoſe territories lie farther in the interior parts of Germany, and be enabled, for the defence of the whole empire, and of each ſtate, to raiſe fortifications; and that they ſhould be furniſhed with artillery, ammunition, ſmall arms, and other neceſſaries of war.

His Imperial majeſty moſt earneſtly conjures all the ſtates in the empire never to loſe ſight of the undeniable principle, that extraordinary circumſtances require extraordinary meaſures, and that by ſuch meaſures alone, in caſes of imminent danger, a ſtate can preſerve its ſecurity, and frequently even its exiſtence: he intreats them to remember, that the reſources of the empire are yet far from exhauſted; that it is not by relaxing in our efforts, that the enemy can be arreſted in his progreſs, and induced to accept juſt and honourable terms; and that, at all events, it is preferable to encounter any adverſe fortune, than to ſign the ſhame of Germany, and the overthrow of the Germanic conſtitution, in a treaty of peace.

(Signed) Charles, Prince of Thurn and Taxis.

Ratiſbon, Feb. 10, 1795.

Declaration of the King of Pruſſia, to his Moſt High Colleagues, Co-States of the German Empire, and Members of the Germanic League, with reſpect to the treaty of Peace concluded between him and the republic

republic of France, on the 5th of April, 1795.

HIS majeſty the king of Pruſſia, &c. finds himſelf now in the happy ſituation of being able to announce to his moſt high co-ſtates of the high and mighty German empire, an event, the agreeable and happy conſequences of which ſo nearly concern the whole of Germany. The uncertain and dangerous war, which but too long for ſuffering humanity has ſpread to ſuch an extent death and deſtruction around us, is now terminated on the part of his majeſty. A happy treaty of peace between his majeſty and the republic of France has been ſigned, on the 5th of April, 1795, at Baſle, and has afterwards been ratified by the reſpective contracting parties. This treaty grants to the Pruſſian ſtates a reſtoration of tranquillity and welfare, opens an eaſy road for the ſtates of the empire to attain the ſame beneficial and happy object; and already gives to a great part of Germany protection and ſecurity againſt all the misfortunes and the ravages of the war. His majeſty, in expecting with the moſt juſt confidence, the conſent and approbation of the whole of the empire, does not delay a moment to develope, with the utmoſt candour, his motives, his ſentiments, and his wiſhes in concluding this peace.

His majeſty flatters himſelf with the conſciouſneſs, that although his conduct, in this meaſure, has been forced, in ſome degree, by the imperious circumſtances of the times, it has been as pure, and his views as liberal and diſintereſted as they have been hitherto, with reſpect to the great concerns which have employed the efforts of all Europe. His majeſty is able, with conſcious ſatisfaction, to ſubmit his conduct to the judgment of his obſerving contemporaries, and to that of ſcrutinizing poſterity; his intereſt in the whole of this war has never been his individual intereſt; he has taken a part, not from views to his own advantage or benefit, but wholly from pure motives of zeal for the general welfare, and from patriotic wiſhes for the ſecurity and defence of our attacked and oppreſſed mother-country of Germany.

His majeſty in theſe liberal views, and in the general concern of Germany, has not only faithfully and perfectly fulfilled his obligations as a member of the Germanic league, and as a ſtate of the empire, but has far exceeded his power, by making extraordinary ſacrifices; by the moſt unexampled exertions, by ſtraining every nerve of the powerful body of the Pruſſian ſtates. His majeſty has carried on a bloody war for three long years with a great and choice army, at a diſtance from the Pruſſian ſtates, in a foreign and almoſt exhauſted territory, amidſt the moſt extraordinary dearth of all neceſſaries—amidſt the greateſt poſſible obſtacles of every kind, and ſubject to an immenſe exportation of ſpecie from his own dominions, in a conteſt againſt an enemy, powerful on account of its forces and its ſucceſſes in the war.

His majeſty has employed every means, and exhauſted every effort, in order to remove from the German territories the devaſtating torrents, and the enterprizes of this dreadful enemy; and at all times has directed his efforts ſo as to deſerve to be conſidered as the protector and faviour of Germany. Poſterity will undoubtedly ſhew itſelf thankful to the Pruſſian armies, for having ſaved the German empire, in the beginning of this war, from the firſt powerful and rapid invaſion made by general Cuſtine, before any declaration of war had been iſſued by the empire or any hoſtile preparation had been made; when, after that powerful enemy had ruſhed and penetrated almoſt into the very heart of Germany, the courageous Pruſſian armies, with their wonted diſcipline and military ſkill, ſucceeded in driving them from the territories of the empire, in re-conquering from them the fortreſs of Mentz and the opulent town of Frankfort, and in re-uniting and ſecuring the German empire, which had already been torn aſunder.

Poſterity will be thankful to thoſe troops, who, during three campaigns, in which the armies of the allies, on the banks of the Rhine, on the right as well as on the left, met with the greateſt misfortunes, have always perſiſted in defending the banks of that river, and have proved themſelves the unſhaken rampart of the heart of Germany, which they defended with the greateſt courage and perſeverance; and who, when perverſe fortune had loſt to the allies the United Netherlands, aud when the undefended north of Germany ſtood open to the entrance of the victorious enemy, haſtened to the places where danger threatened in the moſt formidable ſhape: and at laſt ſucceeded in ſaving and ſecuring, together with the Weſtphalian dominions of his majeſty, all the neighbouring circles, as well as in defending the countries of the empire, ſituated behind that new theatre of the war.

In this ſervice of the common cauſe of all Germany, the Pruſſian blood was ſpilt in great abundance, and the ſtates of Pruſſia totally drained of ſpecie, even at a time when the king was partly involved in another war, and when the provinces of the other extremities of his monarchy were obliged to defend themſelves againſt the inſurrections and incurſions of the neighbouring Poles, in which defence his majeſty was afterwards forced to employ the remainder of his armed forces.

Every obſerver, well acquainted with the real power of the Pruſſian ſtates and their reſources, muſt, from the ſtrained bravery of the troops in the hoſtilities carried on, on both ſides, in this depopulating, deſtructive, and fatal war, principally at ſuch a diſtance from the Pruſſian ſtates, have concluded that at laſt the very nerves of the body of the Pruſſian monarchy would become weakened, and the continuation of a foreign and diſtant war muſt at laſt become entirely impoſſible.

His majeſty has often communicated theſe circumſtances for the information of his high colleagues, the members of the Germanic league, and his co-ſtates of the German empire. This was particularly done in the beginning of laſt year, when his majeſty was obliged openly to declare to the German empire, that it was become entirely impoſſible for him ſingly, and without aſſiſtance, to continue to bear the heavy burthen of this war; and that if the empire would not undertake to ſupply his troops with every thing neceſſary, he would find himſelf forced to withdraw his troops from the campaign, and to abandon the empire to its fate. But his juſt demands, in this reſpect, were every where received with coolneſs, diſapprobation, and even contempt. This ill ſucceſs of the juſt and well-founded claims of his majeſty tended to diſguſt his liberal mind, and he began to meditate on the means of extricating his dominions from the dangerous ſituation in which they were involved.

At that period propoſals of ſubſidies were fortunately made to his majeſty from the court of Great Britain, which ſatisfied the claims of his majeſty, and which furniſhed him with the means of continuing the war. His partaking in this war hitherto had always been the diſintereſted reſult of a true attention to all his connections, and union with the other ſtates of Germany, and particularly of his zeal to oppoſe the deſtruction that was likely to be ſpread by the faction which at that time was raging in France, and to counteract the horrors which the latter carried to the utmoſt pitch; evidently proving his majeſty to have acted merely from a pure patriotic attachment to his mother country of Germany, and from a profound ſenſibility, which induced him to endeavour to ſtrengthen its ſhaken foundation, and with all his energy to recover its declining preponderance. His majeſty then embraced the propoſitions of Great Britain, and the diſtreſſed empire continued to enjoy the protection of the Pruſſian arms.

The ſubſidies, however, were but a very limited relief to the efforts of his majeſty in the continuance of the war; they did not continue long enough; at laſt they diſcontinued entirely, and the whole burden of the war fell again upon his majeſty alone, and upon his means of carrying it on.

Had his majeſty at that time abandoned the empire, according to his previous declarations, to its own feeble defenſive force, its fatal deſtiny would ſoon have been decided, particularly at that period when no dawn of peace had yet made its appearance: when every where on the German frontiers, and in the advanced countries of Germany, nothing but misfortune was raging; when every where a ſorrowful conjecture predicted the fate undergone by all the ſtates of the empire beyond the Rhine, and that the greateſt part of unprotected Germany would become ſubject to the ſame fate with the imperial Netherlands, notwithſtanding their having been defended with the moſt extreme and energetic exertions; and that the United Netherlands, which at that time were threatened in the moſt dangerous manner, would alſo fall into the hands of the conquerors.

The king, however, at that very criſis, perſevered as the active defender of the German empire; his army marched at one time to the moſt threatened parts, at another to that of the open parts of the north of Germany, which latter they ſecured againſt the ſupernumerary forces and the victorious armies of the advancing enemy.

But theſe continued ſacrifices, the march of a numerous army of his majeſty to Weſtphalia, and the difficulties of providing that army with the ſcarce neceſſaries, and particularly with corn, in territories but little fertile, and totally exhauſted, formed the laſt effort of the Pruſſian ſtate in favour of the war. After a continual and immenſe draining of finances from the Pruſſian territories, which laſted for three years; after an uninterrupted warfare, weakening and diminiſhing the troops; after the Pruſſian territories on the other bank of the Rhine had fallen into the hands of the enemy; the ſenſible influence of theſe events upon the population, the proviſions and welfare of the other provinces, rendered the continuance of this war entirely impoſſible for his majeſty; if it was to be ſupported merely by means of his own capacity, and the reſources of his dominions.

And what other remedies were at that time offered to his majeſty; when the empire itſelf even refuſed to furniſh proviſions for the Pruſſian troops who were combating for its defence and ſecurity? And even at preſent, when the troops in exhauſted Weſtphalia ran the riſk of fighting againſt the moſt formidable enemy, under the diſadvantage of an inſufficiency of proviſions, and when the neighbouring and opulent ſtates, who eagerly wiſhed for defence, far from granting them proviſions to fill their magazines, even refuſed permiſſion to export proviſions from their territories? The extraordinary and monſtrous expences of his majeſty, in conſequence of the re-conqueſt of Mentz, and of other extraordinary undertakings, in which the Pruſſian army alone executed that which was the duty of an army of the empire; have remained unliquidated, although the treaſure for the operations of the war of the empire is deſtined particularly for ſuch objects, and to which conſiderable contributions of the Roman months (ſo called) have been furniſhed by the ſeveral ſtates of the empire, and which even upon repeated claims of his Pruſſian majeſty, deducting what is due to the ſame contributions from his own dominions, have yet remained unſatisfied.

What aſſiſtance in this warfare could his majeſty expect for the future from any other power of the allies? Particularly as by the reduction of the United Netherlands, the number of the powers combating againſt the enemy of the empire were ſo extremely diminiſhed, and that by this means, the weakeſt ſide of Germany had been opened to them, through which they eaſily could penetrate into its very heart. Every where traces were ſeen of the continual miſcarriage of the arms of the allies, which even left no hopes for a future poſſible ſucceſs. Every where the moſt total exhauſtion was diſcovered, as the natural conſequence of extraordinary exertions.

Even his Imperial majeſty, upon whom depended the moſt powerful exertions of the war, having in it ſuch a manifold preſſing and immediate intereſt, who could, in a more eaſy manner, furniſh ſtrong forces, in the middle of laſt year, made no ſecret in declaring to the German ſtates, that he was unable any longer to ſave that empire, without a particular aſſiſtance in men and money. What reſources then remained to the empire, which could expect only to be abandoned to itſelf, and to the weakneſs of its diminiſhing power of defence? This defence, it is true, was increaſed by a quintuple armament; but it could expect no greater effect from this meaſure, than from the triple contribution, particularly ſince ſo many countries of the empire had been conquered by the ſuperiority of the French arms, of whoſe aſſiſtance the empire is now deprived, and ſince the principal ſtates of the empire are at preſent exhauſted by the misfortunes and the expences of the war, and ſome others are too impotent, and in no ſtate of defence; in this war, as well as in preceding ones, the experience is confirmed, that the formation of the meaſures for a war of the empire muſt always be deficient and weak, on account of its being compoſed of ſuch a number of divided parts, in order to form the whole, that it can never have activity ſufficient without the aſſiſtance of other powers.

To theſe conſiderations, and to others, particularly in conſequence of the concluſion of laſt campaign, where on one ſide the deſperate criſis ſeemed to threaten the moſt dreadful events, was added the important event on the part of France, where, upon the ruins of the deſtroyed ſyſtem of terror, a mild and moderate government was ſeated upon the throne of power, who firſt diſplayed their wiſe ſentiments on the neceſſity of peace for their country; this in Germany could produce but one wiſh, and could awaken but one deſire.

When, therefore, after three dreadful years of death and deſtruction have entirely exhauſted the war reſources, and have made all further hopes of ſucceſs vaniſh; when it appears clear and unqueſtionable that the powerful hand of Providence has given to the mighty ſtream of their hoſtile enterprizes, ſo decided a ſuperiority, and rendered all future attempts againſt it fruitleſs; and when at the ſame time we ſee the enemy not diſinclined to peace; and when all hopes predict to us that we certainly ſhould obtain more by means of the latter than by an obſtinate continuation of a deſtructive war; what choice is left to us? Would a wiſe and humane monarch, after this proſpect, ever proceed in and continue the horrors of a war without any object of ſucceſs or proſperity? Have not there been provinces enough unpeopled, and filled with miſery and mourning? Has not ſuffering humanity been yet rendered ſufficiently miſerable?

The king of Pruſſia, therefore, declares his ſincere wiſh that reſt and tranquillity may ſoon be reſtored to the Pruſſian ſtates, and if poſſible to the whole of the German empire. The latter has even expreſſed the ſame general wiſh, having already opened a formal deliberation of the diet of the empire. Whole circles, and ſeveral of the moſt diſtinguiſhed princes of the empire, have even applied to his majeſty to make a common cauſe with them, and to negotiate for a peace. By means of the patriotic zeal of a number of ſtates, for their own as well as for the general intereſt of the empire, enſued the celebrated concluſum of the diet of Ratiſbon, by which the empire, with dignity and moderation, expreſſes its wiſh for a peace, requeſting the interference, for that purpoſe, of the principal head of the empire; and applying, ſecondly, to his majeſty of Pruſſia, in order to invite him to co-operate in this important enterprize.

This co-operation of his Imperial majeſty, in which his majeſty the king of Pruſſia was only to be the ſecondary, has been delayed; and, on the contrary, all ſteps have been taken in order to enforce the contributions of the ſtates to the armament for this campaign, however weak and hopeleſs they may be; and it ſeemed to have taken the turn, that notwithſtanding the ſolemn declaration of the ſtates of the empire in favour of a negotiation for peace, it is condemned to continue involved in this unfortunate war.

His majeſty the king of Pruſſia, however, in a war of three years, had made the greateſt exertions in the defence of the empire, and the greateſt ſacrifices, in order to procure its welfare and ſecurity, but has, after this continued experience, found all his efforts fruitleſs. It is impoſſible for his majeſty to ſacrifice his exiſtence, or to expoſe his collective ſtates to deſtruction, in order to partake of experimental and deluſive operations in war, the beſt poſſible reſult of which cannot be equally beneficial with a preſent negotiation for peace; and eſpecially when all that regards his external and internal intereſts, all the ſacred obligations which his majeſty owes to the welfare of his provinces, who, wiſhing for peace and tranquillity, demand preſſingly of his majeſty for the preſent to renounce a war, the progreſs of which can only produce irreparable deſtruction.

His majeſty, therefore, did not ſuffer the opportunity to paſs away of commencing a negotiation for peace to be carried on at Baſle between his and a French plenipotentiary; his good intentions have been bleſſed with a happy ſucceſs, and his majeſty is now able to enjoy the pleaſure of a ſovereign—a father to his ſubjects; that by this treaty of peace he has reſtored to his ſtates tranquillity and undiſturbed welfare.

To the German empire alſo his majeſty has, in this important occurrence, diſplayed his patriotic attention and particular care. His majeſty is not in the immediate power of procuring a formal and real peace to the empire, for to this would be required the principal head of that empire, and a direct authority on the part of all the ſtates, to give ſufficient legitimacy in the eyes of the French government, and particular inſtructions for the articles of the negotiation. In the meantime his majeſty, from his own humane ſentiments, reſpecting the deplorable ſituation of the empire, and in conſequence of repeated applications made to him by ſeveral of the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſtates, has done all that laid in his power, in order to open a road by which the whole empire, as well as all the ſeparate ſtates, might arrive at the pinnacle of their wiſhes.

For this purpoſe an article has been expreſsly inſerted in the treaty of peace that his majeſty has concluded with the French republic, which allows, within three months time, any ſtate of the empire to enter into a negotiation for peace with the republic of France, through the mediation of his majeſty. A peculiar agreement has alſo been entered into between the two contracting powers, which eſtabliſhes a line of ſeparation and neutrality, tending to ſtop the progreſs of hoſtilities againſt all the provinces ſituated behind that line, whether under the dominion of his majeſty or others, to which ſecurity and tranquillity is inſured, on condition of their abſtaining from all direct and indirect hoſtilities. His majeſty has alſo obtained the ſurrender, on the part of the French republic, of all the priſoners made of the troops of any of the ſtates of the empire, who had been taken, in co-operating with his majeſty's troops in the different campaigns.

Theſe are the advantages which his majeſty is enabled to offer, for the preſent, to the ſtates of the German empire: his majeſty, therefore, flatters himſelf that they will all be ſtruck with the ideas of their moſt important intereſts; and when once a hand is reached to them for peace and reconciliation, will there be any body inclined to reject theſe untried?

His majeſty herewith makes the moſt ſolemn promiſe to all thoſe who ſhall immediately apply to France for a negotiation of peace, and at the ſame time may be in want of his mediation, that his endeavours ſhall be employed, to the utmoſt of his power, in order to procure the moſt convenient negotiation in their favour from the French government.

His majeſty will think himſelf happy, his wiſhes completely fulfilled, and his ſacrifices, made hitherto for the welfare of the German empire, compenſated, if he ſucceeds in theſe endeavours to ſpread the bleſſings of peace ſtill farther, and ſoon to ſee the terrors and deſtructions of this dreadful war removed from the territories of the German empire, that its citizens may once more be reſtored to tranquillity and ſecurity, and to the happy exerciſe of their peaceable duties.

Whatever courſe theſe events may take, and if even the empire is doomed to a continuance of this war, it is his majeſty's duty to declare, that by his treaty of peace he is obliged no longer to take any part in the conteſt, and never to co-operate in it by any means, whether to ſend his contingent, or to pay the ſo-called Roman months, which he is obliged fully to renounce, and only to conduct himſelf in the moſt punctual and ſtrict neutrality, particularly as, during the three campaigns, his majeſty has completely fulfilled his duty of a ſtate of the empire, and even done infinitely more than could be required for many future years: ſo that his majeſty cannot even reproach himſelf with any irregularity of conduct on his ſide.

His majeſty has the ſatisfactory conviction to have contributed to the welfare of the German country, the ſecurity of its conſtitution, and its tranquillity; firſt, by an energetic exertion of a war of three campaigns, which ſeemed almoſt to ſurpaſs all phyſical poſſibility; and of having at laſt, by his patriotic care, opened a road for peace.—His majeſty leaves to the enlightened opinion of his co-eſtates of the empire to obtain, by this road, the object of their long-continued conteſt, namely, tranquillity and ſecurity; and hopes that they may, for this purpoſe, take advantage of the proffered mediation of his majeſty, and of the principles of moderation and juſtice at preſent adopted by the French republic.

(Signed) FREDERIC WILLIAM.

Berlin, May 1, 1795.

Subſtance

Subſtance of the Emperor's Decree of Commiſſion, dated Vienna, May 19th, relative to the preparatory Meaſures for a Pacification, preſented to the Aſſembly of the Diet of the Empire, at Ratiſbon, on the 23d day of May, 1795.

IT is well known, that on the 5th ult. a ſeparate treaty of peace and friendſhip has been concluded at Baſle, between the French nation and his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, elector of Brandenburgh, and co-ſtate of the empire; and that it has ſince been ratified by both of the contracting parties.

The preſent urgent period appears to his Imperial majeſty to require of him to expreſs his opinion with frankneſs and candour, to the electors, princes, and ſtates of the empire, and to the German nation at large, in order to diſſipate certain doubts and fears, which from ignorance of the real ſtate of circumſtances, from miſunderſtanding, or from other cauſes, which have originated in the minds and hearts of mankind, have been ſpread and inculcated, either by chance or deſign, with reſpect to the pure and ſincere views of his Imperial majeſty; in order alſo from his paternal affection towards the empire, to unite the electors, princes, and ſtates; and, with an entire confidence in their patriotiſm, to concur with them in a conſtitutional manner, upon meaſures to be taken in this important conjuncture, which may agree with the fundamental rights of the conſtitution of the empire, with the ſyſtem of the independence of the ſtates, and with the dignity and integrity of the Germanic body.—His Imperial majeſty does not think it neceſſary to detail the inſtances of his conduct, which prove his cloſe adherence to the German conſtitution, and his zeal for its ſupport, his conſtant care and energetic endeavours to preſerve and increaſe the general welfare of the country; ſince the whole of his majeſty's reign, from his aſcending the imperial throne to this moment, has been diſtinguiſhed by his paternal care and love for the German empire, and by the immenſe ſacrifices made by the houſe of Auſtria for its defence; and for the ſupport of its conſtitution. His Imperial majeſty continued to ſhew his conſtitutional intentions, and the ſincere intereſt he took in the affairs of the empire, in his quality of its ſupreme chief, by approving of the principles laid down in the concluſum of the diet of the 22d of December laſt, in order to open a road for a juſt and laſting peace, when his Imperial majeſty declared, that he was diſpoſed to enter into preparatory conſiderations how to obtain this deſirable object; obſerving at the ſame time, that it was neceſſary to invite his majeſty the king of Pruſſia to co-operate in concert with his Imperial majeſty, in accompliſhing this wiſhed-for meaſure, in the manner in which it was propoſed in the concluſum of the diet: and laſtly, by the conſtitutional regard which his Imperial majeſty has always paid to that *commitial* decree.

He has given an aſſurance in his quality as chief of the empire, not only that he will in time give a ſpecial information to the general diet of the empire, of the ſucceſs with which the preliminary diſpoſitions ſhall meet; but alſo expreſsly invited the diet itſelf to co-operate ultimately in this object, in order to partake of the heavy burthen which his paternal cares for the empire are impoſing upon his Imperial majeſty: that he might, by this ulterior co-operation, receive a more efficacious aſſiſtance, in the ſame degree as his paternal conduct exerted itſelf in the preſent difficult political ſtate of Germany, which ſhall always be ſincere and active for the welfare of the empire.

In conſequence of this diſpoſition, which his Imperial majeſty manifeſted, of ſeriouſly endeavouring to eſtabliſh the means which tend to procure peace, he did not fail to take the firſt ſtep in this ſalutary meaſure. On the 14th of February, in the preſent year, (the day when the decree of commiſſion reſpecting the war of the empire, and the propoſal of peace, was preſented to the dictature in the diet of Ratiſbon), his Imperial majeſty gave orders to his miniſters, at the court of Berlin, to communicate the annexed note to the Pruſſian miniſtry.

This note, if conſidered through the whole extent of its contents, as well as with regard to the objects to which they relate, and particularly the paper which follows it, will evidently prove, that his Imperial majeſty has been diſpoſed to open in concert the preliminaries of ſuch a negotiation as has been agreed upon by a deciſion of the diet; the baſis of which his Imperial majeſty had in ſome meaſure already paternally approved. His Imperial majeſty there expreſſed the moſt preſſing requeſt, that he might obtain the aſſiſtance of his Pruſſian majeſty, in order that, together with the authority given by the concluſum of the empire, the foundation might be laid for a negotiation, in which all the electors, princes, and ſtates might co-operate for a ſpeedy treaty of peace for the empire, according to the principles of the treaty of Weſtphalia; that all the ſtates might ſend their deputies with full powers, and with inſtructions on the *materiale pacis*, as well as on the *modum tractandi*, in order to prevent all kind of conteſt according to the principles contained in the ancient acts of the empire. This end might have been obtained, if his majeſty the king of Pruſſia had declared to the aſſembly of the empire, that he would employ every means to procure to the empire the peace and tranquillity which it ſo ardently wiſhed; particularly whilſt, according to the general rumours at that time, preparatory diſpoſitions had already been made on his part, in order to enter into negotiations for peace.

The anſwer of the Pruſſian miniſter to the above declaration of his Imperial majeſty's miniſter, dated February 26th,* arrived on the 14th of March at the Imperial court. If on one hand, in this anſwer, the expreſſion inſerted in the concluſum of the diet, approved by the ſupreme chief of the empire, namely, "that the general wiſh of the ſtates of the empire was to obtain a peace, conformable to the fundamental conſtitution of the empire," repreſented only a general wiſh for any peace whatſoever; on the other hand, his Imperial majeſty cannot diſcover, in this anſwer,

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* The papers referred to are ſubjoined.

that diſpoſition of co-operation, or that ſolicitude for the welfare of the empire, which he ſo ardently wiſhed and expected for facilitating and accompliſhing the great end of pacification. Beſides, M. Hardenberg, the Pruſſian miniſter of ſtate, ſet out from Berlin, on his way to Baſle, a few days after the official note from the court of Pruſſia had been ſigned, with the character of miniſter plenipotentiary and with new powers, dated February 28th, in order to continue and bring to a concluſion the negotiations commenced between count Goltz and the plenipotentiary from the French government, by means of powers given to the count, dated the 8th of December, 1794.

The ſtate of things has now taken a different aſpect on account of this ſeparate peace. His Imperial majeſty thinks, in his paternal ſolicitude, and judges it neceſſary, that the electors, princes, and ſtates, in order to accelerate a peace for the empire ſo generally wiſhed, ſhould, by the right of co-operation granted to them by the treaty of the peace of Weſtphalia, and the capitulation of the election, ſet aſide all private conteſt, and, with a patriotic unanimity, open a deliberation in the diet, for the purpoſe of appointing a deputation of the empire, compoſed of as ſmall a number of deputies as poſſible, to be ſent to the firſt congreſs which may be appointed for obtaining a peace. Theſe deputies ſhould have full powers as deputies from the empire. The deliberations ought to extend upon theſe peculiar powers, to be conferred upon their ſub-delegates, and laſtly upon the inſtructions to be drawn up for the conduct of the deputies, reſpecting the *materiale pacis* and the *modum tractandi*, and afterwards a concluſum ſhould be preſented to his Imperial majeſty, on all theſe objects: precedents for which may alſo be found in the antient acts of the diet of the empire.

His Imperial majeſty waits with the utmoſt ſolicitude and impatience for this concluſum of the diet. However, in virtue of the election capitulation enacted in the year 1790, under the reign of Leopold, the electors, princes, and ſtates of the empire, have a right, independent of their faculty of appointing deputies to the congreſs of the peace of the empire, to ſend to the congreſs their own ambaſſadors for their private affairs and individual intereſts, which relate to the negotiation of peace; whilſt, at the ſame time, they are warned by his Imperial majeſty and by the empire, that, in the powers and in the inſtructions given to theſe peculiar ambaſſadors, the attachment to, and the union and harmony with his Imperial majeſty and the empire, ſhould always be fully expreſſed; for, upon theſe alone, the true *ſupremacy* and the ſafety of the empire muſt reſt.

The importance and the power of Germany are founded upon the happy concord of the general will of the ſtates, loyally united to their chief; as well as its permanent welfare is founded upon the inviolability of the principles, and of the deciſions of the diet of the empire. His Imperial majeſty himſelf is ſubjected to the laws of the empire; but in his faculty of preſiding as chief, in order to maintain them, he hopes that the electors, princes, and ſtates, in this intereſting buſineſs of the peace of the empire, will deviate in nothing from Article VII. of the Weſtphalian treaty, and that they will regulate their conduct according to the deciſion of the diet of April 30, and in the meantime, that they will continue to fulfil the different obligations impoſed upon them by the deciſions of the diet reſpecting the war of the empire, which is ſtill continued, until a convenient, acceptable, juſt, and equitable peace, ſhall be concluded, in a moſt conſtitutional form.

Copy of the Note, delivered from the Emperor to the Pruſſian Miniſtry, at Berlin, by Prince Von Reuſs, the Imperial Miniſter; dated Feb. 21, 1795.

THE contents of the moſt humble advice of the Empire, addreſſed to his Imperial majeſty by the general aſſembly of the diet, in which is communicated its moſt anxious wiſhes to the Chief of the empire, for an equitable, juſt, decent, and acceptable, peace, cannot have remained unknown to the miniſtry of his Pruſſian majeſty.

His Imperial majeſty is of opinion that he cannot manifeſt, in a more candid and confidential manner, the conſtant paternal care for the ſecurity and welfare of the Germanic empire, which he has diſplayed ever ſince the commencement of his reign in the moſt indefatigable manner, and ſupported by the moſt extraordinary ſacrifices of the reſources of the archducal houſe, and which have been acknowledged, in the moſt grateful terms, by the electors, princes, and ſtates, as likewiſe his perſevering attention with regard to the preſent critical ſituation of the Germanic empire, than it has been done in the moſt gracious decree of commiſſion lately iſſued to the electors, princes, and ſtates, a copy of which is here encloſed, and from which his Pruſſian majeſty will farther be pleaſed to recognize the ſentiments of the chief of the empire upon this moſt momentous concern of Germany, addreſſed by the general aſſembly of the diet of the empire.

Notwithſtanding the ſincerity of the imperial paternal inclination of his Imperial majeſty, to effect the preliminary introduction to obtain a peace congenial to the wiſhes of the empire, his Pruſſian majeſty cannot but perceive the various, great difficulties which attend, in the preſent critical juncture of affairs, the accompliſhment of the peace ſo fervently deſired. The more urgent is the care of his Imperial majeſty to obtain, by the concert to be opened with his Pruſſian majeſty, on the preliminary introduction of pacificatory means, mentioned in the ſaid advice of the empire and the imperial decree of commiſſion, that ſuccouring aſſiſtance and imperial paternal indulgence, which can further this pacific end by the baſis of peace, eſtabliſhed in the ſaid advice of the empire, and moſt graciouſly ratified by his Imperial majeſty; eſpecially ſince his Pruſſian majeſty has already previouſly declared to the general aſſembly of the Germanic diet, "that he will uſe every endeavour to procure to the empire that peace and tranquillity ſo fervently wiſhed for;" and ſince, according to univerſal rumours, his Pruſſian majeſty is reported to have already made ſome overtures for an attempt to negotiate a peace, the more intimate knowledge of which might perhaps facilitate the good offices of the chief of the empire.

While the underſigned, accredited Imperial miniſter at this court, has the honour to make this communication to the royal Pruſſian miniſtry, by the ſupreme command of his Imperial majeſty, he recommends himſelf, &c. &c.

(Signed) Von Reuss.

Anſwer of the Pruſſian Cabinet.

WE teſtify our gratitude to Prince Reuſs, the imperial royal ambaſſador extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary at this court, for the friendly communication made to us on the 21ſt inſt. of the imperial decree of ratification, which enſued upon the late advice of the empire, reſpecting the opening of the negotiations of peace. His majeſty, our moſt gracious lord the king, to whom we communicated the contents, perceived in it, with pleaſure, the freſh proof of imperial paternal care, which is to be revered with gratitude by the whole empire, ſince his Imperial majeſty gives his aſſent and approbation, as chief of the empire, to the expreſſion of the general longing deſire of the ſtates of the empire for a ſpeedy armiſtice and a tolerable peace; and ſince his Imperial majeſty declares moſt graciouſly his readineſs to make the preliminary introduction to the ſalutary end, which becomes even more, and, in all reſpects, the only and ſureſt remedy to ſave the Germanic country, after the reſult of a war, as equally juſt as it has been unequally and moſt unſucceſsfully waged.

Upon the queſtion put in the ſaid communication, by his highneſs, the above-mentioned imperial miniſter, we ſhall not omit to reply, that his majeſty charged major-general count Von Goltz, when his majeſty ſent him ſome time ago to Baſle, concerning the exchange of priſoners, to ſound at the ſame time the ſentiments of the French nation, with regard to a peace and the means of obtaining it.—The illneſs and ſubſequent death of the ſaid count have, however, prevented all farther intimations. But nothing has been done in this reſpect, relative to the Germanic empire, nor could any thing be done, as the king's majeſty had to wait in this reſpect the above-mentioned imperial ratification, the advice of the empire containing propoſitions of peace, and the further overtures from the pleaſure of his Imperial majeſty.

(Signed) Finkenstein,
Alvensleben,
Haugwitz.

Berlin, Feb. 26, 1795.

Subſtance of a Reſcript of the Emperor, dated Vienna, 22d April 1795, and preſented by the Imperial Miniſter to the Miniſter of the States of the Germanic Empire, at Ratiſbon, on the 4th of May 1795.

THE miniſters of his Imperial majeſty are charged to declare, in the name of his majeſty the emperor and king, to the envoys repreſenting the ſeveral princes and ſtates of the holy Roman empire, that his majeſty is ready to enter into negotiations with the French republic. His majeſty, without being too mindful of his own intereſts, will conſult thereby the real welfare of the empire, and make it his ſole care to procure to the empire an acceptable, ſolid, and permanent peace. But his Imperial majeſty has alſo, at the ſame time, the juſt confidence in all his co-ſtates of the empire, that they will co-operate, with all their power, to accompliſh this deſirable end, and not enter into ſeparate negotiations with the French republic. His Imperial majeſty expects, however, the ſpeedieſt declaration on this ſubject, and the Imperial co-commiſſioner will ſoon preſent a declaration from the emperor and king, explanatory of the ſentiments of his Imperial majeſty. In other reſpects, his Imperial majeſty cannot conceal, that the ſeparate treaty of peace concluded on the part of his Pruſſian majeſty, even in his quality of a prince and co-ſtate of the empire, has been moſt unexpected to him.

Subſtance of a Declaration made May the 12*th*, 1795, *to the Miniſters of the States of the Empire, in the Name of the Emperor, by Baron Huegel, his Ambaſſador and Commiſſary at Ratiſbon.*

ALTHOUGH his Imperial majeſty has been diſappointed with reſpect to the conduct of the king of Pruſſia, who ſent his miniſter, Hardenberg, to Baſle, where the well-known ſeparate peace with France was concluded, without the concurrence of the ſtates of the empire, his majeſty the emperor, in order to comply with the wiſhes of the empire, is buſily employed in taking meaſures in order to obtain the accompliſhment of that object alſo; and notwithſtanding the preſent diſturbances in France, and the criſis to which the affairs in that country are come at preſent, ſeem to warn us not to be too haſty in a negotiation for peace; his majeſty aſſures the ſtates, that he conſtantly has this important object in view, and that he continues his endeavours, in order to comply with the general wiſhes of the ſtates of the empire.

His Imperial majeſty, however, repoſes ſo much confidence in the ſtates of the empire, as to hope that, with reſpect to a peace, their conduct will be directed according to the eighth article of the treaty of peace of Weſtphalia, and to the reſolution of the empire of the 30th of April 1793. That they will remain united according to the conſtitutional laws of the empire, ſo as not to ſeparate from the Germanic league, and zealouſly to continue the armaments for the defence of the empire, without which neither a reaſonable nor a ſolid peace can be expected.

Subſtance of the Emperor's ſecond Reſcript to the Diet of Ratiſbon, preſented in the middle of May, 1795.

HIS Imperial majeſty, as a ſtate and member of the empire, ardently deſires to concur in procuring a peace for Germany. However much at the ſame time he wiſhes to effect this, the Germanic body ſhould unite with its chief to treat under his auſpices, conformable

able to the conſtitution; for, as a ſovereign, he cannot but regard truces or partial treaties as dangerous meaſures: his Imperial majeſty, in advertiſing the co-government of this danger, has only in view the ſupport of the German conſtitution, and the forming of a bulwark of the force and co-operation it is his wiſh to preſerve—he invites his co-ſovereigns to declare, either in a body or individually, what meaſures they propoſe to adopt, in caſe of a detached pacification being preferred, regardleſs of the conſequences of the inevitable anarchy that muſt enſue: his Imperial majeſty, however deſirous to ſupport his allies, muſt in that caſe concenter his ſtrength in his own dominions.

Imperial Decree of Ratification concerning the Opening of Negotiations for a Peace between the Empire and France, publiſhed 21ſt of Auguſt in the uſual Form. It is dated, "Vienna, the 29th July."

This decree, after ſtating the different points ſet forth in the advice given by the Empire of the 3d of July, continues as follows:

HIS Imperial majeſty, above all, returns his warmeſt acknowledgments to the electors, princes, and ſtates, for the grateful ſentiments they have expreſſed towards his majeſty for his ſincere and zealous endeavours to promote the welfare of the empire. As chief of the Germanic body, he feels peculiar ſatisfaction to find, that in the ſecond ſection of the advice of the empire, it has been declared to be the conſtant wiſh and firm reſolution of all its members to obtain a general peace for the empire, in an unimpaired and unalterable junction of all the ſtates of the empire with its ſupreme chief, as ſoon as poſſible, in a ſolid and conſtitutional manner. It is moreover declared, that the full reſtitution of its territory, and ſecurity of the Germanic conſtitution, ſhall form the baſis of a treaty of peace, according to the fundamental principles laid down in the advice of the empire of the 22d December laſt year, and approved of by his majeſty, with reſpect to the attainment of a reaſonable, juſt, and honourable peace. This deſire and reſolution (for according to the fundamental laws of the German conſtitution, in all matters concerning a peace or war of the empire, its ſupreme chief can neither be ſeparated from its members, nor the latter from the former) is the true and praiſe-worthy expreſſion of conſtitutional, generous, and patriotic ſentiments, and the conſtitution of Germany may ſtill ſubſiſt for a long ſeries of years, if the electors, princes, and ſtates, ſenſible of their duty, and animated by patriotiſm and public ſpirit, remain faithful to the ſentiments thus ſolemnly declared. His majeſty having frequently proved, and but very lately declared in the court decree of the 10th of May, his inviolable attachment to the German conſtitution, and his ardent zeal for the preſervation of all its parts, rights, and members, it would be in open contradiction with his own declarations and actions, if he did not readily and fully approve and ratify the aforeſaid ſecond ſection, which ſo perfectly agrees with his paternal ſentiments and duties, as chief of the empire.

His Imperial majeſty farther declares, that he is ready to take upon himſelf the required firſt introduction of pacificatory negotiations, which, as far as it relates to the place where the congreſs is to be held, has been entirely left to his Imperial majeſty's own judgment and diſcretion. In order as much as poſſible to accelerate the concluſion of a peace to the empire, purſuant to the wiſh of the diet, his Imperial majeſty, in his quality of chief of the Germanic body, has for this purpoſe already taken the neceſſary ſteps, of the reſult of which he will not fail in due time to inform the diet, as well as the place where the negotiations for peace are to be carried on. The queſtion, whether, without any prejudice to the future negotiations of peace, it will be poſſible to obtain an armiſtice, can hardly be decided, before the ſaid negotiations are actually ſet on foot; and in purſuance of the imperial decree concerning the advice of the empire of the 22d of December, a probable proſpect opens to obtain a reaſonable, juſt, and honourable peace; whence, and indeed in every poſſible caſe, there ariſes the cruel neceſſity, that the electors, princes, and ſtates, conformably to their duty and own declarations, do not neglect, but perſiſt in their united and conſtitutional means of defence, until Germany has obtained the bleſsings of a general peace for the empire. Meanwhile, the diet may reſt aſſured, that if his Imperial majeſty ſhould be able, on behalf of ſuffering humanity, to obtain from the preſent rulers of France, who ſeem to have adopted more moderate ſentiments, a modification or temporary pauſe of hoſtile requiſitions and devaſtations, he will not fail to make for that purpoſe the neceſſary propoſals.

As to the reſt, his Imperial majeſty is of opinion, that hitherto no political relations exiſt, which urge the neceſſity of accepting a mediator, although cloathed with all the neceſſary requiſites in point of ſkill, prudence, ſincerity, and impartiality; nor does his majeſty ſee the neceſſity of accepting the mediation of a third perſon. If the German empire, the firſt in point of rank, and mighty and powerful in its chiefs and its members, is with true German ſpirit united for a grand and momentous purpoſe, there is no doubt but it poſſeſſes ſufficient authority and power to obtain a reaſonable, juſt, and honourable peace. But as the diet, according to the plurality of votes, finds a peculiar ſatisfaction in ſeeing his majeſty the king of Pruſſia co-operate for that purpoſe, his Imperial majeſty, provided, however, that it does not tend to the prejudice either of the immediate negotiations for peace between the ſupreme chief of the empire, the deputed ſtates, and the deputies of France, or of the conſtitutional proceedings in all other reſpects, readily complies with the ſtates of the empire, and under this proviſo conſents that his Pruſſian majeſty, according to his own repeated voluntary offers, may on his part employ his good offices with France to obtain on the baſis agreed and determined upon, a peace for the empire, which reſtores its integrity and ſecures its conſtitution.

Laſtly, his majeſty repeats once

more the declaration ſet forth in the imperial court decree of the 10th of May, and which cannot be too often repeated, viz. that the political importance of Germany reſts on the cloſe and happy union between the ſupreme chief of the empire and the electors, princes, and ſtates; and its welfare depends on the inviolability of its fundamental laws. Theſe ought to guide the chief as well as the members. His majeſty, who, not only in virtue of his imperial office, but alſo by a ſolemn compact between him and the electors, is charged with the adminiſtration of juſtice, is therefore obliged, by open and lawful means, to protect the conſtitution againſt all unconſtitutional proceedings; leſt the like precedents might in future times be ſuppoſed to contain a tacit abrogation of laws which are of the greateſt importance for the ſafety and welfare of the German empire.

Imperial Court Decree, concerning the ſeparate Treaty of Peace, concluded between the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel and the French Republic; publiſhed at Ratiſbon, September 25, 1795.

THE diet of the empire declared but very lately in the ſecond part of the advice of the 3d July, occaſioned by the imperial court decree of the 19th of May, before all Germany and Europe, in the moſt ſolemn and poſitive manner:

That it ſtill remained the conſtant wiſh and firm determination of the empire, in undiſſolved and unalterable junction of all the members of the empire, with its chief, by conſtitutional means, to obtain a general peace for the empire, and through it the reſtoration of the integrity of its dominions.

The political relations of the Germanic empire, and the preſſing urgencies of the preſent poſture of affairs, ſeemed to require that his majeſty ſhould anſwer this truly patriotic declaration with the ſame clearneſs and undiſguiſed frankneſs which becomes the father of the empire. His majeſty, therefore, declared in the court decree of the 29th July, "That the aforeſaid conſtant wiſh and reſolve did not only afford him peculiar ſatisfaction in his quality as ſupreme chief of the empire, but that alſo (as according to the fundamental laws of the German inſtitution in all matters concerning both the concluſion of a peace and the determination on a war of the empire; neither the ſupreme chief could be ſeparated from the members, nor the latter from the former)" the ſaid declaration was the genuine and glorious expreſſion of conſtitutional and patriotic ſentiments; and that the Germanic conſtitution might ſtill flouriſh for a long ſeries of years, if the electors, princes, and ſtates, ſenſible of their moral and legal obligations, and animated by a becoming public ſpirit, would remain faithful to their ſolemn profeſſions. That, therefore, his Imperial majeſty, having ſo often and ſo lately teſtified his zealous attachment to the Germanic conſtitution, and the preſervation of all its parts, members, and rights, would act in open contradiction with his own actions and declarations, if he did not readily ſanction the whole tenor of the aforeſaid ſecond part, which ſo perfectly agreed both with his paternal affection for the empire, and his duty as chief of it.

Purſuant to theſe ſentiments, thus ſolemnly declared by the diet, and ſanctioned by his Imperial majeſty, the former continued to deliberate on the imperial court decree of the 19th of May, eſpecially concerning the concurrence of the ſtates of the empire in the future negotiations for peace with France, and propoſed for that purpoſe an extraordinary deputation, conſiſting of ten members of the Germanic body. His Imperial majeſty, in order to promote the ſaid negotiations, was pleaſed moſt graciouſly to ſanction this advice of the empire with his concurrence, truſting that the deputed ſtates would remain faithful to the grand fundamental law of the unity of the empire and its legal inſeparability from its chief, and by co-operating with patriotic German perſeverance in the important buſineſs of a peace of the empire, would conſtitutionally endeavour to ſupport and promote the common intereſt and welfare of the German empire. Since the 7th inſtant, the diet has again been conſtantly employed in deliberating on the remaining objects pointed out by the ſaid court decree, and eſpecially on the important inſtructions which ought fully and clearly to preſcribe not only the terms of peace, but alſo the manner of treating.

Whilſt the Germanic empire, united under its ſupreme chief, endeavoured, and ſtill endeavours, by conſtitutional means, to obtain a general peace of the empire, private negotiations for a ſeparate peace were carried on by his ſerene highneſs the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, with a French deputy, the reſult of which appears by the adjoined printed copy of a treaty of peace and amity, concluded on the 28th of Auguſt, the ratification of which is to be exchanged within a month's time, or ſooner.

His Imperial majeſty will yet ſuppreſs his juſt feelings, rouſed by an event, which, on account of the above-mentioned ſolemn declaration of the diet of the empire, of the 3d of July, he had ſo little reaſon to expect. This event, if ſome reports are to be credited, may be followed by tranſactions of a ſimilar nature, whereby the defence of Germany, and the attainment of the reſtoration of the integrity of the empire, and ſafety of its conſtitution, by means of a juſt, reaſonable, ſolid, and honourable peace, would be rendered more difficult, if ſingle ſtates have it in their power, at their own pleaſure, thus to withdraw from the confederacy of the German empire, by ſeparate treaties of peace and ſecret articles, to ſeparate their intereſt from the general intereſt of the empire, and to diſſolve the latter into mere ſeparate concerns.

His Imperial majeſty finds a conſolation in propoſing theſe very ſerious conſiderations and conſequences, together with ſeveral others of the higheſt importance for the Germanic conſtitution, to the patriotic deliberation of the diet, and he places in the electors, princes, and ſtates, the fulleſt paternal confidence, that they will take the ſaid occurrence into that ſerious conſideration which its importance demands, and ſupply him not only with full and ſatisfactory advice, concerning the light in which this treaty of amity and peace ought to be conſidered, but alſo recommend to him the meaſures which it will be moſt adviſeable to purſue, in order to maintain the German conſtitution, and to aſſert the unity, dignity and independence of the Germanic body.

The diet cannot but be ſenſible that the deputation appointed by the late concluſum of the empire, together with the inſtructions to be drawn up for the deputed ſtates, would be altogether nugatory and uſeleſs, and be at beſt only the honour of ſigning the future treaty of peace, if the exiſting doubts were not previouſly removed by means of the demanded advice; and if even other ſtates, who experience the diſaſters of war, ſhould follow the examples already exiſting (in the fifth article of the Heſſian treaty of peace, the general peace to be concluded between France and the German empire is no longer called a general peace of the empire, but a peace to be ſettled by the other parties as yet concerned in the war with France.) For this reaſon it becomes the more urgent, that the advice of the empire, demanded by his Imperial majeſty in his quality as chief of the empire, ſhould be delivered with all poſſible ſpeed.

(Signed) Prince of Colloredo Mannsfels.

Vienna, September 18, 1795.

Pro Memoria, or Note, delivered by the Pruſſian Directorial Envoy to the States of the Circle of Franconia, aſſembled at Nuremberg.

THE epoch has appeared, in which his majeſty the king of Pruſſia can publicly denote the value which his majeſty ſets upon that confidence, which his co-ſtates in the circle of Franconia have teſtified by the letter of the 13th of May, of the preſent year. Immediately after the concluſion of peace at Baſle, his majeſty appriſed the circle of Franconia of the meaſures which he was alſo about to take for the welfare and ſafety of this circle: though that juſtice has not been done to his endeavours, which his majeſty could claim, though the underſigned envoys have not yet received the definitive declaration demanded in their notes of the 2d and 9th of May, his majeſty has nevertheleſs weighed the various coincident conſiderations, and is reſolved to devote farther his care and attention to the welfare of the circle, regardleſs of all other matters, and thereby to convince it of the generous extent which his majeſty is ſtill inclined to give to his relations and duties, as director of the circle, or convocating prince, and as co-ſtate. The ſacrifices of the king, and his continual efforts for the welfare of Germany, for the preſervation of its conſtitution, and the return of peace, are publicly manifeſt, and univerſally acknowledged by the Germanic empire. The moſt recent occurrences, after the paſſage of the Rhine by the French army, have probably, by this time, juſtified the advantages, and the value of thoſe endeavours, with the ſtates of the empire, as likewiſe their motives: they have, no doubt, convinced all Germany, with what ardour his majeſty ſtrove to make his co-ſtates feel, as much as it depended on him, and in moments of the moſt imminent danger, the effects of his zeal for the welfare, the tranquillity, and ſafety of Germany. In conſequence of thoſe patriotic ſentiments, and ſteady principles, his majeſty, notwithſtanding the ſilence of the ſtates, and relinquiſhing all other conſiderations, has procured reſpect to the line of demarcation ſtipulated in the additional convention of the 17th of May. In conſequence of theſe ſentiments, his majeſty has hitherto generouſly granted the ſolicited protection to all his co-ſtates, and their dependants, who ſought refuge in his territories.

But now the time is come, in which general and uniform meaſures ought to be taken, in which the king muſt poſitively know, how far it is intended to make uſe of his patriotic ſentiments, how far he may unfold his partiality to his co-ſtates in this circle, and his care for their ſafety. The eventual declaration of his ſerene highneſs the hereditary prince of Hohenlohe, commander in chief of his majeſty's troops, deſtined to obſerve the line of demarcation, proves, that his majeſty is inclined to ſet no other bounds to his noble endeavours, but ſuch as the ſentiments of his co-ſtates ſhall pleaſe to trace out. His highneſs, the commander in chief, is ready to draw that cordon on the line of demarcation, and for its ſafety; reſpecting which the annexed ſupplement contains a full explanation. The underſigned envoy of his majeſty is now come to the point of requiring a definitive declaration of the circle of Franconia; whether or not it be intended, on the part of the circle, to make uſe of the king's generous offers? To provide afterwards farther for the ſaid cordon, for the troops of which, who will find their own proviſions, nothing but quarters will be required, though the ſafety of the territories of the ſtates be their ſole deſtination. The open, generous, and magnanimous, plain, and diſintereſted manner, in which his majeſty marks his conduct, even in this caſe, will ſurely be every where anſwered by the ſentiment of its full value and by thankfulneſs, as it is in other reſpects ſuperior to each and all equivocation. The experience which the circle has hitherto had of the king's patriotiſm, of his attachment to the conſtitution of the empire and the circle, of his care for the tranquillity of his co-ſtates and their territories, the dangers which threaten theſe in the viciſſitudes of the occurrences of the war, and the duties for the ſafety of their poſſeſſions and ſubjects, may now dictate to the circle and its ſtates their deciſion. The urgent relations of the time, and the meaſures which depend on it, render it unavoidable to expect peremptorily, and once for all, the ſaid definitive declaration incluſively till the 7th inſtant. His majeſty is far from forcing the effect of his efforts for the welfare of Germany, and his protection, upon the circle; but his majeſty owes it to the ſacrifices and labours, which he has till now continued, for the proſperity of Germany—his majeſty owes it to his dignity, to make himſelf in a moment ſure of the ſentiments of the circle. Should the circle of Franconia, contrary to the ſenſe of its letter of the 13th of May, addreſſed to his majeſty, not deem it proper to make uſe, in the ſocial union, to which his majeſty himſelf belongs, of the meaſures propoſed for its ſafety, or to declare itſelf poſitively upon it within the ſaid period, his majeſty muſt renounce, with regret, the execution of his patriotic intentions, and confine himſelf to meaſures of ſafety for his own territories, and to that protection which his majeſty has hitherto granted to thoſe ſtates who claimed it by name, and not deny it to thoſe who may yet claim it, till the expiration of the abovementioned period. Then it will no longer depend upon his majeſty to alter any of the meaſures taken for that purpoſe; his majeſty will ſee with cordial intereſt if the circle of Franconia, againſt all events, will find means in another manner to provide for its own tranquillity and ſafety, and for that of its dependants.

But his majeſty could then no farther, ſingly or wholly, take any ſhare in it, and would be obliged to leave it entirely to thoſe of his co-ſtates, who ſhall not have made any uſe of his majeſty's offer, how they ſhall effectually ſecure themſelves, their ſubjects and property, againſt all danger; his majeſty will zealouſly continue his good offices for the reſtoration of the general tranquillity of Germany; and tranquillize himſelf in the conſciouſneſs of his pure intentions for all the fatal conſequences of a too great and ſuppoſed ſafety, or of the non-acknowledgment of the purity of the ſaid intentions; and while his majeſty in the face of all Germany, gives, by this declaration, a freſh and unequivocal proof of his Germanic patriotiſm; his majeſty may alſo expect from all Germany, and from the circle of Franconia in particular, the juſtice to have done all that depended on him, to avert from his co-ſtates and their ſubjects the unhappy conſequences of the war, and to have fulfilled, in the moſt generous and diſintereſted manner, all the duties incumbent upon him in all his relations as a ſtate of the empire.

(Signed) JULIUS COUNT SODEN.
L. F. CHR. SCHMID.
Nuremberg, October 5, 1795.

Manifeſto on the part of the Empreſs of Ruſſia relative to the affairs of Poland.

I, TIMOTHY TUTOLMIN, lieutenant-general of the armies of my moſt gracious ſovereign, the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, governor general of Minck, Izaslaw, and Bracklaw, knight of the Ruſſian order of St, Alexander Newſki, &c.

In executing the ſupreme will of my moſt gracious ſovereign, the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, be it known to all thoſe whom it may concern, that her Imperial majeſty, having repreſſed the troubles generally prevailing in the provinces occupied by her troops, means to incorporate with her own eſtates, for ever, the provinces adjoining to the governments committed to my care.

For the purpoſe of maintaining juſtice and good order, and preſerving the limits of the ancient frontier between the Ruſſian and Auſtrian poſſeſſions to the river Bog, the countries along the deſcent of that river, to the frontier of Lithuania, compriſing the palatinates of Wolhynia and Chelm, ſituate on the right ſide of the Bog;

and all the lands, diſtricts, and towns adjoining the palatinates of Beltz and Ruſſia, ſhall, in future and for ever, belong to the Ruſſian crown, and a perpetual ſubjection is attached henceforth to all the inhabitants of theſe provinces, and all the proprietors of every age, ſex, or rank whatever.

For this purpoſe I have received ſtrict orders from her majeſty, the empreſs, to aſſure all her new ſubjects in her name, and on her word, that they ſhall be admitted to all her benefits and diſtinctions granted by her Imperial manifeſto of the 27th of March, 1793, as follows:

1. Her moſt gracious majeſty not only confirms to all perſons the full and free exerciſe of their religion, but alſo guarantees to all an equal participation of all the rights, immunities, and privileges, enjoyed by her ancient ſubjects, ſo that the citizens of the incorporated provinces ſhall be entitled to all the advantages ſuitable to their conditions, through the whole extent of the empire of Ruſſia.

2. All the citizens in general of the newly annexed provinces, beginning with the dignitaries of the moſt diſtinguiſhed nobility, and proceeding to the loweſt proprietors, ſhall, within the ſpace of one month, take ſolemn oaths of fidelity and ſubjection to her majeſty the empreſs, and the grand dukes her ſucceſſors, before the perſons whom her Imperial majeſty ſhall officially appoint to receive them. On the other hand, if any of the nobility or other perſons, poſſeſſing immoveable property, ſhall neglect to take ſuch oath at the time appointed, they are allowed, within the ſpace of three months, to diſpoſe of ſuch immoveable property, and remove from the country; but, after the expiration of three months, all the goods and property that remain ſhall be ſequeſtered.

3. All the clergy, high and low, are charged not only to ſhew promptitude in taking this oath, but alſo ſhall publicly offer up prayers every day for the preſervation of the health of her Imperial majeſty, and her ſon the grand duke Paul Petrovitch, and all the Imperial family, according to the formulæ which ſhall be given to them.

Until an order of government ſhall be introduced for the happineſs of this country, conformably to the gracious regulations of her Imperial majeſty, the exiſting tribunals in the countries, palatinates and diſtricts annexed, ſhall exerciſe their functions at the uſual periods, in the name and on the authority of her Imperial majeſty, and in conformity to the rules of juſtice and good order.

I declare finally, that the troops ſtationed in theſe countries ſhall obſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline, live at the expence of the ſtate, and offer no interruption whatever to agriculture, trade, or commerce.

In order that this manifeſto may be univerſally known, it is ordered to be read in all the churches on the 28th of June, 1795, enregiſtered in all the courts, and poſted up in ſuch places as may be deemed neceſſary.

Done by the order of my moſt
gracious ſovereign the Empreſs,
and ſigned with my own hand,
and arms, 18th of June, 1795.
(L.S.) TIMOTHY TUTOLMIN.

Note of Mr. Drake the Britiſh Miniſter, to the Genoeſe Republic.

THE underſigned, &c. thinks it his duty to expoſe to the moſt ſerene government the following circumſtances:

The report having been circulated, and credited, that on the 6th inſt. two French privateers endeavoured to ſail from this port, without having previouſly given the ſecurities ſtipulated in the 6th article of the edict of neutrality, long ago publiſhed by the moſt ſerene government, and the moſt ſtrict execution of which was promiſed in the face of Europe; an edict which, among other clauſes, expreſsly ſtates, that no veſſel ſhall be moleſted until 24 hours after her ſailing: That the officer commanding the battery of the Mole, endeavouring, conformably to the expreſs orders he had received from the moſt ſerene government, to prevent the privateers from ſailing, and thus obviate the manifeſt and inſulting infraction of the formal laws of the country, ordered a gun to be fired without ball; but this meaſure having had no effect, that the officer, reſpecting his duty and the expreſs orders of the moſt ſerene government on ſuch occaſions, fired with ball, and by this means obliged the privateer to ſubmit to the laws of the Port: That, in conſequence of this event, an agent of the convention having taken on him to make the ſtrongeſt complaints againſt the conduct of the commanding officer, as if his exactneſs in doing his duty could be conſidered a crime; and having added to his complaints the moſt inſulting threats to an independent power, threats which become the more inſulting becauſe it is impoſſible for him to realize them: and that, laſtly, the moſt ſerene government, deliberating on theſe occurrences, has not only thought proper to allow itſelf to be intimidated by its menaces, but has even made apologies to this agent of the convention; has impriſoned the commanding officer of the port, and the gunners who fired on the privateers, whoſe conduct is notwithſtanding juſtified by the poſitive orders of the moſt ſerene government to cauſe the neutrality to be reſpected:

The underſigned, &c. informed of all theſe particulars, could in the firſt inſtance view them in no other light than as calumnious reports, circulated by malevolence, and the enemies of the moſt ſerene government; not being able to perſuade himſelf that it could deviate in a way ſo open and ſo inſulting to the formal laws of its neutrality. But theſe reports acquiring daily more and more conſiſtency, the underſigned thinks it his abſolute duty to pray the moſt ſerene government to give him by an explicit reply, a knowledge of the degree of credit theſe reports may deſerve; for it is of much conſequence to his court, as well as to all Europe, to know what reliance can be placed on the proteſtations ſo frequently and ſolemnly repeated by the moſt ſerene government, that the law of the neutrality of this port ſhould be reſpected.

The underſigned profits by this opportunity to inform the moſt ſerene government, that privateers are fitting out in this port, more eſpecially one between the wooden bridge and the arſenal, notwithſtanding this is in manifeſt and clear contradiction of the 7th article of the edict of neutrality above cited.

Anſwer of the Genoeſe Republic to Mr. Drake's Note.

THE under-written ſecretary of the moſt ſerene republic of Genoa has the honour to anſwer to the note of Mr. Francis Drake, miniſter plenipotentiary for his Britannic majeſty, dated the 10th inſtant, that ſince many days it is notorious, that on the 8th inſtant the New Mole fired with grape-ſhot at the French privateer Sibilla, which had ſailed from this port without the bill of clearance, though it was ſtrictly ordered to the officer commanding that poſt to enforce the execution of the edict of neutrality communicated to all the foreign miniſters and conſuls at Genoa. However, he was not permitted to fire with grape-ſhot, which was never uſed on any occaſion, and was not preſcribed by the regulations and inſtructions given to the commandant of the battery. The government, on its being informed of this accident, even before the French miniſter had brought any complaint (which related only to the quality of the ſhot, and not to the fact itſelf), was affected with that ſurprize which it would have felt had it been the caſe of any other flag, and cauſed the gunner, as well as the officer, to be arreſted, in order that a trial might be inſtituted according to the law, and the French miniſter was then made acquainted with it. Such a conduct, by which the government is aſſured to have acted in conformity with the ſyſtem of neutrality, and with the edict by which the mode of its execution is preſcribed, could not be interpreted in an unfavourable manner, but by ſome ill-diſpoſed perſons, and by them inſidiouſly expoſed to the Britiſh Miniſter, in order to determine him to bring a complaint. The republic therefore has not altered in the leaſt its conduct, nor has it in the leaſt deviated on this occaſion from that regularity which is the leading character of juſtice. The republic therefore cannot help remarking its ſurpriſe, in obſerving, by the note of the Britiſh miniſter, that, (independent of the inſtructions received from his court upon the new point, which conſtitutes the ſubſtance of the ſaid note) he has thought proper to inſiſt upon an explicit anſwer, even in regard to the quality and obſervance of the neutrality of Genoa.

The adoption of the diplomatic meaſure (the importance of which cannot but be too well known to the Britiſh miniſter) in reſpect to a free government, which never ceaſes to conform its operations to the ſtricteſt impartiality, cannot reaſonably ſhake the firmneſs by which it is directed.

But as the unfavourable colour of the tranſaction, which involves the neutrality of the republic, muſt yield to the truth of the fact, the ſaid government reſts aſſured, that it will not in future make any ſuch unfavourable and injurious impreſſions on the mind of the Britiſh miniſter, as was expreſſed by him in terms that the king his ſovereign, who reſpects the dignity of others in his own, would not permit to be inſerted in the note preſented by his miniſter.

Treaty

Treaty between America and Algiers.

Treaty of Peace and Amity, concluded this preſent day, Lima Artaſi, the twenty-firſt of the Safer year of the Hegira, 1210, correſponding with Saturday, the 5th of September, 1795, between Haſſan Baſhaw, Dey of Algiers, his Divan and Subjects, and George Waſhington, Preſident of the United States of North America, and the Citizens of the ſaid United States.

Art. 1. FROM the date of the preſent treaty there ſhall ſubſiſt a firm and ſincere peace and amity between the preſident and citizens of the United States of North America, and Haſſan Baſhaw, dey of Algiers, his divan and ſubjects; the veſſels and ſubjects of both nations reciprocally treating each other with civility, honour, and reſpect.

2. All veſſels belonging to the citizens of the United States of North America ſhall be permitted to enter the different ports of the regency, to trade with our ſubjects, or any other perſons reſiding within our juriſdiction, on paying the uſual duties at our cuſtom-houſe that are paid by all nations at peace with this regency; obſerving, that all goods diſembarked, and not ſold here, ſhall be permitted to be re-embarked, without paying any duty whatever, either for diſembarking or embarking. All naval and military ſtores, ſuch as gunpowder, lead, iron, plank, ſulphur, timber for building, tar, pitch, roſin, turpentine, and any other goods denominated naval and military ſtores, ſhall be permitted to be ſold in this regency, without paying any duties whatever at the cuſtom-houſe of this regency.

3. The veſſels of both nations ſhall paſs each other without any impediment or moleſtation; and all goods, monies, or paſſengers, of whatſoever nation, that may be on board of the veſſels belonging to either party, ſhall be conſidered as inviolable, and ſhall be allowed to paſs unmoleſted.

4. All ſhips of war belonging to this regency, on meeting with merchant veſſels belonging to citizens of the United States, ſhall be allowed to viſit them with two perſons only beſides the rowers; theſe two only permitted to go on board ſaid veſſel, without obtaining expreſs leave of the commander of ſaid veſſel, who ſhall compare the paſſport, and immediately permit ſaid veſſel to proceed on her voyage unmoleſted. All ſhips of war belonging to the ſaid United States of North America, on meeting with an Algerine cruizer, and ſhall have ſeen her paſſport and certificate from the conſul of the United States of North America, reſident in this regency, ſhall be permitted to proceed on her cruiſe unmoleſted; no paſſport to be iſſued to any ſhips but ſuch as are abſolutely the property of citizens of the United States; and eighteen months ſhall be the term allowed for furniſhing the ſhips of the United States with paſſports.

5. No commander of any cruiſer belonging to this regency ſhall be allowed to take any perſon, of whatever nation or denomination, out of any veſſel belonging to the United States of North America, in order to examine them, or under pretence of making them confeſs any thing deſired: neither ſhall they inflict

any corporal puniſhment, or any way elſe moleſt them.

6. If any veſſels belonging to the United States of North America ſhall be ſtranded on the coaſt of this regency, they ſhall receive every poſſible aſſiſtance from the ſubjects of this regency; all goods ſaved from the wreck ſhall be permitted to be re-embarked on board of any other veſſel, without paying any duties at the cuſtom-houſe.

7. The Algerines are not, on any pretence whatever, to give or ſell any veſſel of war to any nation at war with the United States of North America, or any veſſel capable of cruiſing to the detriment of the commerce of the United States.

8. Any citizens of the United States of North America having bought any prize condemned by the Algerines, ſhall not be again captured by the cruizers of the regency then at ſea, although they have not a paſſport; a certificate from the conſul reſident being deemed ſufficient, until ſuch time as they can procure ſuch paſsport.

9. If any of the Barbary ſtates at war with the United States of North America ſhall capture any American veſſel, and bring her into any of the ports of this regency, they ſhall not be permitted to ſell her, but ſhall depart the port on procuring the requiſite ſupplies of proviſion.

10. Any veſſel belonging to the United States of North America, when at war with any other nation, ſhall be permitted to ſend their prizes into the ports of the regency, and have leave to diſpoſe of them without paying any duties on ſale thereof. All veſſels wanting proviſions or refreſhments ſhall be permitted to buy them at market price.

11. All ſhips of war belonging to the United States of North America, on anchoring in the ports of the regency, ſhall receive the uſual preſents of proviſions and refreſhments, gratis. Should any of the ſubjects of this regency make their eſcape on board veſſels, they ſhall be immediately returned. No excuſe ſhall be made, that they have hid themſelves amongſt the people, and cannot be found, or any other equivocation.

12. No citizen of the United States of North America ſhall be obliged to redeem any ſlave againſt his will, even ſhould he be his brother; neither ſhall the owner of a ſlave be forced to ſell him againſt his will; but all ſuch agreements muſt be made by conſent of parties. Should any American citizens be taken on board an enemy's ſhip, by the cruiſers of this regency, having regular paſſports, ſpecifying they are citizens of the United States, they ſhall be immediately ſet at liberty. On the contrary, they having no paſſport, they and their property ſhall be conſidered lawful prizes; as this regency know their friends by their paſſport.

13. Should any of the citizens of the United States of North America die within the limits of this regency, the dey and his ſubjects ſhall not interfere with the property of the deceaſed; but it ſhall be under the immediate direction of the conſul, unleſs otherwiſe diſpoſed of by will. Should there be no conſul, the effects ſhall be depoſited in the hands of ſome perſons worthy of truſt, until the party ſhall appear who has a right to demand

them, when they ſhall render an account of the property. Neither ſhall the dey or divan give hindrance in the execution of any will that may appear.

14. No citizen of the United States of North America ſhall be obliged to purchaſe any goods againſt his will; but, on the contrary, ſhall be allowed to purchaſe whatever it pleaſeth him. The conſul of the United States of North America, or any other citizen, ſhall not be amenable for debts contracted by any one of their own nation, unleſs previouſly they have given a written obligation ſo to do. Should the dey want to freight any American veſſel that may be in the regency, or Turkey, ſaid veſſel not being engaged: in conſequence of the friendſhip ſubſiſting between the two nations, he expects to have the preference given him, on his paying the ſame freight offered by any other nation.

15. Any diſputes, or ſuits at law, that may take place between the ſubjects of the regency and the citizens of the United States of North America, ſhall be decided by the dey in perſon, and no other. Any diſputes that may ariſe between the citizens of the United States, ſhall be decided by the conſul; as they are, in ſuch caſes, not ſubject to the laws of this regency.

16. Should any citizen of the United States of North America kill, wound, or ſtrike a ſubject of this regency, he ſhall be puniſhed in the ſame manner as a Turk, and not with more ſeverity. Should any citizen of the United States of North America, in the above predicament, eſcape priſon, the conſul ſhall not become anſwerable for him.

17. The conſul of the United States of North America ſhall have every perſonal ſecurity given him and his houſehold; he ſhall have liberty to exerciſe his religion in his own houſe. All ſlaves of the ſame religion ſhall not be impeded in going to the ſaid conſul's houſe at hours of prayer. The conſul ſhall have liberty and perſonal ſecurity given him, to travel whenever he pleaſes, within the regency: he ſhall have free licence to go on board any veſſel lying in our roads, whenever he ſhall think fit. The conſul ſhall have leave to appoint his own dragoman and porter.

18. Should a war break out between the two nations, the conſul of the United States of North America, and all citizens of the ſaid ſtate, ſhall have leave to embark themſelves and property unmoleſted, on board of whatever veſſel or veſſels they ſhall think proper.

19. Should the cruizers of Algiers capture any veſſel with citizens of the United States of North America on board, they having papers to prove they are really ſo, they and their property ſhall be immediately diſcharged. And ſhould the veſſels of the United States capture any veſſels of nations at war with them, having ſubjects of this regency on board, they ſhall be treated in like manner.

20. On a veſſel of war belonging to the United States of North America anchoring in our ports, the conſul is to inform the dey of her arrival, and ſhe ſhall be ſaluted with twenty-one guns; which ſhe is to return in the ſame quantity or number; and the dey will ſend freſh proviſions on board, as is cuſtomary, gratis.

22. The

21. The conſul of the United States of North America ſhall not be required to pay duty for any thing he brings from a foreign country, for the uſe of his houſe and family.

22. Should any diſturbance take place between the citizens of the United States and the ſubjects of this regency, or break an article of this treaty, war ſhall not be declared immediately; but every thing ſhall be ſearched into regularly: the party injured ſhall be made reparation.

On the 21ſt of the moon of Safer, 1210, correſponding with the 5th of September, 1795, Joſeph Donaldſon, junior, on the part of the United States of North America, agreed with Haſſan Bathaw, dey of Algiers, to keep the articles contained in this treaty ſacred and inviolable; which we, the dey and divan, promiſe to obſerve, on conſideration of the United States paying annually the value of twelve thouſand Algerine ſequins in maritime ſtores. Should the United States forward a larger quantity, the overplus ſhall be paid for in money, by the dey and regency. Any veſſel that may be captured from the date of this treaty of peace and amity, ſhall immediately be delivered up on her arrival in Algiers.

(Signed) Vizier HASSAN BASHAW.
J. DONALDSON, jun.

Seal of Algiers ſtamped at the foot of the original treaty in Arabic.

To all whom theſe preſents ſhall come, or be made known.

Whereas the under-written David Humphreys hath been duly appointed commiſſioner plenipotentiary, by letters patent under the ſignature of the preſident, and ſeal of the United States of America, dated the 30th of March, 1795, for negotiating and concluding a treaty of peace with the dey and governors of Algiers; whereas by inſtructions given to him on the part of the executive, dated 28th of March and 4th of April, 1795, he hath been further authorized to employ Joſeph Donaldſon, junior, on an agency in the ſaid buſineſs; whereas, by a writing under his hand and ſeal, dated the 21ſt of May, 1795, he did conſtitute and appoint Joſeph Donaldſon, jun. agent in the buſineſs aforeſaid; and the ſaid Joſeph Donaldſon, jun. did, on the 5th day of September, 1795, agree with Haſſan Baſhaw, dey of Algiers, to keep the articles of the preceding treaty ſacred and inviolable:

Now, know ye, that I David Humphreys, commiſſioner plenipotentiary aforeſaid, do approve and conclude the ſaid treaty, and every article and clauſe therein contained; reſerving the ſame nevertheleſs, for the final ratification of the preſident of the United States of America, by and with the advice and conſent of the ſenate of the ſaid United States.

In teſtimony whereof I have ſigned the ſame with my hand and ſeal, at the city of Liſbon, the 28th of November, 1795.

(Seal) DAVID HUMPHREYS.

Now be it known, that I, George Waſhington, preſident of the United States of America, having ſeen and conſidered the ſaid treaty, do, by and with the advice and conſent of the ſenate, accept, ratify, and confirm the ſame, and every clauſe and article thereof. And to the end that the ſaid treaty may be obſerved and performed with good faith on the part of the United States, I have ordered the premiſes to be made public; and I do hereby enjoin and require all perſons bearing office, civil or military, within the United States, and all other citizens or inhabitants thereof, faithfully to obſerve and fulfil the ſaid treaty, and every clauſe and article thereof.

In teſtimony whereof, I have cauſed the ſeal of the United States of America to be affixed to theſe preſents, and ſigned the ſame with my hand.

Done at the city of Philadelphia, the 7th day of March, 1796, and of the independence of the United States of America, the 20th.

(Seal) GEO. WASHINGTON.

By the preſident,

TIMOTHY PICKERING,

Secretary of State.

Treaty between America and Spain.

Treaty concluded between the United States of America and his Catholic majeſty.

HIS catholic majeſty, and the United States of America, deſirous to conſolidate, on a permanent baſis, the friendſhip and good correſpondence which happily prevails between the two parties, have determined to eſtabliſh by a convention, ſeveral points, the ſettlement whereof will be productive of general advantage and reciprocal utility to both nations.

With this intention his catholic majeſty has appointed the moſt excellent lord Don Manuel de Godoy, and Alvarez de Faria, prince de Paz, duke de la Alcudia, grandee of Spain, of the firſt claſs, &c. And the preſident of the United States, with the advice and conſent of their ſenate, has appointed Thomas Pinckney, a citizen of the United States, and their envoy extraordinary to his catholic majeſty. And the ſaid plenipotentiaries have agreed upon and concluded the following articles:

Art. 1. There ſhall be a firm and inviolable peace, and ſincere friendſhip, between his catholic majeſty, his ſucceſſors and ſubjects, and the United States, and their citizens, without exception of perſons or places.

2. To prevent all diſpute on the ſubject of the boundaries which ſeparate the territories of the two high contracting parties, it is hereby declared and agreed as follows, to wit: the ſouthern boundary of the United States, which divides their territory from the Spaniſh colonies of Eaſt and Weſt Florida, ſhall be deſignated by a line, beginning on the river Miſſiſſippi, at the northernmoſt part of the thirty-firſt degree of latitude north of the equator, which from thence ſhall be drawn due eaſt, to the middle of the river Apalachicola or Carahſuche, thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint; then ſtraight to the head of St. Mary's river, and thence down the middle thereof to the Atlantic ocean. And it is agreed, that if there ſhould be any troops, garriſons, or ſettlements of either party on the territory of the other, according to the above-mentioned boundaries, they ſhall be withdrawn

drawn from the ſaid territory within the term of ſix months after the ratification of this treaty, or ſooner, if it be poſſible; and that they ſhall be permitted to take with them all the goods and effects which they poſſeſs.

3. In order to carry the preceding article into effect, one commiſſioner and one ſurveyor ſhall be appointed by each of the contracting parties, who ſhall meet at Natches, on the left ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, before the expiration of ſix months from the ratification of this convention, and they ſhall proceed to run and make this boundary, according to the ſtipulations of the ſaid article. They ſhall make plans and keep journals of their proceedings, which ſhall be conſidered as part of this convention, and ſhall have the ſame force as if this were inſerted therein. And, if on any account it ſhould be found neceſſary that the ſaid commiſſioners and ſurveyors ſhould be accompanied by guards, they ſhall be furniſhed in equal proportion by the commanding officer of his majeſty's troops in the two Floridas, and the commanding officer of the troops of the United States in the ſouth-weſtern territory, who ſhall act by common conſent, and amicably, as well with reſpect to this point, as to the furniſhing proviſions and inſtruments, and making every other arrangement which may be neceſſary or uſeful for the execution of this article.

4. It is likewiſe agreed, that the weſtern boundary of the United States, which ſeparates them from the Spaniſh colony of Louiſiana, is in the middle of the channel or bed of the river Miſſiſſipi, from the northern boundary of the ſaid ſtates to the completion of the thirty-firſt degree of latitude north of the equator. And his catholic majeſty has likewiſe agreed, that the navigation of the ſaid river, from its ſource to the ocean, ſhall be free only to his ſubjects and the citizens of the United States, unleſs he ſhould extend this privilege to the ſubjects of other powers by a ſpecial convention.

5. The two high contracting parties ſhall, by all means in their power, maintain peace and harmony amongſt the ſeveral Indian nations who inhabit the country adjacent to the lines and rivers which, by the preceding article, form the boundaries of the two Floridas; and the better to attain this effect, both parties oblige themſelves expreſsly to reſtrain by force, all hoſtilities on the part of the Indian nations living within their boundary; ſo that Spain will not ſuffer their Indians inhabiting their territory, nor will the United States permit their laſt-mentioned Indians, to commence hoſtilities againſt his catholic majeſty, or his Indians, in any manner whatſoever.

And whereas ſeveral treaties of friendſhip exiſt between the two contracting parties and the ſaid nations of Indians, it is hereby agreed, that in future no treaty of alliance, or other whatſoever (except treaties of peace) ſhall be made by either party, with the Indians living within the boundary of the other; but both parties will endeavour to make the advantages of the Indian trade common and mutually beneficial to their reſpective ſubjects and citizens, obſerving in all things the moſt complete reciprocity, ſo that both parties may obtain the advantages ariſing from a good underſtanding with the ſaid nations, without being ſubject to the expence which they have hitherto occaſioned.

6. Each party ſhall endeavour, by all means in their power, to protect and defend all veſſels and other effects belonging to the citizens or ſubjects of the other, which ſhall be within the extent of their juriſdiction by ſea, or by land, and ſhall uſe all their efforts to recover, and cauſe to be recovered, to their right owners, their veſſels and effects which may have been taken from them within the extent of their ſaid juriſdiction, whether they are at war or not with the ſubjects who have taken poſſeſſion of the ſaid effects.

7. And it is agreed, that the ſubjects or citizens of each of the contracting parties, their veſſels or effects, ſhall not be liable to any embargo or detention on the part of the other, for any military expedition, or other public or private purpoſe whatſoever. And in all caſes of ſeizure, detention, or arreſt, for debts contracted, or offences committed by any citizen or ſubject of the one party within the juriſdiction of the other, the ſame ſhall be made and proſecuted by order and authority of law only, and according to the regular courſe of proceedings uſual in ſuch caſes. The citizens and ſubjects of both parties ſhall be allowed ſuch advocates, ſolicitors, notaries, agents, and factors, as they judge proper in all their affairs, and in all their trials at law, in which they may be concerned, before the tribunal of the other party; and ſuch agents ſhall have free acceſs to be preſent at the proceedings in ſuch cauſes, and at the taking of examinations and evidence which may be exhibited on the ſaid trials.

8. In caſe the ſubjects and inhabitants of either party, with their ſhipping, whether public and of war, or private and of merchants, be forced, through ſtreſs of weather, purſuit of pirates or enemies, or any other urgent neceſſity for taking ſhelter or harbour, to retreat and enter into any of the rivers, bays, roads or ports belonging to the other party, they ſhall be received and treated with all humanity, and enjoy all favour, protection, and help; and they ſhall be permitted to provide themſelves, at reaſonable rates, with victuals, and all things needful for the ſuſtenance of their perſons, or reparation of their ſhips, and proſecution of their voyage; and they ſhall no ways be hindered from returning out of the ſaid ports or roads, but may remove and depart when and whither they pleaſe, without any let or hindrance.

9. All ſhips and merchandize, of whatever nature ſoever, which ſhall be reſcued out of the hands of any pirates or robbers on the high ſeas, ſhall be brought into ſome port of either ſtate, and ſhall be delivered to the cuſtody of the officers of that port, in order to be taken care of, and reſtored to the true proprietor, as ſoon as due and ſufficient proof ſhall be made concerning the property thereof.

10. When any veſſel of either party ſhall be wrecked, foundered, or otherwiſe damaged, on the coaſt, or within the dominions of the other, their reſpective ſubjects and citizens ſhall receive, as well for themſelves as for their veſſels

and effects, the ſame aſſiſtance which would be due to the inhabitants of the country where the damage happens, and ſhall pay the ſame charges and duties only as the ſaid inhabitants would be ſubject to pay in a like caſe: and if the operation of repairs would require the whole, or any part of the cargo to be unladen, they ſhall pay no duties, charges, or fees, on the part which they ſhall relade and carry away.

11. The citizens and ſubjects of each party ſhall have power to diſpoſe of their perſonal goods within the juriſdiction of the other, by teſtaments, donation, or otherwiſe; and their repreſentatives, being ſubjects or citizens of the other party, ſhall ſucceed to their ſaid perſonal goods, whether by teſtament or *ab inteſtato*, and they may take poſſeſſion thereof, either by themſelves or others acting for them, and diſpoſe of the ſame at their will, paying ſale duties only, as the inhabitants of the country where the ſame goods are ſhall be ſubject to pay in like caſes. And in caſe of the abſence of the repreſentative, ſuch care ſhall be taken of the ſaid goods as of a native in like caſe, until the lawful owner may take meaſures for receiving them. And if queſtions ſhould ariſe among ſeveral claimants, to which of them the goods belong, the ſame ſhall be decided by the laws and judges of the land wherein the ſaid goods are. And where on the death of any perſon holding a real eſtate within the territories of the one party, ſuch real eſtate would, by the law of the land, deſcend on a citizen or ſubject of the other, were he not diſqualified by being an alien, ſuch ſubject ſhall be allowed a reaſonable time to ſell the ſame, and to withdraw the proceeds without moleſtation, and exempt from all right of detraction on the part of the government of the reſpective ſtates.

12. The merchant ſhips of either party which ſhall be making into ports, or into a port belonging to the enemy of the other party, and concerning whoſe voyage, and the ſpecies of goods on board her, there ſhall be juſt grounds of ſuſpicion, ſhall be obliged to exhibit, as well upon the high ſeas as in the ports and havens, not only her paſſport, but likewiſe certificates, expreſsly ſhewing that her goods are not of the number of thoſe which have been prohibited as contraband.

13. For the better promoting of commerce on both ſides, it is agreed, that if a war ſhall break out between the two ſaid nations, one year, after the proclamation of war, ſhall be allowed to the merchants in the cities and towns where they ſhall live, for collecting and tranſporting their goods and merchandizes; and if any thing be taken from them, or any injury be done them within that term, to either party, or the people or ſubjects of either, full ſatisfaction ſhall be made by the government.

14. No ſubject of his catholic majeſty ſhall apply for, or take any commiſſion or letters of marque, for arming any ſhip or ſhips to act as privateers againſt the United States, or againſt the citizens, people, or inhabitants of the ſaid United States, or againſt the property of any of the inhabitants of any of them, from any prince or ſtate with which the United States

ſhall be at war. Nor ſhall any citizen, ſubject, or inhabitant of the ſaid United States, apply for, or take any commiſſion or letters of marque for arming any ſhip or ſhips to act as privateers againſt the ſubjects of his Catholic majeſty, or the property of any of them, from any prince or ſtate with which the ſaid king ſhall be at war. And if any perſon of either nation ſhall take ſuch commiſſion or letters of marque, he ſhall be puniſhed as a pirate.

15. It ſhall be lawful for all and ſingular ſubjects of his Catholic majeſty, and the citizens, people, and inhabitants of the United States, to ſail with their ſhips, with all manner of liberty and ſecurity, no diſtinction being made who are the proprietors of the merchandizes laden therein, from any port to the places of thoſe who now are, or hereafter ſhall be, at enmity with his Catholic majeſty or the United States. It ſhall be lawful likewiſe for the ſubjects and inhabitants aforeſaid to ſail with the ſhips and merchandizes afore-mentioned, and to trade with the ſame liberty and ſecurity from the places, ports, or havens of thoſe who are enemies to both, or either party, without any oppoſition or diſturbance whatſoever, not only from the places of the enemy afore-mentioned to neutral places, but alſo from one place, belonging to an enemy, whether they be under the juriſdiction of the ſame prince, or under ſeveral; and it is hereby ſtipulated, that free ſhips ſhall alſo give freedom to goods, and that every thing ſhall be deemed free and exempt which ſhall be found on board the ſhips belonging to the ſubjects of either of the contracting parties, although the whole lading, or any part thereof, ſhould appertain to the enemy of either, contraband goods being always excepted. It is alſo agreed, that the ſame liberty be granted to perſons who are on board a free ſhip, ſo that although they may be enemies to either party, they ſhall not be made priſoners, or taken out of that free ſhip, unleſs they are ſoldiers, and in actual ſervice of the enemies.

16. This liberty of navigation and commerce ſhall extend to all kinds of merchandizes, excepting only thoſe which are diſtinguiſhed by the name of contraband; and under this name of contraband, or prohibited goods, ſhall be comprehended arms, great guns, bombs, with their fuſees, and the other things belonging to them, cannon-balls, gunpowder, match, pikes, ſwords, lances, ſpears, halberts, mortars, petards, grenades, ſaltpetre, muſkets, muſket-balls, bucklers, helmets, breaſt-plates, coats of mail, and the like kind of arms, proper for arming ſoldiers; muſket-reſts, belts, horſes with their furniture, and all other warlike inſtruments whatever. Theſe merchandizes which follow ſhall not be reckoned amongſt contraband or prohibited goods; that is to ſay, all ſorts of cloths, and all other manufactures woven of any wool, flax, ſilk, cotton, or any other materials whatever, all kinds of wearing apparel, together with all ſpecies whereof they are uſed to be made; gold and ſilver, as well coined as uncoined, tin, iron, latten, braſs, copper, coals; as alſo wheat, barley, and oats, and any other kind of corn and pulſe; tobacco, and likewiſe all manner of ſpices, ſalted and ſmoked fleſh, ſalted fiſh, cheeſe and

butter, beer, oils, wines, ſugar, and all ſorts of ſalt; and in general, all proviſions which ſerve for the ſuſtenance of life: furthermore, all kinds of cotton, hemp, flax, tar, pitch, ropes, ſails, ſail-cloths, anchors, or any part of anchors, alſo ſhip-maſts, planks and wood of all kinds, and all things proper either for building or repairing ſhips, and all other goods whatever which have not been worked into the form of any inſtrument prepared for war by land or by ſea, ſhall not be reputed contraband, much leſs ſuch as have been already wrought and made up for any other uſe; all which ſhall be wholly reckoned amongſt free goods; as likewiſe all other merchandizes and things which are not comprehended, and particularly mentioned in the foregoing enumeration of contraband goods; ſo that they may be tranſported and carried in the freeſt manner by the ſubjects of both parties, even to places belonging to an enemy, ſuch towns or places being only excepted as are at that time beſieged, blocked up, or inveſted; and except the places in which any ſhip of war or ſquadron ſhall, in conſequence of ſtorms or other accidents at ſea, be under the neceſſity of taking the cargo of any trading veſſel or veſſels, in which caſe they may ſtop the ſaid veſſel or veſſels, and furniſh themſelves with neceſſaries, giving a receipt, in order that the power to whom the ſaid ſhip of war belongs may pay for the article ſo taken, according to the price thereof at the port to which they may appear to have been deſtined by the ſhip's papers; and the two contracting parties engage, that the veſſels ſhall not be detained longer than may be abſolutely neceſſary for the ſaid ſhips to ſupply themſelves with neceſſaries; that they will immediately pay the value of the receipts, and indemnify the proprietor for all loſſes which he may have ſuſtained in conſequence of ſuch tranſaction.

17. To the end that all manner of diſſentions and quarrels may be avoided and prevented on one ſide, and on the other, it is agreed, that in caſe either of the parties hereto ſhould be engaged in a war, the ſhips and veſſels belonging to ſubjects or people of the other party muſt be furniſhed with ſea letters or paſſports, expreſſing the name, property, and bulk of the ſhip, as alſo the name and place of habitation of the maſter or commander of the ſaid ſhips, that it may appear thereby that the ſhips really and truly belong to ſubjects of one of the parties; which paſſport ſhall be made out and granted according to the form annexed to this treaty. They ſhall likewiſe be recalled every year, that is, if the ſhip happens to return home within the ſpace of a year.

It is likewiſe agreed that ſuch ſhips, being laden, are to be provided not only with paſſports, as above-mentioned, but alſo with certificates, containing the ſeveral particulars of the cargo, the place whence the ſhip ſailed, that ſo it may be known whether any forbidden or contraband goods be on board the ſame; which certificates ſhall be made out by the officers of the place whence the ſhips ſailed in the accuſtomed form; and if any one ſhall think it fit or adviſable to expreſs in the ſaid certificates the perſon to whom the goods on board belong, he may do ſo; without which requiſites they may be ſent to one of the ports of the other contracting party, and adjudged by the competent tribunal, according to what is above ſet forth, that all the circumſtances of this omiſſion having been well examined, they ſhall be adjudged to be legal prizes, unleſs they ſhall give legal ſatisfaction of their property by teſtimony equally equivalent.

18. If the ſhips of the ſaid ſubjects, people or inhabitants of either of the parties, ſhall be met with, either ſailing along the coaſts, or on the high ſeas, by any ſhips of war of the other, or by any privateer, the ſaid ſhip of war or privateer, for avoiding any diſorder, ſhall remain out of cannon ſhot, and may ſend their boats on board the merchant ſhip which they ſhall ſo meet with, and may enter her to the number of two or three men only, to whom the maſter or commander of ſuch ſhip or veſſel ſhall exhibit his paſſports concerning the property of the ſhip, made out according to the form inſerted in this preſent treaty; and the ſhip, when ſhe ſhall have ſhewn ſuch paſſport, ſhall be free and at liberty to purſue her voyage, ſo as it ſhall not be lawful to moleſt or give her chace in any manner, or force her to quit her intended courſe.

19. Conſuls ſhall be reciprocally eſtabliſhed, with the privileges and power which thoſe of the moſt favoured nations enjoy in the ports where their conſuls reſide, or are permitted to be.

20. It is alſo agreed, that the inhabitants of the territories of each party ſhall reſpectively have free acceſs to the courts of juſtice of the other; and they ſhall be permitted to proſecute ſuits for the recovery of their property, the payment of their debts, and for obtaining ſatisfaction for the damages which they may have ſuſtained, whether the perſons whom they may ſue be ſubjects or citizens of the country in which they be found, or any other perſons whatever who may have taken refuge therein; and the proceedings and ſentences of courts ſhall be the ſame as if the contending parties had been ſubjects or citizens of the ſaid country.

21. In order to terminate all differences on account of the loſſes ſuſtained by the citizens of the United States, in conſequence of their veſſels and cargoes having been taken by the ſubjects of his Catholic majeſty during the late war between Spain and France, it is agreed, that all ſuch caſes ſhall be referred to the final deciſion of commiſſioners to be appointed in the following manner. His Catholic majeſty ſhall appoint one commiſſioner, and the preſident of the United States, by and with the advice and conſent of the ſenate, ſhall appoint another; and the ſaid two commiſſioners ſhall agree on the choice of a third, or if they cannot ſo agree, they ſhall each propoſe one perſon, and of the two names ſo propoſed, one ſhall be drawn by lot in the preſence of the two original commiſſioners; and the perſon whoſe name ſhall be drawn ſhall be the third commiſſioner; and the three commiſſioners ſo appointed ſhall be ſworn impartially to examine and decide the claims in queſtion, according to the merit of the ſeveral caſes, and to juſtice, equity, and the laws of nations. The ſaid commiſſioners ſhall meet and ſit at Philadelphia; and in caſe of the death, ſickneſs, or neceſſary abſence of any ſuch commiſſioner, his place ſhall be ſupplied in the ſame manner as he was firſt appointed, and the new

commiſſioner ſhall take the ſame oaths, and do the ſame duties.—They ſhall receive all complaints and applications authorized by this article during eighteen months from the day on which they ſhall aſſemble. They ſhall have power to examine all ſuch perſons as come before them, on oath or affirmation, touching the complaints in queſtion, and alſo to receive in evidence all written teſtimony, authenticated in ſuch a manner as they ſhall think proper to require or admit. The award of the ſaid commiſſioners, or any two of them, ſhall be final and concluſive, both as to the juſtice of the claim, and the amount of the ſum to be paid to the claimants; and his Catholic majeſty undertakes to cauſe the ſame to be paid in ſpecie, without deduction, at ſuch time and places, and under ſuch conditions, as ſhall be awarded by the ſame commiſſioners.

22. The two high contracting parties, hoping that the good correſpondence and friendſhip which happily reigns between them, will be further encreaſed by this treaty, and that it will contribute to augment their proſperity and opulence, will in future give to their mutual commerce all the extenſion and favour which the advantages of both countries may require.

And in conſequence of the ſtipulations contained in the fourth article, his Catholic majeſty will permit the citizens of the United States, for the ſpace of three years from this time, to depoſit their merchandizes and effects in the port of New Orleans, and to export them from thence, without paying any other duty than a fair price for the hire of the ſtores; and his majeſty promiſes, either to continue this permiſſion, if he finds, during that time, that it is not prejudicial to the intereſt of Spain, or if he ſhould not agree to continue, he will aſſign to them, on another part of the banks of the Miſſiſſippi, an equivalent eſtabliſhment.

23. The preſent treaty ſhall not be in force until ratified by the contracting parties, and the ratifications ſhall be exchanged in ſix months from that time, or ſooner, if poſſible.

In witneſs whereof, we the underwritten plenipotentiaries of his Catholic majeſty, and of the United States of America, have ſigned this preſent treaty of friendſhip, limits, and navigation, and have thereunto affixed our ſeals reſpectively.

Done at San Lorenzo et Real,
October 27, 1795.
(L. S.) THOMAS PINCKNEY.
(L. S.) PRINCE DE LA PAZ.

The Speech of the Preſident of the United States of America, to both Houſes of Congreſs, December 8, 1795.

Fellow Citizens of the ſenate, and houſe of repreſentatives.

I TRUST I do not deceive myſelf, while I indulge the perſuaſion, that I have never met you at any period, when, more than at the preſent, the ſituation of our public affairs has afforded juſt cauſe of mutual congratulation, and for inviting you to join with me in profound gratitude to the Author of all good, for the numerous and extraordinary bleſſings we enjoy.

The termination of the long, expenſive, and diſtreſſing war in which we have been engaged with certain Indians north-weſt of the Ohio, is placed in the option of the United States, by a treaty which the commander of our army has concluded proviſionally, with the hoſtile tribes in that region.

In the adjuſtment of the terms, the ſatisfaction of the Indians was deemed an object worthy no leſs of the policy than of the liberality of the United States, as the neceſſary baſis of durable tranquillity. This object has been fully attained. The articles agreed upon will immediately be laid before the ſenate, for their conſideration.

The Creek and Cherokee Indians, who alone of the ſouthern tribes had annoyed our frontiers, have lately confirmed their pre-exiſting treaties with us, and were giving evidence of a ſincere diſpoſition to carry them into effect, by the ſurrender of the priſoners and property they had taken; but we have to lament that the fair proſpect in this quarter has been once more clouded by wanton murders, which ſome citizens of Georgia are repreſented to have recently perpetrated on hunting parties of the Creeks; which have again ſubjected that frontier to diſquietude and danger, which will be productive of further expence, and may occaſion further effuſion of blood. Meaſures are purſuing to prevent or mitigate the uſual conſequences of ſuch outrages; and with the hope of their ſucceeding, at leaſt to avert a general hoſtility.

A letter from the emperor of Morocco announces to me his recognition of our treaty made with his father the late emperor; and conſequently the continuance of peace with that power. With peculiar ſatisfaction I add, that information has been received from an agent deputed on our part to Algiers, importing, that the terms of the treaty with the dey and regency of that country had been adjuſted in ſuch a manner, as to authorize the expectation of a ſpeedy peace, and the reſtoration of our unfortunate fellow-citizens from a grievous captivity.

The lateſt advices from our envoy at the court of Madrid give, moreover, the pleaſing information, that he had received aſſurances of a ſpeedy and ſatisfactory concluſion of his negotiation. While the event, depending upon unadjuſted particulars, cannot be regarded as aſcertained, it is agreeable to cheriſh the expectation of an iſſue, which ſecuring amicably the very eſſential intereſts of the United States, will, at the ſame time lay the foundation of laſting harmony with a power, whoſe friendſhip we have uniformly and ſincerely deſired to cultivate.

Though not before officially diſcloſed to the houſe of repreſentatives, you, gentlemen, are apprized, that a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, has been negotiated with Great Britain; and that the ſenate have adviſed and conſented to its ratification, upon a condition which excepts part of one article. Agreeably thereto, and to the beſt judgment I was able to form of the public intereſt, after full and mature deliberation, I have added my ſanction. The reſult on the part of his Britannic majeſty is unknown. When received, the ſubject will, without delay, be placed before congreſs.

This intereſting ſummary of our affairs with regard to the foreign powers, between whom and the United States controverſies have ſubſiſted, and with regard alſo to thoſe of our Indian neighbours with whom we have been in a ſtate of enmity and miſunderſtanding, opens a wide field for conſoling and gratifying reflections. If, by prudence and moderation on every ſide, the extinguiſhment of all the cauſes of external diſcord, which have heretofore menaced our tranquillity, on terms compatible with our national rights and honour, ſhall be the happy reſult, how firm and how precious a foundation will have been laid for accelerating, maturing, and eſtabliſhing the proſperity of our country?

Contemplating the internal ſituation, as well as the external relations, of the United States, we diſcover equal cauſe for contentment and ſatisfaction. While many of the nations of Europe, with their American dependencies, have been involved in a conteſt unuſually bloody, exhauſting, and calamitous; in which the evils of foreign war have been aggravated by domeſtic convulſions and inſurrection; in which many of the arts moſt uſeful to ſociety have been expoſed to diſcouragement and decay; in which ſcarcity of ſubſiſtence has embittered other ſufferings; while even the anticipations of a return of the bleſſings of peace and repoſe are alloyed by the ſenſe of heavy and accumulating burdens, which preſs upon all the departments of induſtry, and threaten to clog the future ſprings of government;—our favoured country, happy in a ſtriking contraſt, has enjoyed general tranquillity—the more ſatisfactory, becauſe maintained at the expence of no duty. Faithful to ourſelves, we have violated no obligation to others. Our agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, proſper beyond former example; the moleſtations of our trade (to prevent a continuance of which, however, very pointed remonſtrances have been made) being over-balanced by the aggregate benefits which it derives from a neutral poſition. Our population advances with a celerity which, exceeding the moſt ſanguine expectations, proportionally augments our ſtrength and reſources, and guarantees our future ſecurity. Every part of the union diſplays indications of rapid and various improvement; and with burdens ſo light as ſcarcely to be perceived; with reſources fully adequate to our preſent exigencies; with governments founded on the genuine principles of rational liberty, and with mild and wholeſome laws; is it too much to ſay, that our country exhibits a ſpectacle of national happineſs never ſurpaſſed, if ever before equalled?

Placed in a ſituation every way ſo auſpicious, motives of commanding force impel us, with ſincere acknowledgment to heaven, and pure love to our country, to unite our efforts to preſerve, prolong, and improve our immenſe advantages. To co-operate with you in this deſirable work, is a fervent and favourite wiſh of my heart.

It is a valuable ingredient in the general eſtimate of our welfare, that the part of our country, which was lately the ſcene of diſorder and inſurrection, now enjoys the bleſſings of quiet and order. The miſled have abandoned their errors, and pay the reſpect to our conſtitution and laws, which is due from good citizens to the public authorities of the ſociety. Theſe circumſtances have induced me to pardon, generally, the offenders here referred to: and to extend forgiveneſs to thoſe who have been adjudged to capital puniſhment. For, although I ſhall always think it a ſacred duty, to exerciſe with firmneſs and energy the conſtitutional powers with which I am veſted; yet it appeared to me no leſs conſiſtent with the public good, than it is with my perſonal feelings, to mingle in the operations of government every degree of moderation and tenderneſs, which the national juſtice, dignity, and ſafety may permit.

Gentlemen,

Among the objects which will claim your attention in the courſe of the ſeſſion, a review of our military eſtabliſhment is not the leaſt important. It is called for by the events which have changed, and may be expected ſtill further to change, the relative ſituation of our frontiers. In this review, you will doubtleſs allow due weight to the conſiderations, that the queſtions between us and certain foreign powers are not yet finally adjuſted; that the war in Europe is not terminated; and that our weſtern poſts, when recovered, will demand proviſion for garriſoning and ſecuring them. A ſtatement of our preſent military force will be laid before you by the department of war.

With the review of our army eſtabliſhment is naturally connected that of the militia. It will merit enquiry, what imperfections in the exiſting plan further experience may have unfolded. The ſubject is of ſo much moment, in my eſtimation, as to excite a conſtant ſolicitude, that the conſideration of it may be renewed until the greateſt attainable perfection ſhall be accompliſhed. Time is wearing away ſome advantages for forwarding the object, while none better deſerves the perſevering attention of the public councils.

While we indulge the ſatisfaction which the actual condition of our weſtern borders ſo well authorizes; it is neceſſary that we ſhould not loſe ſight of an important truth, which continually receives new confirmation; namely, that the proviſions heretofore made, with a view to the protection of the Indians from the violence of the lawleſs part of the frontier inhabitants, are inſufficient. It is demonſtrated, that theſe violences can now be perpetrated with impunity. And it can need no argument to prove, that unleſs the murdering of Indians can be reſtrained by bringing the murderers to condign puniſhment, all the exertions of the government to prevent deſtructive retaliations by the Indians will prove fruitleſs, and all our preſent agreeable proſpects illuſory. The frequent deſtruction of innocent women and children, who are chiefly the victims of retaliation, muſt continue to ſhock humanity; and an enormous expence to drain the treaſury of the union.

To enforce upon the Indians the obſervance of juſtice, it is indiſpenſable that there ſhall be competent means of rendering juſtice to them. If theſe means can be deviſed by the wiſdom of congreſs, and eſpecially if there can be added an adequate proviſion for ſupplying the neceſſities of the Indians, on reaſonable terms, (a meaſure, the mention of which I the more readily repeat, as in all the conferences they urge it with ſolicitude) I ſhould not heſitate to entertain a ſtrong hope of rendering our tranquillity permanent. I add, with pleaſure, that the probability even of their civilization is not diminiſhed by the experiments which have been thus far made under the auſpices of government. The accompliſhment of this work, if practicable, will reflect undecaying luſtre on our national character, and adminiſter the moſt grateful conſolations that virtuous minds can know.

Gentlemen of the houſe of repreſentatives,

The ſtate of our revenue, with the ſums that have been borrowed and reimburſed, purſuant to the different acts of congreſs, will be ſubmitted from the proper departments; together with an eſtimate of the appropriations neceſſary to be made for the ſervice of the enſuing year.

Whether meaſures may not be adviſable to reinforce the proviſion for the redemption of the public debt, will naturally engage your examination.—Congreſs have demonſtrated their ſenſe to be, and it were ſuperfluous to repeat mine, that whatſoever will tend to accelerate the honourable extinction of our public debt, accords as much with the true intereſts of our country, as with the general ſenſe of our conſtituents.

Gentlemen of the ſenate, and houſe of repreſentatives,

The ſtatement which ſhall be laid before you, relative to the mint, will ſhew the ſituation of that inſtitution, and the neceſſity of ſome further legiſlative proviſions for carrying the buſineſs of it more completely into effect, and for checking abuſes which appear to be ariſing in particular quarters.

The progreſs in providing materials for the frigates, and in building them; the ſtate of the fortifications of our harbours; the meaſures which have been purſued for obtaining proper ſites for arſenals, and for repleniſhing our magazines with military ſtores; and the ſteps which have been taken toward the execution of the law for opening a trade with the Indians, will likewiſe be preſented for the information of congreſs.

Temperate diſcuſſion of the important ſubjects which may ariſe in the courſe of the ſeſſion; and mutual forbearance, where there is a difference of opinion, are too obvious and neceſſary for the peace, happineſs, and welfare of our country, to need any recommendation of mine.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

United States,
Dec. 8, 1795.

CHARACTERS.

CHARACTERS.

Character of Lorenzo de' Medici.

[*From his Life by Mr.* Roſcoe.]

IN the height of his reputation, and at a premature period of life, thus died Lorenzo de' Medici; a man who may be ſelected from all the characters of ancient and modern hiſtory, as exhibiting the moſt remarkable inſtance of depth of penetration, verſatility of talent, and comprehenſion of mind. Whether genius be a predominating impulſe, directing the mind to ſome particular object, or whether it be an energy of intellect that arrives at excellence in any department in which it may be employed, it is certain that there are few inſtances in which a ſucceſsful exertion in any human purſuit has not occaſioned a dereliction of many other objects, the attainment of which might have conferred immortality. If the powers of the mind are to bear down all obſtacles that oppoſe their progreſs, it ſeems neceſſary that they ſhould ſweep along in ſome certain courſe, and in one collected maſs. What then ſhall we think of that rich fountain, which, whilſt it was poured out by ſo many different channels, flowed through each with a full and equal ſtream? To be abſorbed in one purſuit, however important, is not the characteriſtic of the higher claſs of genius, which piercing through the various combinations and relations of ſurrounding circumſtances, ſees all things in their juſt dimenſions, and attributes to each its due. Of the various occupations in which Lorenzo engaged, there is not one in which he was not eminently ſucceſsful, but he was moſt particularly diſtinguiſhed in thoſe which juſtly hold the firſt rank in human eſtimation. The facility with which he turned from ſubjects of the higheſt importance to thoſe of amuſement and levity, ſuggeſted to his countrymen the idea that he had two diſtinct ſouls combined in one body. Even his moral character ſeems to have partaken in ſome degree of the ſame diverſity, and his devotional poems are as ardent as his lighter pieces are licentious. On all ſides he touched the extremes of human character, and the powers of his mind were only bounded by that impenetrable circle which preſcribes the limits of human nature.

As a ſtateſman, Lorenzo de' Medici appears to peculiar advantage. Uniformly employed in ſecuring the peace and promoting the happineſs of his country by juſt regulations at home, and wiſe precautions abroad, and teaching to the ſurrounding governments thoſe important leſſons of political ſcience on which the civilization and tranquillity of nations have ſince been found to depend. Though poſſeſſed of undoubted talents for military exploits, and of ſagacity to avail himſelf of the imbecility of neighbouring powers, he was ſuperior to that avarice of dominion, which, without improving what is already acquired, blindly aims at more extenſive poſſeſſions. The wars in which he engaged were for ſecurity, not for territory, and the riches produced by the fertility of the ſoil, and the induſtry and ingenuity of the inhabitants of the Florentine Republic, inſtead of being diſſipated in impoſing projects and ruinous expeditions, circulated in their natural channels, giving happineſs to the individual and reſpectability to the ſtate. If he was not inſenſible to the charms of ambition, it was the ambition to deſerve rather than to enjoy, and he was always cautious not to exact from the public favour more than it might be voluntarily willing to beſtow. The approximating ſuppreſſion of the liberties of Florence, under the influence of his deſcendants, may induce ſuſpicions unfavourable to his patriotiſm; but it will be difficult, not to ſay impoſſible, to diſcover, either in his conduct, or his precepts, any thing that ought to ſtigmatize him as an enemy to the freedom of his country. The authority which he exerciſed was the ſame as that which his anceſtors had enjoyed, without injury to the republic, for nearly a century, and had deſcended to him as inſeparable from the wealth, the reſpectability, and the powerful foreign connections of his family. The ſuperiority of his talents enabled him to avail himſelf of theſe advantages with irreſiſtible effect; but hiſtory ſuggeſts not an inſtance in which they were devoted to any other purpoſe than that of promoting the honour and the independence of the Tuſcan ſtate. It was not by the continuance, but by the dereliction of the ſyſtem that he had eſtabliſhed, and to which he adhered to the cloſe of his life, that the Florentine Republic ſunk under the degrading yoke of deſpotic power; and to his premature death we may unqueſtionably attribute, not only the deſtruction of the commonwealth, but all the calamities that Italy ſoon afterwards ſuſtained.

The ſympathies of mind, like the laws of chemical affinity, are uniform. Great talents attract admiration, the offering of the underſtanding; but the qualities of the heart can alone excite affection, the offering of the heart. If we may judge of Lorenzo de' Medici by the ardour with which his friends and contemporaries have expreſſed their attachment, we ſhall form concluſions highly favourable to his ſenſibility and his ſocial virtue. The exaction of thoſe attentions uſually paid to rank and to power, he left to ſuch as had no other claims to reſpect; he rather choſe to be conſidered as the friend and the equal, than as the dictator of his fellow-citizens. His urbanity extended to the loweſt ranks of ſociety, and while he enlivened the city of Florence by magnificent ſpectacles and amuſing repreſentations, he partook of them himſelf with a reliſh that ſet the example of feſtivity. It was the general opinion in Florence, that whoever was favoured by Lorenzo could not fail of ſucceſs. Valori relates, that in the repreſentation of an engagement on horſeback, one of the combatants, who was ſuppoſed to contend under the patronage of Lorenzo, being overpowered and wounded, avowed his reſolution to die, rather than ſubmit to his adverſary, and it was not without difficulty that he was reſcued from the danger, to receive from the bounty of Lorenzo, the reward of his well-meant though miſtaken fidelity.

Character of Henry IV. *of France.*

[*From the Hiſtory of France from the acceſſion of* Henry III. *to the death of* Louis XIV. *By* N. W. Wraxall, *Eſq.* Vol. III.]

THE province of the hiſtorian may be ſaid in ſome meaſure to ſtop with the narration of the circumſtances attending the death of Henry the Fourth. His character ſtands little in need of elucidation, and leſs of panegyric. Whether we conſider him as the conqueror of France, or whether we contemplate him in the more amiable light of the legiſlator and benefactor of his people, he equally excites our admiration. All the great qualities, which during many years of adverſity, were exhibited by the King of Navarre, acquired new luſtre, and attained to full maturity, on the throne of France. It may be reaſonably doubted, whether in any age of the world, a prince has appeared among men, who united in himſelf more ſublime endowments of every kind. We muſt neceſſarily regret, but we cannot deny, that they were obſcured by material faults and weakneſſes. His licentious amours ſubverted his private felicity, produced public calamity, and were equally contrary to decency, morality, and religion. Nor was his paſſion for play leſs violent, though its effects, as confined to himſelf, were leſs injurious. We may ſee in Sully, and in Baſſompierre, how much the rage of gaming, encouraged by his example, pervaded the capital and the court. His deſire of amaſſing treaſures, though it did not originate in avarice, yet induced him to encourage his miniſters, particularly Sully, in exacting from his ſubjects contributions beyond their ſtrength. The inſtitution of the "Paulette," which was a tax on the vacancy, or reſignation of all legal employments, excited general murmurs, and was productive of the moſt ſcandalous venality in the department of the law.

It excites aſtoniſhment to reflect, that in the ſpace of only nine years, from the peace with Savoy to his death, he was able to extinguiſh almoſt all the domeſtic and foreign incumbrances of the crown, which were immenſe; and to lay up in the Baſtile above a million ſterling. So large a ſum in ſpecie, could not have been taken out of the national circulation, without great injury to commercial tranſactions. He was accuſed, probably with reaſon, of yielding from his facility, to importunity, the rewards which ought only to have been extended to merit, talents, and virtue. Like all princes who have been extricated by the efforts of a party, from a ſtate of adverſity and depreſſion, the imputation of ingratitude was laid to his charge. It was ſaid that he forgot, and neglected his ancient adherents, in order to enrich and elevate his enemies. But it muſt be remembered, that he was compelled to purchaſe the ſubmiſſion of the heads of the League; and we may doubt whether either his courage, his clemency, or his abjuration of the reformed religion, would have extinguiſhed that powerful faction without the aid of money. Thoſe who ſeverely ſcrutinized his actions aſſerted that he winked and connived at acts of injuſtice in the tribunals of law; where the judges found complete impunity, provided that in return, they manifeſted a blind and implicit obedience to his edicts. There is, nevertheleſs, at leaſt as much malignity as truth in the accuſation.

If from his defects we turn our eyes to his virtues, we ſhall love and venerate his memory. His very name is almoſt become proverbial, to expreſs the union of all that is elevated, amiable, and good in human nature. Such was his diſdain of injuries, that it reached to heroiſm. The duke of Mayenne became his friend; and the young Duke of Guiſe profeſſed, and felt for him, the warmeſt degree of affectionate devotion. We know, that he expreſsly ordered Vitry to receive into the company of body-guards, the ſoldier who had wounded him with a ball at the combat of Aumale. Henry pointed him out to Marſhal D'Eſtrées, as the man mounted guard at the door of his coach. In the ſingle inſtance of Biron, he remained inexorable; but it ought not to be forgotten that Biron was at once guilty and obdurate. Henry neither put him to death from perſonal reſentment, nor from mere conſiderations of ſtate policy. The laſt neceſſity alone induced him to refuſe pardon to a man who aſpired to independence, and whoſe projects were levelled at the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Bourbon, as well as at the ſafety of the monarchy of France itſelf. Nothing can more ſtrongly atteſt the fact, nor prove the repugnance with which he abandoned Biron to the ſword of the law, than his anſwer to the noblemen who ſued for the forgiveneſs of that criminal.

His affection towards the inferior claſſes of his ſubjects, and in particular towards the peaſants, whom he cheriſhed and protected, as the moſt neceſſary, but the moſt oppreſſed and injured deſcription of his people; drew upon him the benedictions of the age in which he lived, and endears him to poſterity. He was neither ignorant, nor did he affect to be ſo, that he merited univerſal eſteem. The ſentiment involuntarily burſt from him on various occaſions. Only a few hours before he was aſſaſſinated, upon the morning of that day, as if by a ſecret warning of his deſtiny, he ſaid to the Duke of Guiſe, and to Baſſompierre; "You do not know "me now; but I ſhall die one of "theſe days; and when you have "loſt me you will know my worth, "and the difference between me "and other men." "The Kings, "my predeceſſors," ſaid he, on another occaſion, addreſſing himſelf to the deputies of the Clergy, "have given you ſplendid words;

"but I, with my grey jacket, will "give you effects. I am all grey "without, but all gold within."

Educated in the field, and accuſtomed to fatigue, he delighted little in purſuits of literature; but he was neither unacquainted with polite letters, nor deficient in extending a liberal protection to men of genius. Du Perron, Matthieu, Scaliger, Caſaubon, Sponde, and a number of other eminent writers, received penſions from the treaſury, or were raiſed by Henry to eminent honours and dignities. The love of glory, and the deſire of honourable fame, as diſtinct from, and as oppoſed to that paſſion which we commonly denominate ambition, was the predominant feature of his character. Louis the Fourteenth was perpetually and ſyſtematically occupied, during his long reign, in acts of wanton and unjuſt rapacity, in order to extend the frontiers of his dominions. Henry, on the contrary, propoſed to become the arbiter of Europe, by his magnanimous moderation. We ſee in the memoirs of Sully, that he did not reſerve a foot of land to augment France, from the conqueſts to be made by that vaſt confederacy, which he was on the point of putting into action when aſſaſſinated. Artois and French Flanders were to have been diſtributed in fiefs, to various individuals. Alſace, and the county of Burgundy, were deſtined for the Switzers. Rouſillon and Cerdagne were left to Spain. All theſe provinces were gained by Richelieu, or by Louis the Fourteenth. It is true that he projected to acquire Lorraine, and the Dutchy of Savoy; but the former was in virtue of the marriage of the Dauphin to a princeſs of Lorraine: the latter was only contingent, and in the event of Charles Emanuel remaining peaceable poſſeſſor of the Milaneſe.

If we would behold the portrait of Henry drawn by himſelf, we may ſee it in one of his letters to the ſame miniſter, Sully. It cannot be peruſed without emotions of pleaſure. "Whenever," writes he, "the occaſion ſhall pre-"ſent itſelf for executing thoſe "glorious deſigns which you well "know that I have long projected, "you ſhall find that I will rather "quit my miſtreſſes, hounds, gam-"ing, buildings, banquets, and "every other recreation, than let "paſs the opportunity of acquir-"ing honour; the principal ſour-"ces of which, after my duty to "God, my wife, my children, "my ſervants, and my people, "whom I love as my children, "are to attain the reputation of a "prince tenacious of his faith and "word; and to perform actions at "the end of my days, which ſhall "immortalize and crown them "with glory and honour." It is, nevertheleſs, an incontrovertible, though a melancholy fact, that he was neither known nor beloved during his life, as he deſerved. The intimate acquaintance which his contemporaries had with his infirmities and defects; together with the implacable animoſity of the inveterate adherents of Spain and of the "League," traduced his character, and aggravated all his faults. But time, the teſt of truth, has fully unveiled him to mankind; and after the lapſe of near two centuries, poſterity has juſtly aſſigned him one of the higheſt places among thoſe, whom Providence in its bounty

ſometimes

ſometimes raiſes up for the felicity and ornament of the human race.

Character of Lord Chatham.

[*From Anecdotes of ſome diſtinguiſhed Perſons, chiefly of the preſent and two preceding Centuries.* Vol. III.]

LORD Chatham ſeems to have been one of thoſe ſuperior ſpirits, who, in mercy to mankind, are permitted occaſionally to viſit this lower world, to revive or create nations, and to decide the fate of empires.

The Britiſh empire, ſinking under the diſability of his immediate predeceſſors, ſoon regained its priſtine vigour under the influence of Lord Chatham. His great mind pervaded every part of it, and like the torch of Prometheus, illumined and animated the whole. Called into power at the middle time of life, and with ſome experience in the complicated buſineſs of politics, by the voice of the people, and againſt the inclination of his ſovereign, he never had the inſolence to declare with what rank only of the executive department of government he would do his country the honour and favour to be contented. In oppoſition to his ſovereign, he never, from ſpleen or from indignation, dared to attempt to innovate upon the eſtabliſhed conſtitution of his country, and, with a view to be a favourite of the people, cajole them with the hopes of an increaſe of their power and of their conſequence, which he never in his heart intended they ſhould poſſeſs. When prime miniſter, he never dealt out the dignities and emoluments of office to perſons merely becauſe they were related to and connected with him, and whom he intended to direct, from the ſuperiority of his underſtanding to theirs, and from his knowledge of their incapacity to fill the arduous and important ſtations which, at a very critical period of the ſtate, he had aſſigned to them. In council, when a baneful influence prevailed, which from jealouſy of authority, and perhaps from meaner motives, by its improper interpoſition and dangerous interference, like the pernicious remora, impeded and counteracted the motion of the great veſſel of government, he diſdained to temporize, and, from views of intereſt or of fear, to keep the helm which he was not permitted to manage as he pleaſed. He nobly, and in the true ſpirit of the conſtitution, declared, that he would be no longer reſponſible for meaſures which he was not permitted to guide. Of the manlineſs, of the wiſdom, and of the virtue of this declaration, his fellow citizens were ſo ſenſible, that when his ſovereign, the idol of his people, and himſelf met on an occaſion of public feſtivity, he appeared to divide with the beloved vicegerent of Heaven the applauſes of the multitude.

Lord Chatham never degraded his mind with that attention to the patronage which his high ſituation afforded, nor divided and diſtracted his underſtanding by the minuteneſs of detail and the meaner operations of finance, which the moſt ordinary clerk in his office could have managed as well as himſelf. The great powers of his mind were always directed to ſome magnificent object. He ſaw with the eye of intuition itſelf into the characters of mankind: he ſaw for what each man was fitted. His ſagacity pervaded the ſecrets of the cabinets of other countries; and the energy of his mind inſpired and informed that of his own. The annals of his glorious adminiſtration will not be remembered by the riſe of the ſtocks, or by the ſavings of a few thouſand pounds, but by the incorporation of foreign millions, the ſpoil of cities, the ſack of nations, by conqueſts in every part of the globe.

Lord Chatham thought it diſgraceful in a prime miniſter, becauſe ſome of his colleagues differed in opinion from him, to ſee armies waſte away, and fleets become uſeleſs; to behold money ineffectually ſquandered that had been wrung from the ſweat of the brow of the poor, and of the laborious; and the lives of thouſands of his fellow ſubjects ſacrificed to murmuring compliance, and to pride that indignantly licks the duſt.

On certain occaſions, Lord Chatham oppoſed not only the opinions of his brethren in office, but even the prejudices of the ſovereign. The following anecdote, which was communicated by his under-ſecretary of ſtate, Mr. Wood, to a friend of his, is a ſtriking proof of his honeſty and firmneſs of mind.

Lord Chatham had appointed Mr. Wolfe to command at the ſiege of Quebec, and as he told him that he could not give him ſo many forces as he wanted for that expedition, he would make it up as well to him as he could, by giving him the appointment of all his Officers. Mr. Wolfe ſent in his liſt, included in which was a gentleman who was obnoxious to his Sovereign, then George the Second, for ſome advice which, as a military man, he had given to his ſon the Duke of Cumberland. Lord Ligonier, then commander in chief, took in the liſt to the King, who, (as he expected) made ſome objections to a particular name, and refuſed to ſign the commiſſion. Lord Chatham ſent him into the cloſet a ſecond time, with no better ſucceſs. Lord Ligonier refuſed to go in a third time at Lord Chatham's ſuggeſtion. He was, however, told that he ſhould loſe his place if he did not; and that, on his preſenting the name to the ſovereign, he ſhould tell him the peculiar ſituation of the ſtate of the expedition, and that in order to make any general completely reſponſible for his conduct, he ſhould be made, as much as poſſible, inexcuſable if he does not ſucceed; and that, conſequently, whatever an officer, who was intruſted with any ſervice of confidence and of conſequence, deſired, ſhould (if poſſible) be complied with. Lord Ligonier went in a third time, and told his ſovereign what he was directed to tell him. The good ſenſe of the monarch ſo completely diſarmed his prejudice, that he ſigned the particular commiſſion, as he was deſired.

Lord Chatham was educated at Eton, and in no very particular manner diſtinguiſhed himſelf at that celebrated ſeminary. Virgil in early life was his favourite author. He was by no means a good Greek ſcholar; and though he occaſionally copied the arrangement and the expreſſions of Demoſthenes with great ſucceſs in his ſpeeches, he perhaps drew them from the Collana tranſlation of that admirable orator (that book having been frequently ſeen in his room by a great lawyer ſome time deceaſed.) The ſermons of the great Dr. Barrow and of Abernethy were favourite books with him; and of the ſermons of the late Mr. Mudge of Plymouth, he always ſpoke very highly. He once declared in the Houſe of Commons, that no book had ever been peruſed by him with equal inſtruction with the Lives of Plutarch.

Lord Chatham was an extremely fine reader of tragedy; and a lady of rank and taſte, now living, declares with what ſatisfaction ſhe has heard him read ſome of Shakeſpeare's hiſtorical plays, particularly thoſe of Henry the Fourth and Fifth. She however uniformly obſerved, that whenever he came to the comic or buffoon parts of thoſe plays, he always gave the book to one of his relations, and when they were gone through, he took the book again.

Dr. Johnſon ſays acutely, that no man is a hypocrite in his amuſements; and thoſe of Lord Chatham ſeem always to have borne the ſtamp of greatneſs about them.

Lord Chatham wrote occaſionally very good verſes. His taſte in laying out grounds was exquiſite. One ſcene in the gardens of South Lodge, on Enfield Chaſe (which was deſigned by him,) that of the Temple of Pan and its accompaniments, is mentioned by Mr. Whately, in his "Obſervations on Modern Gardening," as one of the happieſt efforts of well-directed and appropriate decoration.

Of Lord Chatham's eloquence who can ſpeak that has not heard it; and who that had the happineſs to hear it can do juſtice to it by deſcription? It was neither the rounded and the monotonous declamation, the exuberance of images, the acute ſophiſtry; or the attic wit and ſatirical point, that we have ſeen admired in our times. It was very various; it poſſeſſed great force of light and ſhade; it occaſionally ſunk to colloquial familiarity, and occaſionally roſe to epic ſublimity. If he crept ſometimes with Timæus, he as often thundered and lightned with Pericles. His irony, though ſtrong, was ever dignified; his power of ridicule irreſiſtible; and his invective ſo terrible, that the objects of it ſhrunk under it like ſhrubs before the withering and the blaſting eaſt. Whoever heard this great man ſpeak, always brought away ſomething that remained upon his memory and upon his imagination. A *verbum ardens*, a glowing word, a happy facility of expreſſion, an appropriate metaphor, a forcible image, or a ſublime figure, never failed to recompenſe the attention which the hearer had beſtowed upon him.

Soon after Sir Robert Walpole had taken away his Cornet's commiſſion from this extraordinary man, he uſed to drive himſelf about the country in a one-horſe chaiſe, without a ſervant. At each town to which he came, the people gathered round his carriage, and received him with the loudeſt acclamations.

Lord Chatham thought very highly of the effects of dreſs and of dignity of manner upon mankind. He was never ſeen on buſineſs without a full-dreſs coat and a tye-wig, and he never permitted his under ſecretaries to ſit down before him.

A general officer was once aſked by Lord Chatham, how many men he ſhould require for a certain expedition. "Ten thouſand," was the anſwer. "You ſhall have twelve thouſand,"

thouſand," ſaid the miniſter, "and then if you do not ſucceed, it is your fault."

The original of the character of Praxiteles, in Mr. Greville's very entertaining Book of Maxims, is ſaid to have been Lord Chatham.

When Cardinal Stoppani (ſurnamed in the Conclave of Cardinals *Il Politico*) was informed that Lord Chatham had ceaſed to be miniſter of England, he told an Engliſh gentleman that he could not give any credit to it. "What heir," he added, "on coming to a conſiderable eſtate, and finding it excellently well managed by a ſteward, would diſmiſs that ſteward merely becauſe he had ſerved his predeceſſor?"

The late King of Pruſſia, in his Hiſtory of the Seven Years War, thus deſcribes Lord Chatham: "L'eloquence et la genie de M. Pitt, l'avoient rendu l'idole de la nation; c'etoit la meilleure tête d'Angleterre. Il avoit ſubjugué la chambre baſſe par la force de la parole. Il y regnoit, il en etoit, pour ainſi dire, l'ame. Parvenu au timon des affaires, il appliqua toute l'etendue de ſon genie à rendre à ſa patrie la domination des mers; et penſant en grand homme, il fut indigné de la convention de Cloſter Seven, qu'il regardoit comme l'opprobre des Anglois."

This great miniſter was born at Stratford-houſe, at the foot of the fortreſs of Old Sarum.

Character of Sir Richard Fanſhaw, *Ambaſſador from* Charles II. *to the Spaniſh Court, who died at Madrid in* 1666.

[*From a Sermon on his death; preached at Madrid by* Henry Bagſhaw, *M. A. of Chriſt-Church, Oxford.*]

SHALL I here repreſent before you his birth, his learning, his travels, the reverence of his age, and the like? Theſe were all ornaments that belonged to him, and yet the leaſt of his praiſe.

The nobleneſs of his birth was a good he little valued, nay, he ſtrove to hide it with dignity acquired, as deſiring to be begotten anew by virtue, and thence receive his honour, which the fortune of birth lazily beſtows.

His learning, as it was great and choice, ſo he uſed it only as a ſervant to higher ends; bare knowledge he never doated on, nor wit, which his knowledge was ſet off with, but as they both conducted to practice; the one as the weight, the other as the edge of his actings.

His travels, conſidered in themſelves, were common to him with others; but the management of thoſe travels was peculiar to him, and may therefore give him a property in fame; for they were ſo many victories over the times, and the vices of thoſe kingdoms he lived in. The knowledge he had of the world's frauds never biaſſed his ſoul, nor could his ſight of ſin in its ſeveral ſhapes bend him from noble deſigns; who was ſuch a follower of virtue, that he learned from bad cuſtoms a ſtrict practice of it; ſuch a lover of truth that he (who was maſter of foreign languages) yet taught thoſe languages to ſpeak it. A ſtrange current this, that has paſſed through ſeveral lands, and yet received no taint from the ſoil, nor ever travelled from his own nature!

Laſtly, the reverence of his age, and the dignity of grey hairs, theſe were a grace indeed to his perſon, but a grace of itſelf not to be prized, for it is an effect of time, which folly as well as wiſdom may partake of; but in him age created reſpect, becauſe it ſhewed a head that crowned it; it was like an old monument that has noble acts written upon it, and ſo becomes honourable for that hiſtory. Therefore, paſſing by theſe qualities, give me leave to go higher, and conſider him in a threefold capacity; as a ſubject, as a public miniſter, as a Chriſtian.

1. As a ſubject. Still times may prove happy to a ſtate, but not glorious to a liver; they are dead calms, wherein the courage and fidelity of the ſubject cannot move; but Heaven had ordained a trial of his loyalty in ſuch an age wherein loyalty ſeemed a crime, when rebellion looked gay with ſucceſs, and ſacrilege had Providence to gild it; yet ran he then conſtantly the hazards of his prince, and triumphed in an afflicted cauſe, as ſeeing Heaven's juſtice through the blackneſs of its courſe, earth's ſins through its proſperous uſurpation. Such ſervices (without worldly hopes to allure) could have only pure conſcience for their principle; and it was the bare right of his maſter, joined with a love to the owner, made him digeſt all the misfortune. Flattering arts and cunning practices were far from the temper of this perſon, who had a breaſt large and open, made indeed to hide his maſter's ſecrets, but not to diſſemble his own principles; whence he manifeſted them in the loweſt extremes, ſticking to the crown when it lay in duſt, and following the ſun in its eclipſe, which the multitude adores for its beams. When he had thus recommended his duty, none could juſtly envy him in his prince's height, that he ſhould partake of that influence.

2. As a public miniſter, which office he began betimes, and roſe by ſteps to the higheſt honours of employment, yet he never altered his courſe in his manage of affairs; juſtice and integrity were notions fixed and rooted in his ſoul; no bribe could enter that room, for it was before richlier filled, and honeſty kept the key; ſo that with the ſame truth he tied himſelf to the buſineſs of his prince, as he did to his fortune. What truſt he had in the world three courts can witneſs; how well he managed it they may equally proclaim; for the general good was his aim, and thither he directed all his endeavours. I need not mention the care he had of his charge, for that was a work of his nature; nor the exactneſs of his performance, for that was an ordinary effect of his wiſdom; but give me leave to declare the clearneſs of his deſigns in all his undertakings, who never ſtudied ſelf to enrich, but ſelf to command. His whole treaty of commerce had nothing of private traffic, for his ſoul was above wealth, and he nobly ſhewed it when he threw it away to preſerve kingdoms. To the peace of crowns he made his flight in this embaſſy, and not to merchandize; peace, the great gift of Heaven, and the nobleſt copy man has left him for imitation. It was this endeared his labours abroad, and with this he thought to magnify his maſter at home, when the world ſhould ſee (by that mediation betwixt ſtates) the goodneſs of our king, as in war they had felt the greatneſs of his power. And what could be more honour to a prince than the glory of ſaving with one hand, when the other conquered; of

settling dominion in princes when he had broke it in ſtates? The firſt work this one miniſter endeavoured, the latter a whole fleet ſerved in[*]; but though that good deſign of his for uniting kingdoms (which he ſo lately ventured to procure with his own danger[†]) be now fruſtrated by the prejudices of obſtinate men, yet the fruit is not to himſelf; God looks to him as a peace-maker, and has accordingly beſtowed his reward.

3. As a Chriſtian. What the graces of Chriſtianity are the Apoſtle deſcribes. "The fruit of the Spirit," ſays he, "is love, joy, peace, long-ſuffering, gentleneſs, goodneſs, meekneſs, faith, temperance; againſt ſuch there is no law[‡]." And it were eaſy for me to make out how in all theſe he excelled. Love ruled in him as the moving principle, and joy as the attendant of his good actions; peace was his end; long-ſuffering, gentleneſs, goodneſs, meekneſs, were his conſtitution; temperance his habit, and faith in his God a grace that ſanctified all.

In his laſt ſickneſs (that came upon him with a ſevere force, like Death's herald, and therefore required as ſevere a welcome) that faith and patience he had long before exerciſed, did then eminently ſhine. No groan, no complaint was heard to come from him, though he had a fire raging within, and phyſicians as executioners without him; executioners I mean in their tortures, though not in deſign; and when the fatality of his fever was told him, with what compoſedneſs of ſpirit did he reſign himſelf up to the Almighty! with what indifferency of eye did he look on, nay part with his deareſt friends! for his thoughts were carried upward to higher relations; and drawing near his laſt (for I was an eye-witneſs of all paſſages to his end), how readily did he make a good confeſſion, profeſſing openly he died in the Engliſh faith, which no ſon of our church has more cordially eſpouſed in the aſſurance of everlaſting life, which no martyr has more fully received; and then, giving himſelf up wholly to prayer, he breathed away the whole time in ſuch calmneſs of devotion, that you would think he was never verſed in buſineſs of ſtate, but only practiſed how to die.

God knows I have not ſtudied to deviſe him a character; and you well know he needs none. Indeed the time and the place, as well as the ſubject, will not allow of a fiction; the time is a time of ſeriouſneſs, and not of acting; the place is that of a miniſter before God, and therefore a place for truth, and not for flattery; the ſubject is a ſubject of worth, and not of title; ſo that neither I can make, nor ought he to wear the vain dreſs of a counterfeit fame.

One thing I have omitted in this poor deſcription, which is the conſidering him in his domeſtic government; in the conſtant chaſteneſs of a conjugal love; in the goodneſs of a father's care; in the ſweetneſs of a maſter's rule; but I have purpoſely omitted it, as knowing it too tender a theme both for you to bear, and me to enlarge upon; and it would only ſerve to widen the wound which the intention of this ſermon is to heal.

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[*] In the Dutch war, 1666.

[†] In his voyage this year to Portugal, 1666.

[‡] Gal. v. 22, 23.

Character

Character of the late Sir William Jones.

[*Extracted from the Diſcourſe delivered by Sir* John Shore, *Bart. at the Meeting of the Aſiatic Society in Calcutta, May* 22, 1794.]

I SHALL begin with mentioning his wonderful capacity for the acquiſition of languages, which has never been excelled. In Greek and Roman literature, his early proficiency was the ſubject of admiration and applauſe; and knowledge, of whatever nature, once obtained by him, was ever afterward progreſſive. The more elegant dialects of modern Europe, the French, the Spaniſh, and the Italian, he ſpoke, and wrote with the greateſt fluency and preciſion; and the German and Portugueſe were familiar to him.

At an early period of life his application to Oriental literature commenced; he ſtudied the Hebrew with eaſe and ſucceſs; and many of the moſt learned Aſiatics have the candour to avow, that his knowledge of Arabic and Perſian was as accurate and extenſive as their own: he was alſo converſant in the Turkiſh idiom; and the Chineſe had even attracted his notice ſo far as to induce him to learn the radical characters of that language, with a view, perhaps, to farther improvements. It was to be expected, after his arrival in India, that he would eagerly embrace the opportunity of making himſelf maſter of the Sanſcrit; and the moſt enlightened profeſſors of the doctrines of Brahma confeſs with pride, delight, and ſurpriſe, that his knowledge of their ſacred dialect was moſt critically correct and profound. The Pandits, who were in the habit of attending him, when I ſaw them after his death, at a public Durbar, could neither ſuppreſs their tears for his loſs, nor find terms to expreſs their admiration at the wonderful progreſs he had made in their ſciences.

Before the expiration of his twenty-ſecond year, he had completed his commentaries on the poetry of the Aſiatics, although conſiderable time afterwards elapſed before their publication; and this work, if no other monument of his labours exiſted, would at once furniſh proofs of his conſummate ſkill in the Oriental dialects, of his proficiency in thoſe of Rome and Greece, of taſte and erudition far beyond his years, and of talents and application without example.

But the judgment of Sir William Jones was too diſcerning to conſider language in any other light than as the key of ſcience, and he would have deſpiſed the reputation of a mere linguiſt. Knowledge and truth were the object of all his ſtudies, and his ambition was to be uſeful to mankind; with theſe views he extended his reſearches to all languages, nations, and times.

Such were the motives that induced him to propoſe to the government of this country, what he juſtly denominated a work of national utility and importance, the compilation of a copious digeſt of Hindu and Mahomedan law, from Sanſcrit and Arabic originals, with an offer of his ſervices to ſuperintend the compilation, and with a promiſe to tranſlate it. He had foreſeen, previous to his departure from Europe, that without the aid of ſuch a work, the wiſe and benevolent intentions of the legiſlature of Great Britain, in leaving to a certain extent the natives of theſe provinces in poſſeſſion of their own laws, could not be completely fulfilled; and his experience, after a ſhort reſidence in India, confirmed what his ſagacity had anticipated, that without principles to refer to, in a language familiar to the judges of the courts, adjudications among the natives muſt too often be ſubject to an uncertain and erroneous expoſition, or wilful miſinterpretation of their laws.

To the ſuperintendence of this work, which was immediately undertaken at his ſuggeſtion, he aſſiduouſly devoted thoſe hours which he could ſpare from his profeſſional duties. After tracing the plan of the Digeſt, he preſcribed its arrangement and mode of execution, and ſelected from the moſt learned Hindus and Mahomedans fit perſons for the taſk of compiling it: flattered by his attention, and encouraged by his applauſe, the Pandits proſecuted their labours with cheerful zeal to a ſatisfactory concluſion. The Molavees have alſo nearly finiſhed their portion of the work; but we muſt ever regret, that the promiſed tranſlation, as well as the meditated preliminary diſſertation, have been fruſtrated by that Decree which ſo often intercepts the performance of human purpoſes.

During the courſe of this compilation, and as auxiliary to it, he was led to ſtudy the works of Menu, reputed by the Hindus to be the oldeſt and holieſt of legiſlators; and finding them to compriſe a ſyſtem of religious and civil duties, and of law in all its branches, ſo comprehenſive and minutely exact, that it might be conſidered as the inſtitutes of Hindu law, he preſented a tranſlation of them to the government of Bengal.

During the ſame period, deeming no labour exceſſive or ſuperfluous that tended in any reſpect to promote the welfare or happineſs of mankind, he gave the public an Engliſh verſion of the Arabic text of the Sirajiyah, or Mahommedan law of inheritance, with a commentary. He had already publiſhed in England a tranſlation of a tract on the ſame ſubject by another Mahommedan lawyer, containing, as his own words expreſs, "a live-"ly and elegant Epitome of the "Law of Inheritance of Zaid."

Without attending to the chronological order of their publication, I ſhall briefly recapitulate his other performances in Aſiatic literature, as far as my knowledge and recollection of them extend.

The vanity and petulance of Anquetil du Perron, with his illiberal reflections on ſome of the learned members of the univerſity of Oxford, extorted from him a letter in the French language, which has been admired for accurate criticiſm, juſt ſatire, and elegant compoſition. A regard for the literary reputation of his country, induced him to tranſlate from a Perſian original, into French, the life of Nadir Shah, that it might not be carried out of England with a reflection, that no perſon had been found in the Britiſh dominions capable of tranſlating it. The ſtudents of Perſian literature muſt ever be grateful to him for a grammar of that language, in which he has ſhown the poſſibility of combining taſte and elegance with the preciſion of a grammarian; and every admirer of Arabic poetry muſt acknowledge his obligations to him for an Engliſh verſion of the ſeven celebrated poems, ſo well known by the name of Moallakat, from the diſtinction to which their excellence had entitled them, of being ſuſpended in the Temple of Mecca. I ſhould ſcarcely think it of importance to mention that he did not diſdain the office of editor of a Sanſcrit and Perſian work, if it did not afford me an opportunity of adding, that the latter was publiſhed at his own expenſe, and was ſold for the benefit of inſolvent debtors. A ſimilar application was made of the produce of Sirajiyah.

Of his lighter productions, the elegant amuſements of his leiſure hours, comprehending hymns on the Hindu Mythology, poems, conſiſting chiefly of tranſlations from the Aſiatic languages, and the verſion of Sacoontala, an ancient Indian drama, it would be unbecoming to ſpeak in a ſtyle of importance, which he did not himſelf annex to them.

The purſuits of our late preſident in Oriental literature, which from their extent might appear to have occupied all his time, neither precluded his attention to profeſſional ſtudies, nor to ſcience in general. Among his publications in Europe, in polite literature, excluſive of various compoſitions in proſe and verſe, I find a tranſlation of the ſpeeches of Iſæus, with a learned comment; and in law an Eſſay on the Law of Bailments. Upon the ſubject of this laſt work, I cannot deny myſelf the gratification of quoting the ſentiments of a celebrated hiſtorian: "Sir William Jones has "given an ingenious and rational "eſſay on the Law of Bailments. "He is, perhaps, the only lawyer "equally converſant with the Year-"books of Weſtminſter, the Com-"mentaries of Ulpian, the Attic "Pleadings of Iſæus, and the ſen-"tences of Arabian and Perſian "Cadhis."

His profeſſional ſtudies did not commence before his twentieth year; and I have his own authority for aſſerting, that the firſt book of Engliſh juriſprudence which he ever ſtudied, was Forteſcue's Eſſay in Praiſe of the Laws of England.

Of the ability and conſcientious integrity with which he diſcharged the functions of a magiſtrate, and the duties of a judge of the ſupreme court of Judicature in this ſettlement, the public voice and public regret bear ample and merited teſtimony.

His addreſſes to the jurors are not leſs diſtinguiſhed for philanthropy and liberality of ſentiment, than for juſt expoſitions of the law, perſpicuity, and elegance of diction; and his oratory was as captivating as his arguments were convincing.

In an Epilogue to his Commentaries on Aſiatic poetry he bids farewell to polite literature, without relinquiſhing his affection for it; and concludes with an intimation of his intention to ſtudy law, expreſſed in a wiſh, which we now know to have been prophetic.

> Mihi ſit oro, non inutilis togâ,
> Nec indiſerta lingua, nec turpis manus!

I have already enumerated attainments and works, which, from their diverſity and extent, ſeem far beyond the capacity of the moſt enlarged minds; but the catalogue may yet be augmented. To a proficiency in the languages of Greece, Rome, and Aſia, he added the knowledge of the philoſophy of thoſe countries, and of every thing curious and valuable that had been taught in them. The doctrines of the Academy, the Lyceum, or the Portico, were not more familiar to him than the tenets of the Vedas, the myſticiſm of the Sufis, or the religion of the ancient Perſians; and while with a kindred genius, he peruſed with rapture the heroic, lyric, or moral compoſitions of the moſt renowned poets of Greece, Rome, and Aſia, he could turn with equal delight and knowledge to the ſublime ſpeculations and mathematical calculations of Barrow and Newton. With them alſo he profeſſed his conviction of the truth of the Chriſtian religion; and he juſtly deemed it no inconſiderable advantage, that his reſearches had corroborated the multiplied evidence of Revelation, by confirming the Moſaic account of the primitive world.

There were, in truth, few ſciences in which he had not acquired conſiderable proficiency; in moſt, his knowledge was profound. The theory of muſic was familiar to him; nor had he neglected to make himſelf acquainted with the intereſting diſcoveries lately made in chemiſtry; and I have heard him aſſert, that his admiration of the ſtructure of the human frame had induced him to attend, for a ſeaſon, to a courſe of anatomical lectures, delivered by his friend the celebrated Hunter.

His laſt and favourite purſuit was the ſtudy of botany, which he originally began under the confinements of a ſevere and lingering diſorder, which, with moſt minds, would have proved a diſqualification from any application. It conſtituted the principal amuſement of his leiſure hours. In the arrangement of Linnæus he diſcovered ſyſtem, truth, and ſcience, which never failed to captivate and engage his attention; and from the proofs which he has exhibited of his progreſs in botany, we may conclude that he would have extended the diſcoveries of that ſcience. The laſt compoſition which he read in this ſociety was a deſcription of ſelect Indian plants; and I hope the executors will allow us to fulfil his intention of publiſhing it as a number in our Reſearches.

It cannot be deemed uſeleſs or ſuperfluous to inquire by what arts or method he was enabled to attain to a degree of knowledge almoſt univerſal, and apparently beyond the powers of man, during a life little exceeding forty-ſeven years.

The faculties of his mind, by nature vigorous, were improved by conſtant exerciſe, and his memory, by habitual practice, had acquired a capacity of retaining whatever had once been impreſſed upon it. To an unextinguiſhed ardour for univerſal knowledge, he joined a perſeverance in the purſuit of it, which ſubdued all obſtacles; his ſtudies began with the dawn, and during the intermiſſions of profeſſional duties, were continued throughout the day; reflection and meditation ſtrengthened and confirmed what induſtry and inveſtigation had accumulated.—

It was a fixed principle with him, from which he never voluntarily deviated, not to be deterred by any difficulties that were ſurmountable, from proſecuting to a ſucceſsful termination what he had once deliberately undertaken.

But what appears to me more particularly to have enabled him to employ his talents ſo much to his own and the public advantage, was the regular allotment of his time, and a ſcrupulous adherence to the diſtribution which he had fixed; hence all his ſtudies were purſued without interruption or confuſion.

Of the private and ſocial virtues of our lamented preſident, our hearts are the beſt records. To you who knew him, it cannot be neceſſary for me to expatiate on the independence of his integrity, his humanity, probity, or benevolence, which every living creature participated; on the affability of his converſation and manners, or his modeſt, unaſſuming deportment: nor need I remark, that he was totally free from pedantry, as well as from arrogance and ſelf-ſufficiency; which ſometimes accompany and diſgrace the greateſt abilities. His preſence was the delight of every ſociety, which his converſation exhilarated and improved; and the public have not only to lament the loſs of his talents and abilities, but that of his example.

Character of Dr. Adam Smith.

[*From the Account of the Life and Writings of Dr.* Smith, *prefixed by Mr.* Dugald Stewart *to Dr.* Smith's *Eſſays on Philoſophical Subjects.*]

THE ſhort narrative which I have now finiſhed, however barren of incident, may convey a general idea of the genius and character of this illuſtrious man. Of the intellectual gifts and attainments by which he was ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed; of the originality and comprehenſiveneſs of his views; the extent, the variety, and the correctneſs of his information; the inexhauſtible fertility of his invention; and the ornaments which his rich and beautiful imagination had borrowed from claſſical culture; he has left behind him laſting monuments. To his private worth the moſt certain of all teſtimonies may be found in that confidence, reſpect, and attachment, which followed him through all the various relations of life. The ſerenity and gaiety which he enjoyed under the preſſure of his growing infirmities, and the warm intereſt he felt to the laſt in every thing connected with the welfare of his friends, will be long remembered by a ſmall circle, with whom, as long as his ſtrength permitted, he regularly ſpent an evening in the week, and to whom the recollection of his worth forms a pleaſing though melancholy bond of union.

The more delicate and characteriſtical features of his mind, it is, perhaps, impoſſible to trace. That there were many particularities, both in his manners, and in his intellectual habits, was manifeſt to the moſt ſuperficial obſerver; but although, to thoſe who knew him, theſe peculiarities detracted nothing from the reſpect which his abilities commanded; and although, to his intimate friends, they added an inexpreſſible charm to his converſation, while they diſplayed, in the moſt intereſting light, the artleſs ſimplicity of his heart; yet it would require a very ſkilful pencil to preſent them to the public eye. He was certainly not fitted for the general commerce of the world, or for the buſineſs of active life. The comprehenſive ſpeculations with which he had been occupied from his youth, and the variety of materials which his own invention continually ſupplied to his thoughts, rendered him habitually inattentive to familiar objects, and to common occurrences, and he frequently exhibited inſtances of abſence, which have ſcarcely been ſurpaſſed by the fancy of La Bruyere. Even in company he was apt to be engroſſed with his ſtudies; and appeared, at times, by the motion of his lips, as well as by his looks and geſtures, to be in the fervour of compoſition. I have often however been ſtruck, at the diſtance of years, with his accurate memory of the moſt trifling particulars; and am inclined to believe, from this and ſome other circumſtances, that he poſſeſſed a power, not perhaps uncommon among abſent men, of recollecting, in conſequence of ſubſequent efforts of reflection, many occurrences which, at the time when they happened, did not ſeem to have ſenſibly attracted his notice.

To the defect now mentioned it was probably owing, in part, that he did not fall in eaſily with the common dialogue of converſation, and that he was ſomewhat apt to convey his own ideas in the form of a lecture. When he did ſo, however, it never proceeded from a wiſh to engroſs the diſcourſe or to gratify his vanity. His own inclination diſpoſed him ſo ſtrongly to enjoy in ſilence the gaiety of thoſe around him, that his friends were often led to concert little ſchemes, in order to bring him on the ſubjects moſt likely to intereſt him. Nor do I think I ſhall be accuſed of going too far, when I ſay, that he was ſcarcely ever known to ſtart a new topic himſelf, or to appear unprepared upon thoſe topics that were introduced by others. Indeed, his converſation was never more amuſing than when he gave a looſe to his genius upon the very few branches of knowledge of which he only poſſeſſed the outlines.

The opinions he formed of men, upon a ſlight acquaintance, were frequently erroneous; but the tendency of his nature inclined him much more to blind partiality than ill-founded prejudice. The enlarged views of human affairs, on which his mind habitually dwelt, left him neither time nor inclination to ſtudy, in detail, the unintereſting peculiarities of ordinary characters; and, accordingly, though intimately acquainted with the capacities of the intellect, and the workings of the heart; and accuſtomed in his theories, to mark, with the moſt delicate hand, the niceſt ſhades both of genius and of the paſſions; yet, in judging of individuals, it ſometimes happened, that his eſtimates were in a ſurpriſing degree wide of the truth.

The opinions, too, which, in the thoughtleſſneſs and confidence of his ſocial hours, he was accuſtomed to hazard upon books, and on queſtions of ſpeculation, were not uniformly ſuch as might have been expected from the ſuperiority of his underſtanding, and the ſingular conſiſtency of his philoſophical principles. They were liable to be influenced by accidental circumſtances,

ſtances, and by the humour of the moment, and, when retailed by thoſe who only ſaw him occaſionally, ſuggeſted falſe and contradictory ideas of his real ſentiments. On theſe, however, as on moſt other occaſions, there was always much truth, as well as ingenuity, in his remarks; and if the different opinions which, at different times, he pronounced upon the ſame ſubject, had been all combined together, ſo as to modify and limit each other, they would probably have afforded materials for a deciſion equally comprehenſive and juſt. But, in the ſociety of his friends, he had no diſpoſition to form thoſe qualified concluſions that we admire in his writings; and he generally contented himſelf with a bold and maſterly ſketch of the object, from the firſt point of view in which his temper, or his fancy, preſented it. Something of the ſame kind might be remarked, when he attempted, in the flow of his ſpirits, to delineate thoſe characters which, from long intimacy, he might have been ſuppoſed to underſtand thoroughly. The picture was always lively and expreſſive; and commonly bore a ſtrong and amuſing reſemblance to the original, when viewed under one particular aſpect; but ſeldom, perhaps, conveyed a juſt and complete conception of it in all its dimenſions and proportions. In a word, it was the fault of his unpremeditated judgments to be too ſyſtematical, and too much in extremes.

But, in whatever way theſe trifling peculiarities in his manners may be explained, there can be no doubt that they were intimately connected with the genuine artleſsneſs of his mind. In this amiable quality he often recalled to his friends the accounts that are given of the good La Fontaine; a quality which in him derived a peculiar grace from the ſingularity of its combination with thoſe powers of reaſon and of eloquence which, in his political and moral writings, have long engaged the admiration of Europe.

In his external form and appearance there was nothing uncommon. When perfectly at eaſe, and when warmed with converſation, his geſtures were animated, and not ungraceful; and, in the ſociety of thoſe he loved, his features were often brightened with a ſmile of inexpreſſible benignity. In the company of ſtrangers, his tendency to abſence, and perhaps ſtill more his conſciouſneſs of this tendency, rendered his manner ſomewhat embarraſſed;—an effect which was probably not a little heightened by thoſe ſpeculative ideas of propriety, which his recluſe habits tended at once to perfect in his conception, and to diminiſh his power of realizing. He never ſat for his picture; but the medallion of Taſſie conveys an exact idea of his profile, and of the general expreſſion of his countenance.

Memoirs of Dr. Berkeley.

[*From the Gentleman's Magazine.*]

GEORGE BERKELEY, LL. D. late prebendary of Canterbury, and chancellor of Brecknock, was the ſecond ſon of George Berkeley, D. D. the celebrated biſhop of Cloyne, and of Anne daughter of John Forſter, eſq. ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons in Ireland. He was born in London, 1733; ſome months before his father's conſecration. During his earlier years his conſtitution was feeble, and his health unſtable, which probably induced the biſhop to keep him conſtantly under his own eye, and give him a domeſtic, rather than a public, education. In the epiſcopal houſe at Cloyne he was inſtructed, not only in the rudiments of literature, but in every accompliſhment becoming a man of faſhion; and his parents, who were in all reſpects worthy of each other, directed his ſtudies and ſuperintended the conduct of his tutors.

The aſſiduous care of perſons ſo eminently qualified

> to rear the tender thought,
> To teach the young idea how to ſhoot,
> To pour the freſh inſtruction o'er the mind,
> To breathe th' enlivening ſpirit, and to fix
> The *generous purpoſe* in the glowing breaſt,

left him no reaſon to regret that he had not been educated in a great ſchool. When, in his nineteenth year, he was admitted a ſtudent of Chriſt-church, Oxford, he was univerſally acknowledged to be one of the moſt accompliſhed young men in the univerſity. Attention had been paid to the cultivation of his body as well as of his mind; his manners were correct, eaſy, and in a high degree poliſhed; his ſtock of Greek and Latin was not leſs than that of the generality of his contemporaries; and his knowledge of the world was much greater.

His father, who accompanied him to Oxford to complete the education which he had ſo ſucceſsfully begun, died ſuddenly before he had reſided many months in the place; but this ſtroke, though heavy, and in ſome of its conſequences irreparable, did not leave him deſtitute of parental inſtruction. His mother long ſurvived her huſband; and from Dr. Secker, then biſhop of Oxford, he experienced the affectionate attention of a ſecond father. It is not perhaps too much to ſay, that in the houſe of this prelate, who had long admired the talents and revered the virtues of the biſhop of Cloyne, he paſſed ſome of the happieſt hours of his life; by him he was admitted into orders, and from him he received the higheſt preferment which he ever obtained in the church.

His various preferments, and the order in which they took place, are not diſtinctly known to the writer of this abſtract. After reſiding the uſual time in College, where he had ſucceſſively for his tutors two diſtinguiſhed prelates at preſent on the bench, he was, at different periods of his life, vicar of Bray and Cockham in the dioceſe of Saliſbury, of Peckham and Ticeherſt in that of Canterbury, rector of Acton, and St. Clement Danes in the dioceſe of London, chancellor of Brecknock in the dioceſe of St. David's, and prebendary of Canterbury. His conduct upon being promoted to this laſt-mentioned dignity deſerves to be noticed, as it marks the rectitude and benevolence of his character. Though his patron had for many years been archbiſhop, prior engagements had prevented him, till a ſhort time before his death, from preferring the ſon of his moſt reſpected friend in the metropolitical church. Secker was too *decent* and too upright to prefer any man from intereſted motives;

but Dr. Berkeley had reaſon to believe, that upon making him prebendary of Canterbury he wiſhed him to reſign the living of Acton, which he knew would be beſtowed upon a deſerving clergyman whom his Grace was under ſome obligations to ſerve. The Doctor was hardly inſtalled when the Archbiſhop died; but notwithſtanding this change of circumſtances, he immediately reſigned his living, though no promiſe to do ſo had ever been aſked of him, and no ſuch promiſe had been given. He did it from a principle of gratitude to his benefactor, to whom, had he been alive, he knew that the reſignation would have been acceptable.

In 1761 he married Miſs Frinſham, eldeſt daughter of the Reverend Henry Frinſham, M.A. By this lady he had two ſons, George Monck and George-Robert, both of whom died before him. The youngeſt did not live till he was full nine years old; the eldeſt died at the age of twenty-nine. Both of them had much of the genius of their grandfather, whoſe merits as well as name the good Doctor hoped would be tranſmitted down in the perſons of his poſterity. The loſs of them both, which blaſted this fond expectation, broke his ſpirits, and ſapped the foundation of his health; and feeling himſelf alone, as it were, in the world, he yielded his mind a prey to grief. In this ſtate of dreary deſolation, his chief ſupport, under trials the moſt afflicting, aroſe from piety, which in him was fervent without enthuſiaſm, and ſerious without gloom. Having a conſcience not burdened with *guilt*, and knowing that the God whom he ſerved is a being of perfect benevolence, he relied with confidence on his mercy procured by Chriſt, and looked forward to that bleſſed ſtate in which the tears ſhall be wiped from all faces, and where there ſhall be no more death, neither ſorrow, nor crying, nor pain.

But, though piety was his ſupport, he did not refuſe himſelf inferior conſolations. With a few friends, who were well acquainted with the various ſources of his affliction, and by whom he was reſpected and beloved, he still continued an occaſional correſpondence; and Providence had a ſhort time before the death of his eldeſt ſon, ſent to his relief a near relation, of a mind congenial to his own, who reſiding in his neighbourhood laboured aſſiduouſly to ſooth his ſorrows, and to extract every thorn from his breaſt. In the houſe of this relation, who with *unremitted diligence and tender affection* watched over him during a long and painful illneſs, he breathed his laſt on the 16th of January, 1795, in the 62d year of his age, dying, as he had lived, an honour to his name and character.

The perſon of Dr. Berkeley was of the middle ſize and well formed; his face had ſomething in it peculiar, but was handſome; and his eye, which was uncommonly animated, beamed benignity on all around him. His manners and addreſs, before his *domeſtic afflictions*, were thoſe of a man of faſhion in the beſt ſenſe of the words; and that part of his character was many years ago portrayed by one who knew him well, in the following terms: "Cynthio has added to his natural ſenſe a thorough knowledge of the world; by which he has attained that maſterly eaſe in behaviour, and that graceful careleſſneſs of manner, that nobody I know poſſeſſes in ſo high a degree. You may ſee that his politeneſs flows from ſomething ſuperior to the little forms of cuſtom, from a humane and benevolent heart, directed by a judgment that always ſeizes what is juſt and proper, and formed into ſuch habitual good breeding, that no forced attention ever puts you in mind, at the time, that Cynthio is taking pains to entertain you, though upon recollection you find him to be, for that very reaſon, a man of the completeſt politeneſs."

In eſtimating his intellectual powers, and his acquirement in ſcience and literature, his character ſuffers from being almoſt unavoidably brought into compariſon with that of his father. His moſt partial friends will readily admit that he had not the biſhop's profundity of mind, and that to mathematical and metaphyſical ſcience he was in a great degree a ſtranger. He poſſeſſed, however, a quickneſs of apprehenſion and a natural delicacy of taſte, which, had they been diligently cultivated, would have given him a very reſpectable ſtation in the republic of letters; but he had an unconquerable indolence, and has often confeſſed to one of his moſt intimate friends, that at no period of his life was he capable of long and intenſe application.

In one or two occaſional ſermons which he publiſhed, he has diſplayed a political ſagacity which would do no diſcredit to the pen of a ſtateſman: and the dangers which he apprehended from *innovations* in the State ſubſequent events have fully realized. His principles were thoſe of a Tory and High-churchman; but he was a friend to univerſal toleration, and loved every individual of the human race. He had a very favourable opinion of the integrity of the Quakers, whom he always ſpoke of as a ſect of worthy, though miſtaken, men. His benevolence was unbounded; and the ſincerity and ardour of his friendſhips ſhowed that he poſſeſſed a heart without guile. In the diſcharge of his eccleſiaſtical duties he was exemplary; and the attention which he paid to the various wants of the poorer part of his flock, proved that he was actuated by the pure ſpirit of Chriſtianity. In a word, he was a dutiful ſon, a kind huſband, an affectionate father, a ſteady friend, a uſeful clergyman, and a loyal ſubject; and, however much he may have fallen ſhort of his father in erudition and mental capacity, he was certainly equal in moral worth. To the one with the ſame propriety as to the other may be applied the well-known line,

> "To Berkeley ev'ry virtue under Heaven."

The Life of John Knox, *the Reformer.* *By* J. Lettice, *B. D. Author of "Letters on a Tour through various Parts of Scotland."*

[*From the European Magazine.*]

AS mankind adhere to nothing with more reſolution, perſeverance, and even obſtinacy, than to their religious opinions, that man muſt poſſeſs uncommon energy of character, who is able to reform, or only to change thoſe of a whole people. Among reformers of this kind John Knox is deſervedly celebrated. He will be found to have poſſeſſed qualities, and in no ordinary degree of vigour, which merit the curioſity of thoſe who take pleaſure in contemplating the cauſes of ſignal events in the characters of perſons who have chiefly contributed to bring them about. You muſt, however, expect nothing more here than a few of the moſt important and characteriſtic traits which marked his conduct. To enter fully into every tranſaction in which this famous man bore a part, would be to write a Hiſtory of the Reformation of Scotland, and would comprehend the characters, ſentiments, and conduct of many of the diſtinguiſhed ſtateſmen of that time, both in Scotland and England; to whoſe political and more ſecret manœuvres, as it always happens when great changes take place in national religion, this remarkable change was conſiderably owing. Knox, however, was its oſtenſible inſtrument, as the moſt ſucceſsful oppoſer of the Papiſts; as the preacher of the new doctrines; and as the founder at leaſt of the Reformed Church of Scotland, and its rules of diſcipline*.

John Knox was born at Gifford, near Haddington, in the year 1505. His parents were perſons of low condition; but they found means of educating their ſon in the Grammar Schools at Haddington. He afterwards ſtudied philoſophy and theology at St. Andrew's, under the celebrated profeſſor John Major, the ſame under whom Buchanan ſtudied. His progreſs was rapid, and his attainments in theological ſcience were ſuch, that, according to Buchanan's account, he obtained the order of prieſthood earlier than is ordinarily allowed by the Canons. By reading the works of Jerom and St. Auſtin he was led to quit the ſubtleties of ſchool divinity which he had imbibed under Major, and attached himſelf to a plain and more literal method of interpretation. He learned the principles of the Proteſtants from the famous George Wiſhart, who had preached them at Dundee, and for which he ſuffered martyrdom at the ſtake through the perſecution of Cardinal Beaton. Knox, no way diſcouraged by this event, renounced the Catholic faith, and declared himſelf a zealous Proteſtant. He, too, like his maſter Wiſhart, met with much diſturbance and oppoſition in propagating his principles, although in a more private way, and chiefly in giving lectures and catechetical exerciſes to his pupils†. He became ſo obnoxious to the Cardinal as only to find ſafety in continually changing his place of reſidence.

Almoſt immediately after the murder of the Cardinal, in 1547, at the Caſtle of St. Andrew's, Knox, then in the forty-ſecond year of his age, aſſociated himſelf with the perpetrators of that bloody deed; which, from the light and indecent deſcription he has given of it, in his History of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland, he undoubtedly approved, and ſeemed to rejoice at.

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* So much, I believe, may be admitted, though his own particular ſcheme was not adopted by the government. See Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, l. 3.—174.

† Francis and George Douglas, of Languiddrie, and Alexander Cockburn, eldeſt ſon of the Laird of Ormiſton.

Here it was that Mr. John Rough *, who had been ſome years a preacher among the fraternity of Black Friars at Stirling, and afterwards chaplain to the Earl of Arran, and who had now joined the party at the Castle, having opportunity of examining John Knox's character and principles, became ſo prejudiced in his favour, as earneſtly to preſs him to undertake the public function of a preacher. This office, although he had long before received epiſcopal ordination, he affected to think himſelf not properly called to exerciſe. At firſt he refuſed his friend's ſolicitation, ſaying, "that he would not run where God had not called him." Mr. Rough, however, privately conſulting with Sir David Lindſay of the Mount †, and Mr. Henry Balneves ‡, it was concluded, "that John Knox ſhould receive a charge publicly by the mouth of a preacher."

A day being fixed, Mr. Rough, in company with the two gentlemen juſt mentioned, addreſſed a diſcourſe to him on the power of the congregation, how ſmall ſoever it might be, if exceeding two or three perſons, to elect miniſters in time of need; eſpecially perſons "in whom," to uſe his own words, "they ſuppoſed and eſpied the gifts of God." The preacher, after having inſiſted on theſe topics, ſaid formally to Mr. Knox: "Brother, you ſhall not be offended, albeit I ſpeak unto you that which I have in charge, even from all thoſe that are here preſent, which is this: In the name of God, and of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, and in the name of thoſe that preſently § call you by my mouth, I charge you, that you refuſe not this holy vocation; but as ye tender the glory of God, the increaſe of Chriſt's kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of me, whom ye underſtand well enough to be oppreſſed by the multitude of labours, that ye take upon you the public office and charge of preaching, even as you look to avoid God's heavy diſpleaſure, and deſire that he ſhould multiply his grace upon you."—The preacher then demanded of the perſons preſent—

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* After having experienced many viciſſitudes in different countries he became preacher to a private congregation at Iſlington, in the laſt year of Queen Mary's reign; he was there ſeized, and burnt for hereſy.

† Of the Mount; ſo called from the name of his eſtate near Cowpar, in Fife. He had been gentleman of the bedchamber to James IV. and had ſome ſhare in the education of James V. He was afterwards Lyon King at Arms, and bore other offices at court.—He was diſtinguiſhed as a poet in his time; moſt of his pieces are of the ſatiric kind; his verſes generally in the ſtyle of burleſque. He died very old in 1553.——See Mackenzie's Life of him.

‡ This gentleman had ſtudied the law, had been a favourite of the Earl of Arran, and made profeſſion of the Proteſtant religion. Being excommunicated by the Catholics, upon quitting them he joined the murderers of Cardinal Beaton. At the time they were beſieged he was ſent to England to negotiate a ſupply of money and proviſions for the ſupport of his party. Having ſucceeded in obtaining it, he was for this and other ſervices made a Lord of Seſſion, 1563.—Mackenzie.

§ Here preſent.

"Was not this your charge to me, and do you not approve of this vocation?"—They anſwered, "It is; and we approve it." "Whereat the ſaid Mr. John burſt forth in moſt abundant tears, and withdrew himſelf to his chamber; his countenance and behaviour, from that day till the day that he was compelled to preſent himſelf to the public place of preaching, did ſufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart; for no man did ſee any ſign of mirth of him, neither yet had he pleaſure to accompany any man for many days together."

From this account, given in his own ſtarch phraſe *, it is evident, he had his qualms about the nature of this vocation, and that doubts and miſgivings hung about him for ſome days. There is, however, in the minds of men, a principle, which, according to their different characters, they call by different names; ſome flattering themſelves it is reaſon, others conſcience; ſome, that it is ſupernatural light; others, that it is irreſiſtible impulſe, or fatality, &c. and which, on new and trying occaſions, comes in to our aſſiſtance, and often reconciles us to the ſtrongeſt things.—Through which of theſe it was that Mr. Knox imagined himſelf convinced of the authority and rectitude of his call, it is impoſſible to determine; but from the time he felt this aſſurance he appeared to proceed in the ſtraight line of conviction; the ſtrong features of his character became ſoon developed, and ſtood confeſſed in all their rough prominency.

He commenced his public career in a theological debate with Annan, Dean of St. Andrew's, and in a ſermon before that Univerſity, wherein he profeſſed to prove that the Church of Rome is the Beaſt of the Revelations, and the Whore of Babylon, who makes merchandiſe of the ſouls of men. He was accuſed by the Clergy who heard him of having, moreover, heretically aſſerted, that no man can be the head of Chriſt's Church; that the Pope is Antichriſt; that no alteration ought or can be made in religion; that the Maſs is idolatry, and other points equally obnoxious to the Catholics.

Violent diſputes enſued betwixt him and the Clergy, and Popery was perceived to loſe much in the controverſy. The Clergy therefore paſſed an order, that every learned miniſter of the Abbey and Univerſity of St. Andrew's ſhould aſſiduouſly preach in his turn on Sundays, at the pariſh-church, but that they ſhould abſtain from touching upon the controverted points. Mr. Knox evaded the order by preaching upon them on the week-days, and his labours were attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that great numbers of perſons, both from the caſtle and the city, gave public teſtimony of their approbation of his doctrine, by partaking of the Euchariſt in the manner afterwards eſtabliſhed by the Reformation.

In the mean time cloſe ſiege was laid to the caſtle, into which the aſſaſſins of Cardinal Beaton had thrown themſelves. It was at length obliged to ſurrender to the French, who conveyed the murderers, and Mr. Knox among their other aſſociates, to France, where

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* P. 75 of his Hiſtory of the Reformation of Scotland. Fol. Lond. 1644.

they remained priſoners on board the gallies. This event happened in July 1547.

Whilſt in this ſituation Mr. Knox wrote a Confeſſion of his Faith, and tranſmitted it to his partizans in Scotland. He was ſet at liberty early in the next year; but learning that the Papiſts ſtill maintained a great majority in his own country, he took refuge in England under the Proteſtant protection of Edward VI. He preached in various parts of the kingdom, and ſeveral times before the King. He was appointed one of his Majeſty's Itinerary Chaplains; and it is aſſerted, on reſpectable authority, that he refuſed, with indignation, the offer of an Engliſh biſhopric, in conformity to thoſe principles which he had avowed relative to the epiſcopal order*.

On the acceſſion of Mary he returned to Scotland, and preached privately at Edinburgh; but finding the Clergy exaſperated againſt him, in order to eſcape their purſuit, he fled to Frankfort, the aſylum of a large congregation of Engliſh Proteſtants, from the perſecution of Queen Mary. Mr. Knox, with the utmoſt vehemence, oppoſed their Liturgy; the ſame that had been eſtabliſhed in England by Edward VI. The congregation were obliged to requeſt the interference of the magiſtrates. Under apprehenſions that they were proceeding to baniſh him as an incendiary, he returned to Scotland, but made a viſit on his route to Calvin at Geneva.

Well received on his return home by the nobility, and other perſons of conſideration, who patronized the Proteſtant cauſe, he, by the perſuaſion of the Earl of Glencairn, addreſſed a letter to the Queen Dowager, which ſhe delivered into the hands of the Biſhop of Glaſgow, intimating, that ſhe wiſhed him to read a Paſquinade. When Knox heard this character and reception given to his letter, he is ſaid to have improved upon its vehemence, by the addition of dreadful menaces of God's wrath againſt her Majeſty.

Being not long afterwards invited to Geneva to take the ſpiritual charge of certain ſeparatiſts from the congregation of Frankfort, he read their letter from the pulpit to his audience at Edinburgh, and after expreſſing his deſign of complying with the invitation it conveyed, he obſerved, without remarkable humility †, "that the faithful at Edinburgh ſuffered little leſs calamities for his departing, than did the faithful in the Goſpel after the perſecution of St. Stephen." However, he comforted them with a promiſe of returning, as ſoon as they ſhould think fit to recall him.

A ſummons to appear before the Clergy at Edinburgh was iſſued immediately upon his departure. Not appearing, he was burnt in effigy at the croſs, in July 1555. As ſoon as this proceeding reached him at Geneva, he wrote and publiſhed a vindication of himſelf in "An Appeal to the Nobility and Commons of Scotland ‡."

In 1558 came from the preſs his "Firſt Blaſt of the Trumpet againſt the monſtrous Regiment * of Women." In this book he endeavours to prove, that ſovereign authority in women is inconſiſtent with the law of nature, contrary to the determination of civilians and canoniſts, and to the law of God. In certain paſſages he compares Mary of England to Jezebel, and ſteps out of his way to ſhew a reſemblance between the Emperor and Nero. The whole ſpirit of the piece was conſtrued into a deſign to excite rebellion againſt the Queens of England and Scotland; for Mary of England was ſtill living. Repreſentations importing as much being made to the Syndics of Geneva, Mr. Knox thought it neceſſary to make a precipitate retreat from that city.

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* See Bayle, and Biograph. Britan. in their Notes on his Life.

† See his Hiſt. p. 107.

‡ This is printed at the end of his Hiſtory.

Mr. Bayle labours much to prove, that Calvin and Beza, with whom Knox lived upon terms of intimacy and friendſhip, and conferred much on theological matters, were no way concerned in thoſe doctrines of rebellious tendency, which mingled very cordially with Mr. Knox's ideas of church reformation.

At the time of his flight from Geneva he was fortunately recalled to Scotland by the Lords of the Congregation †, with a view to prevent an accuſation of high treaſon, which was meditated againſt him.

He had conceived a great deſire of paſſing through England on his journey, partly for the ſake of greater expedition, and partly for an opportunity of communicating with the Miniſter of State and other perſons on matters which he choſe not to commit to writing, or to have much known. He was returning with the ſanguine hope, not only of perſonal ſafety in this kingdom, but of a favourable reception from Queen Elizabeth, who had juſt aſcended the throne. But he ſeemed to have forgotten, that, hoſtile as her principles of religion were to thoſe of her predeceſſor, they could not be leſs adverſe to his own on female ſovereignty. The perſons who applied to Secretary Cecil for a paſſport for him through England met with a ſevere repulſe, and hardly eſcaped impriſonment. Mr. Knox addreſſed a letter of complaint ‡ upon this ſubject to the Secretary in behalf of his friends; but not chooſing to retract the obnoxious tenets of his book, he deſpaired of gaining ground either with the Queen or her miniſter, till he made the diſcovery of the "Providential Right of Kings §." To diſtinguiſh the caſes to which this doctrine might ſafely be applied, whilſt any were to be excepted, was a buſineſs of no ſmall delicacy; and to ſay the truth, Mr. Knox's particular application of it was little better than an evaſion of the principles of his book; for as he had there aſſerted, that the government of women was contrary to the law of God, it is very ſtrange, that his providence, unleſs evidently or rather miraculouſly

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* Government.

† A title aſſumed by thoſe nobles and others who patronized the Reformation, and formed a particular aſſociation for its ſupport, &c.

‡ Dated April 10, 1559, from Dieppe. See p. 221 of his Hiſtory.

§ Mr. Bayle, who ſhows himſelf very partial to our Reformer, in his repreſentation of his character and actions, cannot acquit him of inconſiſtency, where he ſpeaks of his adopting this defence of Elizabeth's ſovereignty.

manifeſted, ſhould be ſuppoſed to interpoſe an exception in favour of any particular woman. The doctrine, however, if the application be but admitted, muſt be allowed to poſſeſs an elaſtic ſort of pliancy, by which it would be made apparently to fit the inventor's occaſions; not to mention thoſe of others, who, whether engaged in reformation, in purſuit of advancement civil or eccleſiaſtical, or in other peculiar circumſtances, might find themſelves oppreſſed by unpleaſant difficulties about government, male or female, at any future time.

Although this expedient had not been ſucceſsfully urged with Elizabeth till after the Reformer had effected his return to his own country, which he did by ſea, it procured him credit with her Majeſty not long afterward; and it was through a ſecond epiſtolary application to the Engliſh Secretary, accompanied by a letter to the Queen herſelf, recognizing her "Providential Right to the Crown of England," that a negotiation, which the Proteſtant nobility and gentry of Scotland had nearly reſolved to break off, was renewed. In conſequence of theſe letters money was obtained, and aſſurances were moreover given of Elizabeth's good diſpoſition to enter into a league with the Lords of the Congregation for the maintenance of the common cauſe.

Mr. Knox, ſoon after his arrival in Scotland, had been choſen, in form, Proteſtant Miniſter at Edinburgh; but was obliged to commit his ſpiritual charge to an approved deputy* on ſeveral urgent cauſes of abſence, one of which was his attendance upon the Lords, whilſt a treaty of formal alliance with England, and meaſures of protection for the party againſt the Queen Regent were under their conſideration.

During the time they were aſſembled at Johnſtown (Perth), the Reformer, alarmed by a ſummons from the Queen Regent, commanding the Miniſters of the Congregation to appear before her, in order to account for their ſeditious practices, preached before the Lords a vehement ſermon† againſt idolatry, and the monuments of idolatry, meaning the monaſteries, altars, images, crucifixes, and other ornaments of the popiſh churches. The next day the 11th June 1559, the mob aſſaulted the prieſts and monks, and ſo entirely pillaged the two convents of the Black and Grey Friars, as to leave nothing but the walls. From thence they proceeded to the Carthuſian convent, one of the nobleſt edifices in the kingdom, where they deſtroyed every thing but the outward walls; not ſparing the monument of James I. its founder. The Queen Regent, though at firſt exceedingly irritated by this rebellious violence and devaſtation which had taken place at Perth, was ſoon not unwilling to capitulate, on condition that the party would lay down their arms, and become peaceable ſubjects. From this Mr. Knox declares that he diſſuaded them, inſiſting that the Catholics were not to be truſted, who made it an article of faith that they were not bound to obſerve compacts with heretics. The Lords, fearing the conſequences of popular tumult, endeavoured to prevail on Mr. Knox to deſiſt from preaching: nothing, however was leſs practicable.

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* Mr. Willock.

† So he calls it himſelf, p. 136, Hiſt. Ref.

He now removed to St. Andrew's, where he addreſſed the people from the pulpit on the ſubject of Chriſt's caſting out the buyers and ſellers from the Temple. The mob may always be left to themſelves for the application of doctrines which encourage miſchief. They proceeded with all expedition to plunder and demoliſh the religious houſes at St. Andrew's.

The Queen's army and that of the Congregation now met at Cowpar-Moor; the former apparently moſt determined to try the iſſue of a battle. The principals, however, on either ſide conſented previouſly to negotiate, and a ceſſation of arms was agreed to, and ſigned on the 13th of June 1559. Some miſunderſtanding, nevertheleſs, remained, and the Palace and Abbey of Scone * were burnt before it could be adjuſted.

It muſt not here be omitted, in juſtice to Mr. Knox, that according to his own account, he interfered, both in this and in the former inſtance, to prevent the violent proceedings of the mob; but, on the other hand, it is difficult to conclude from the reflections which he makes upon theſe tranſactions in his Hiſtory, that they did not meet his approbation, or that Mr. Knox, though a faintly Reformer of a perſecuting religion, had any antipathy to a little perſecution. It is true, that the intolerance which ſome of his expreſſions appeared to manifeſt, was confined at preſent to inanimate objects. But afterwards the ſanction of his advice was not wanting for the perſecution of the Catholic Prieſts, and that even to ſanguinary extremes.

Freſh diſcontents, accuſations and calumnies, aroſe from the tumults and devaſtations at Scone: new propoſitions were mutually made to each other by the leaders of the two parties. Nothing, however, reſulted but mutual diſtruſt.

Now it was that Mr. Knox, returning to Edinburgh, wrote his ſecond letter above mentioned to the Secretary Cecil, addreſſing one at the ſame time to the Queen of England, accompanied by a third from the Lords of the Congregation. Theſe letters detailed the dangers which in a political as well as a religious view, might probably enſue to England from the future conqueſts or ſucceſſes of the French in Scotland. A negotiation ſoon took place, in conſequence of which an army was ſent from England under the conduct of the Duke of Norfolk.

Mr. Knox did not ceaſe at this time to aſſiſt the cauſe of his friends in Perthſhire and Fife by the vehemence of preaching, which was ſeconded, as uſual, by new acts of ruin and deſtruction from the mob upon the religious houſes at Creil, Anſtruther, Pittenweem, Cowpar; nor did the noble abbey of Cambuſkenneth near Stirling, nor the convent and altars at Linlithgow, eſcape the fury of their fanaticiſm. It was through Mr. Knox's active zeal that moſt of the great men of

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* Near Perth.

Scotland were induced, with what force they could levy, to join the Duke of Norfolk's army. But the parties, upon comparing their forces, thought it moſt expedient to come to terms, and a pacification was concluded between the two kingdoms, July 8, 1560.

This event was very ſhortly after ſucceeded by the death of the Queen Regent.

Mr. Knox was now again eſtabliſhed Miniſter of Edinburgh, where, aſſiſted by ſome other eccleſiaſtics, he drew up a form of church diſcipline on the model of Geneva, and the reformed churches of Germany. The States, however, did not authorize it. "Some," ſays Mr. Knox, "approved it, and willed the ſame to have been ſet forth by a law; others perceiving their carnal liberty and worldly commodity to be impaired thereby, grudged; inſomuch that the name of the Book of Diſcipline became odious unto them. Every thing that repugned to their corrupt imaginations was termed, in their mockage, *Devout Imaginations.*" Mr. Knox adds, however, that it was ſubſcribed, January 27, 1560, by the greater part of the Nobility, and ſome of the Biſhops.

But the States paid a more favourable attention to the complaints which he daily made in his ſermons, that many of the religious houſes were ſtill remaining in the kingdom. In one of theſe harangues, "he is reported," ſays Archbiſhop Spotſwood, "to have obſerved, that the true way to baniſh the rooks was to pull down their neſts. An Act now paſſed for demoliſhing all cloiſters and abbey-churches that were not yet pulled down; and the execution of it was committed to ſeveral Noblemen and Barons, particularly ſpecified in the Act. "Whereupon," ſays Archbiſhop Spotſwood[*], "enſued a pitiful vaſtation of churches and church-buildings throughout all parts of the realm, for every one made bold to put their hands thereto, the meaner ſort imitating the example of the greater, and of thoſe who were in authority. No difference was made, but all the churches either defaced or pulled to the ground; the holy veſſels, and whatever men could make gain of, as timber, lead, and bells, were put to ſale; the very ſepulchres of the dead were not ſpared; the regiſters of the church and bibliotheques caſt into the fire; in a word, all was ruined, and what had eſcaped in the time of the firſt tumult, did now undergo the common calamity."

In the month of December 1560, Mr. Knox loſt his firſt wife, an event which cauſed him great affliction. He appears, however, to have recovered his ſpirits in a controverſial engagement at the beginning of the next year with Mr. Leſlie, afterwards Biſhop of Roſs, and another diſtinguiſhed theologian.

A new ſcene ſoon after opened, in which Mr. Knox's zeal for the Reformation, and his undaunted courage in oppoſing his adverſaries, had ample room to manifeſt themſelves. Francis II. King of France, who had been married to the young Queen of Scotland, died at the age of eighteen, after having reigned only ſix months.

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[*] Spotſwood, lib. iii. p. 1.

On the 20th of Auguſt 1561, the Queen arrived in Scotland from the kingdom of France. Having been educated in the principles of the Catholic Religion ſhe immediately eſtabliſhed a private maſs in her own chapel. An Act of the Privy Council, forbidding any diſturbance to be given to it under pain of death, was publiſhed at the Croſs at Edinburgh. Mr. Knox's zeal was inſtantly rouſed, and in his diſcourſe on the following Sunday he inveighed bitterly againſt it, and ſaid, "One Maſs was more fearful to him than if 10,000 armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm[*]."

The Queen being made acquainted with this inflammatory oppoſition, ſent for him, and in a conference, at which the Prior of St. Andrew's, Murray[†], afterwards Regent, alone aſſiſted, ſhe told Mr. Knox, "that he had excited a rebellion againſt her mother and herſelf; that he had written a book againſt her authority, and introduced a new religion amongſt her ſubjects; and that ſhe had been informed he was a Necromancer." The Reformer reſolutely defended himſelf againſt each of theſe charges; but his particular anſwers[‡] are too long for inſertion. His opinion of the Queen being demanded by his friends upon his departure from the conference, he ſaid, "If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an indurate heart againſt God and his truth, my judgment faileth me; and this I ſay with a grieved heart, for the good I wiſh unto her, and, by her, to the Church and State."

In 1562 Mr. Knox's mediation was ſought to reconcile the Earls of Arran and Bothwell; a circumſtance mentioned to ſhew the eſtimation in which he ſtood with perſons of the higheſt rank in his country.

In the ſame year, upon the Queen's receiving intelligence that her uncles of the Houſe of Lorraine were likely to recover their intereſt at the court of France, ſhe expreſſed her joy, amongſt other marks, by a ball at Holyrood-Houſe. Mr. Knox, prognoſticating obſtacles to the Reformation from their return to power or conſequence, took occaſion, with great acrimony, to reprove her Majeſty's conduct in a ſermon. A ſecond conference, to which the Queen now ordered him, in hopes of receiving ſome apology for the liberty he had taken, ſerved only to bring upon herſelf a repetition of many of the moſt violent topics of the diſcourſe in queſtion. Upon the Queen's condeſcending to ſay, that he ſhould rather have aſked an audience, and then have given her his private admonitions, he inſiſted that a proper attention to his public functions, and particularly that of rebuking the ſins and vices of all impartially, allowed him no time to make exceptions; and he inſinuated, that her Majeſty ought to attend the public ſermons, and hear, herſelf, thoſe cenſures which her own conduct, as well as that of others, might deſerve. As he was retiring from this interview he heard ſome of the Catholics obſerving, "that he was not afraid:" to whom he anſwered, "What! ſhall the pleaſant face of a Lady affray me*?"

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[*] His Hiſt. lib. iv. p. 310.

[†] He was baſtard brother to the Queen, and a ſtrenuous friend to the Reformation. He affected to be the Queen's friend, and ſhe long thought him ſincere; but ſhe had reaſon enough at length to change this opinion. He poſſeſſed conſiderable abilities, and did not want addreſs: He was of the greateſt conſequence to his party.

[‡] His Hiſt. lib. iv. p. 311, &c.

The next year, when through the Queen's example and encouragement, the Maſs had been re-eſtabliſhed in ſome parts of the kingdom, the Congregation were coming to a reſolution of puniſhing with death ſuch of the Catholic Prieſts as ſhould be diſcovered in the actual celebration of it, Mr. Knox was deſired to attend a third conference with her Majeſty. In the courſe of it he attempted to juſtify the rebellious doctrine of wreſting the ſword of juſtice from the hand of the Civil Magiſtrate. You will eaſily conjecture, that neither his avowed principles nor his temper ſuffered him to make conceſſions on the ſubjects of the conference.

He was, about this time, appointed by the General Aſſembly Commiſſioner to the weſtern region of Scotland, and had ſufficient influence at Aire to procure the ſubſcription of ſeveral of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons of thoſe parts to the Bond and Covenant † on behalf of his ſchemes of reformation.

Kennedy, Prior of Whitehorn in Galloway, eminent among the Papiſts for his learning, challenged the Reformer to a public diſputation on the Maſs. Knox took up the gauntlet, and maintained a warm controverſy with his adverſary for three days. This diſpute is ſaid, in the Biographia Britannica, to have been afterwards printed.

What opinion ſoever the world at that time might form of this matter, it is probable, from that which almoſt always happens in like caſes, that each diſputant arrogated to himſelf the victory. The cauſe of each party was, however, ſure to be kept alive by a public conteſt; the chief advantage which each moſt likely propoſed to reap from it.

When the Queen aſſembled her firſt Parliament in the month of May 1563, Mr. Knox conceived hopes, through the Earl of Murray's influence, to get the Articles of Leith, approving the rebellious proceedings of his party, ſanctioned into a law. The Earl appearing cooler than had been expected, this violent meaſure was not carried. The Queen, however, conſented to paſs an act of oblivion inſtead of it. But the failure of the former object drew upon Murray the ſevereſt reproaches of Mr. Knox, who conſidered himſelf as having been very inſtrumental to the Earl's elevation of rank. No intercourſe now ſubſiſted betwixt them for the ſpace of a year and half. In a ſermon preached before ſeveral of the members of his Parliament, Mr. Knox treated their rejection of the Bill with the moſt vehement reprehenſion; and in the concluſion expreſſed his abhorrence of the Queen's intended marriage with Lord Darnley, a Papiſt. The Court was much offended at his conduct on this occaſion, and the Queen paſſionately rebuked him in another conference; but was prevailed upon not to puniſh him, as ſhe had deſigned.

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* See Mackenzie's Life of Knox.

† The firſt of theſe Bonds and Covenants was made at Edinburgh, and ſigned December 3, 1557, by the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, Morton, Archibald Lord of Lorn, and John Erſkine of Dunn, &c.—A copy of it is preſerved in a note on Knox's Life, in the Biograph. Britan. and it is remarkable, that the perſons entering into it there call "themſelves the Congregation of Chriſt, and the Catho-" lics the Congregation of Satan." The principal ſubſcribers were, from the time of this firſt ſignature, ſtyled Lords of the Congregation, as mentioned above.—The Covenant ſigned at Aire is differently expreſſed; but its purpoſe is the ſame with that of the preceding.—See Knox's Hiſt. lib. iv. p. 342.

A General Aſſembly of the Church was convened in June 1564, where the Secretary Lethington propoſing a change in the manner of praying for the Queen, Mr. Knox maintained a long diſpute with him, in which he affirmed, that it was not lawful to pray for her in any other manner than as an idolater, and then he proceeded to juſtify the worſt principles of rebellion*.

The marriage of the Queen with Lord Darnley having taken place in 1565, this nobleman was adviſed, in order to impreſs the people in his favour, to attend the preaching of Mr. Knox. This he did on the 19th Auguſt, but found the diſcourſe abuſively levelled at himſelf and the Queen. Mr. Knox, after many other offenſive paſſages, ſpeaking of the Government, ſaid, "that God ſometimes ſet over his people, for their ingratitude and offences, women and boys." He was ordered before the Council, and prohibited from preaching for ſeveral days.

In the fourth ſeſſion of the General Aſſembly, at the cloſe of this year, Mr. Knox was commiſſioned to write, in their name, ſuch an addreſs † of conſolation and encouragement to the Proteſtant Miniſters and to their hearers throughout the kingdom, as might perſuade the former to perſeverance and courage in their vocation, and induce the latter to raiſe contributions for their ſupport. Mr. Knox was employed all the year following, by appointment from this Aſſembly, in planting and watering the churches of the ſouth of Scotland.

From the Seſſion of December 1566, he obtained leave to viſit his two ſons in England ‡, whither he had ſent them for the accompliſhment of their education; but his abſence was limited to ſix months.

In conſequence of an injunction from the ſame Aſſembly, Mr. Knox, in a letter written whilſt he was in England to the Biſhops of this kingdom, entreated them to deſiſt from proſecuting, or ſhewing any harſhneſs toward ſuch of the Nonconformiſt Clergy as ſcrupled to wear the veſtments of the Romiſh Church.

The year 1567 produced in Scotland two extraordinary events, the Queen's reſignation of the government, and the ſucceſſion of James VI. to the throne. During his minority the affairs of the kingdom were committed to the Regency of the Earl of Murray. Mr. Knox was appointed to preach at the coronation of the young King, as he was alſo at the meeting of the Regent's Parliament about the end of that year. On the latter occaſion the Convention of the States was numerous, and Mr. Knox ſignalized himſelf in their preſence by all the energy and ardour of his zeal.

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* See Mackenzie, vol. iii. p. 124.

† Biograph. Britan. on Knox's Life.

‡ Theſe were members of St. John's College in Cambridge.

The year 1569 was marked by an event, in the murder of the Regent, Murray, which greatly afflicted Mr. Knox. Their ancient friendſhip had been renewed, and the Reformer's warm affections could not but have deeply felt this ſudden loſs, aggravated as it was by the nature of his death. He apprehended, moreover, that the interests of the Protestant cauſe might be expoſed to much danger by the Earl of Murray's fall. He compoſed a Form of Prayer for the uſe of the reformed on the particular occaſion of this event, the poſſible conſequences of which he thought it incumbent on them to endeavour by all means, human and divine, to avert.

The party of the Hamiltons avowing open hostility to the Regent, Earl of Lenox, the ſucceſſor of Murray, combined all their forces in 1571, and began to fortify the town of Edinburgh. Protection for the perſon of Mr. Knox was at this time ſolicited by his friends. But they were not able to procure any abſolute promiſe for his ſecurity, and therefore entreated him to retire from the city. Being prevailed upon to take meaſures of ſafety, he went first to Abbotstall in Fife early in May, and from thence to St. Andrew's, where he continued till the month of August 1572.

The face of affairs being now conſiderably changed, and the diſſenſions of the capital ſufficiently allayed to admit the return of Mr. Knox's friends, who had been obliged to withdraw themſelves, they united in requesting him to reſume his former ſituation among them. Three reſpectable perſons, one of them the Superintendent of Lothian, formed a deputation to St. Andrew's. They preſented him a letter from the body of his friends; but he would not conſent to return upon any other condition than that of being allowed to expreſs his ſentiments in the pulpit, with what ſeverity he might think proper, on the treaſonable conduct of thoſe who had held out the Castle of Edinburgh. This reſolution he deſired might be announced on his part to all the brethren, that they might not reproach him in caſe of receiving ill treatment, in conſequence of his unrelaxed austerity. As they aſſured him they did not wiſh to impoſe any ſuch restraint, it is almost needleſs to tell you, after ſo many inſtances already produced, to what a length he indulged the liberty of ſpeech against the enemies of his cauſe. But theſe were nearly his laſt exertions, and they continued not long: old age had already made its advances upon him, and his constitution began rapidly to decline. His voice was become too feeble for the great church, his more particular charge. A ſubstitute, whom he approved, was appointed in his room, and he himſelf then preached at the Tolbooth Chapel, as long as his strength ſufficed for the performance of that duty.

The ſhock which he received, when intelligence was brought him of the maſſacre of Paris about that time, almoſt overwhelmed him. He introduced that tranſaction in one of his diſcourſes * from the pulpit, with a strong denunciation to the following purport: "Sentence is denounced in Scotland againſt that murderer the King of France: God's vengeance ſhall never depart from him nor his houſe; but his name ſhall remain an execration to poſterity, and none that ſhall come of his loins ſhall enjoy that kingdom in peace and quietneſs, unleſs repentance prevent God's judgment." This his ſentence of condemnation he deſired that Mr. Le Crocque, the French Ambaſſador in Scotland, might be made acquainted with; who vainly repreſented its inſulting violence at Court, as the great men who compoſed it aſſured him they were not able to avert the ſame treatment from themſelves.

Mr. Knox's last public act was the admiſſion of Mr. James Lawſon, Sub-principal of the King's College of Aberdeen, as a Miniſter of Edinburgh, and particularly as his own ſucceſſor, on the ninth of November. His diſcourſe upon this ſolemn occaſion treated of the reciprocal duties of a Paſtor and his flock, expreſſed his ſatisfaction in the ability of the new Miniſter, and concluded with a pathetic benediction. But the Preacher's voice was too weak to be generally heard: his bodily infirmities increaſed daily; a violent cough and great pains accompanied it; ſo that he could no longer continue his ordinary practice of reading the Scripture to the family. He was viſited during his illneſs by the Earl of Moreton, and the principal Nobility and Gentry of the kingdom. On the 24th of November he reſigned his ſoul into the hands of his Creator. He was buried in the Churchyard of St. Giles's, his remains being attended to the grave by many illuſtrious perſons. As ſoon as the ceremony of interment was finiſhed, Lord Moreton departed with obſerving, "There lies the body of him, who in his lifetime never feared the face of man †."

Memoirs

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* See Biograph. Britan. on Knox's Life.

† The following is a Liſt of Mr. Knox's Writings:

A Faithful Admonition to the True Profeſſors of the Goſpel of Chriſt within the Kingdom of England, 1554.

A Letter to Mary Queen-Regent of Scotland, 1556.

The Appellation of John Knox from the cruel ſentence pronounced againſt him by the falſe Biſhops and Clergy of Scotland, with a Supplication and Exhortation of the Nobility, Eaſtes, and Commonalty of the ſame Realm, 1558.

The Firſt Blaſt of the Trumpet againſt the monſtrous Regiment of Women, 1558.

An Admonition to England and Scotland to call them to Repentance, by Anthony Gilbie, with Mr. Knox's Advertiſement concerning the Second Blaſt of the Trumpet.

A Brief Exhortation to England for the Speedy Embracing of Chriſt's Goſpel, heretofore, by the Tyranny of Mary, ſuppreſſed and baniſhed, 1559.

An Anſwer to a Great Number of Cavillations, written by an Anabaptiſt and Adverſary of God's eternal Predeſtination, by John Knox, &c. Geneva, 1560.

The Confeſſion of Faith, 1560.

The Form and Order for Admitting Superintendants and Miniſters, and of Excommunication and Faſting, chiefly by our Author.

A Reply

Memoirs of the Life and Mechanical Labours of the late Mr. Thomas Mudge.

[*From the Univerſal Magazine.*]

MR. Thomas Mudge, whoſe improvements in the conſtruction of watches, and in the method of finding the longitude at ſea by time-keepers, have given him a very high rank among the ingenious mechanics of the preſent century, was the ſecond ſon of the Reverend Zachariah Mudge, a clergyman of Exeter, and was born in that city, in the month of September 1715. Soon after his birth his father was appointed maſter of the free grammar-ſchool at Biddeford, in the north of Devon, to which place he removed with his family; and here, under his own immediate care, his ſon Thomas received his education *.

A Reply to the Abbot of Croſs-ragnal's Faith, or Catechiſm, 1562.

A Sermon before the King, Henry Darnley, on Iſaiah, ch. xxvi. v. 13—17, 1566.

The works above were publiſhed in the Author's life-time.—His poſthumous works are:

The Hiſtory of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland, probably firſt printed in London, 8vo. 1586; in folio 1644, and at Edinburgh the ſame year, and again 1732.

Knox's Admonition to the Faithful in England.

He likewiſe left ſome Theological Works in MS.—See a Catalogue of them in the *Biograph. Britan.* from which the above liſt is taken, and where a more particular account of their different editions is given.

* This truly reſpectable clergyman (who died April 3, 1769) was, for many years before his death, a prebendary of Exeter, and vicar of St. Andrew's, Plymouth. "He was," ſays that excellent judge the late Dr. Johnſon, "a man equally eminent for his virtues and abilities, and at once beloved as a companion and reverenced as a paſtor. He had that general curioſity to which no kind of knowledge is indifferent or ſuperfluous, and that general benevolence by which no order of men is hated or deſpiſed. His principles, both of thought and action, were great and comprehenſive. By a ſolicitous examination of objections, and a judicious compariſon of oppoſite arguments, he attained, what inquiry never gives but to induſtry and perſpicuity, a firm and unſhaken ſettlement of conviction. But his firmneſs was without aſperity; for knowing with how much difficulty truth is ſometimes found, he did not wonder that many miſſed it.

"The general courſe of his life was determined by his profeſſion. He ſtudied the ſacred volumes, in the original languages, with what diligence and ſucceſs his Notes upon the Pſalms give ſufficient evidence. He once endeavoured to add the knowledge of Arabic to that of Hebrew; but finding his thoughts too much diverted from other ſtudies, after ſome time, deſiſted from his purpoſe.

"His diſcharge of parochial duties was exemplary. How his ſermons were compoſed may be learned from the excellent volume he has given to the public; but how they were delivered can be known only to thoſe who heard them; for as he appeared in the pulpit, words will not eaſily deſcribe him. His delivery, though unconſtrained, was not negligent, and, though forcible, was not turbulent. Diſdaining any anxious nicety of emphaſis, and laboured artifice of action, it captivated the hearer by its natural dignity; it rouſed the ſluggiſh, and fixed the volatile; and detained the mind upon the ſubject, without directing it to the ſpeaker.

At a very early period of his life Mr. Mudge gave strong indications of that mechanical genius by which he has been ſince ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed; for, while he was yet a ſchool-boy, he could, with eaſe, take to pieces a watch, and put it together again, without any previous inſtructions. At the age of fourteen, he was bound apprentice to Mr. George Graham, watchmaker, oppoſite Water-lane, Fleet-street, a diſtinguiſhed philoſopher, as well as the most celebrated mechanic of his time. He ſoon attracted the particular attention of his maſter, who ſo highly eſtimated his mechanical powers, that, upon all occaſions, he aſſigned to him the niceſt and moſt difficult work; and once, in particular, having been applied to by one of his friends to conſtruct a machine new in its mechanical operation, his friend, ſome time after it had been ſent home, complained that it did not perform its office. Mr. Graham anſwered, that he was very certain the complaint could not be well founded, the work having been executed "by his apprentice, Thomas;" and, indeed, it appeared, upon examination, that Mr. Graham was fully juſtified in this implicit confidence in his apprentice; the work having been executed in a very maſterly manner, and the ſuppoſed defect ariſing entirely from the unſkilful management of the owner.

On the expiration of his apprenticeſhip Mr. Mudge took lodgings, and continued to work privately for ſome years. About the year

" The grandeur and ſolemnity of the preacher did not intrude upon his general behaviour: at the table of his friends he was a companion communicative and attentive, of unaffected manners, of manly cheerfulneſs, willing to pleaſe, and eaſy to be pleaſed. His acquaintance was univerſally ſolicited; and his preſence obſtructed no enjoyment which religion did not forbid. Though ſtudious, he was popular; though argumentative, he was modeſt; though inflexible, he was candid; and though metaphyſical, yet orthodox." *London Chronicle, April* 1769.

The Rev. Mr. Mudge had three other ſons beſide the ſubject of theſe memoirs; and they were all poſſeſſed of uncommon abilities. The eldeſt, Zachariah, was a ſurgeon and apothecary at Tiverton, and afterwards ſurgeon on board an Eaſt Indiaman: he died, in 1753, on board his ſhip, in the river Canton, in China.—The third, the Rev. Richard Mudge, was officiating miniſter of a chapel of eaſe at Birmingham, and had a ſmall living, preſented to him by the earl of Ailesford. He was not only greatly diſtinguiſhed by his learning, but by his genius for muſic. He excelled as a compoſer for the harpſichord; and, as a performer on that inſtrument, the great Handel declared, that he was ſecond only to himſelf.—The fourth ſon, John, was a ſurgeon and apothecary at Plymouth; but, during the latter part of his life he practiſed with great ſucceſs as a phyſician. Like his brother Thomas, he had great mechanical talents; and it is ſomewhat extraordinary that, amid the fatigues of great practice he found time to proſecute improvements in reflecting teleſcopes; the Royal Society, in 1777, having adjudged to him Sir Godfrey Copley's gold medal for a paper he preſented to that learned body, on the beſt methods of grinding the ſpecula of reflecting teleſcopes. He alſo conſiderably improved the Inhaler, an ingenious contrivance for the curing of coughs, by inhaling ſteam. In 1777, he publiſhed " A Diſſertation on the Inoculated Smallpox," which was followed, ſome years after, by " A Treatiſe on the Catarrhous Cough and Vis Vitæ." He died in 1792.

1757, he married Miſs Hopkins, the daughter of a gentleman at Oxford. The circumſtance which firſt reſcued him, as it were, from obſcurity, is very remarkable: Mr. Ellicot, who was one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed watchmakers of his time, and who had been often employed by Ferdinand VI. King of Spain, was deſired by that prince to make him an equation watch. Mr. Ellicot not being able to accompliſh the undertaking, applied to Mr. Shovel, an ingenious workman, to aſſiſt him; but he alſo being unequal to the taſk, mentioned it to Mr. Mudge, with whom he was very intimate, and who readily undertook to make ſuch a watch. He not only ſucceeded to his own ſatisfaction, but to the admiration of all who had the opportunity of inſpecting it. This watch having been made for Mr. Ellicot, his name was affixed to it (as is always cuſtomary in ſuch caſes) and he aſſumed the whole merit of its conſtruction. An unfortunate accident, however, did juſtice to the real inventor, and ſtripped Mr. Ellicot of his borrowed plumes. Being engaged, one day, in explaining his watch to ſome men of ſcience, it happened to receive an injury, by which its action was entirely deſtroyed: and he had the mortification to find, moreover, upon inſpecting the watch, that he himſelf could not repair the miſchief. This compelled him to acknowledge that Mr. Mudge was the real inventor of the watch, and that to him it muſt be ſent to be repaired.

This tranſaction having, ſome way or other, come to the knowledge of his Catholic Majeſty, who was paſſionately fond of all mechanical productions, and particularly of watches, that monarch immediately employed his agents in England to engage Mr. Mudge to work for him; and ſuch was his approbation of his new artiſt's performances, that he honoured him with an unlimited commiſſion to make for him, at his own price, whatever he might judge moſt worthy of attention.

Among the ſeveral productions of Mr. Mudge's genius, which thus became the property of the King of Spain, was an equation watch, which not only ſhewed the ſun's time, and mean time, but was alſo a ſtriking watch and a repeater;[*] and what was very ſingular, and had hitherto been unattempted, it ſtruck and repeated by ſolar, or apparent, time[†]. As a repeater, moreover, it ſtruck the hours, quarters, and minutes[‡]. From a whim of the king's this watch was made in the crutch-end of a cane, in the ſides of which were glaſſes covered with ſliders, on the removal of which the work might be ſeen, at any time; and his majesty being very fond of obſerving the motion of the wheels at the time the watch struck, it was his practice, as he walked, to stop for that purpoſe. Thoſe who have ſeen him on theſe occaſions, have obſerved, that he ever ſhowed ſigns of the most lively ſatisfaction. The price of this watch was 480 guineas, which, from the expenſive materials and nature of the work, afforded Mr. Mudge but a moderate profit for his ingenuity, and he was strongly urged by ſeveral of his friends to charge 500 guineas for it, which the king would have readily paid. To this Mr. Mudge, anſwered, that "as 480 guineas gave him the profit to which he was fairly entitled, as an honest man he could not think of increaſing it, and he ſaw no reaſon why a king ſhould be charged more than a private gentleman."—Indeed, the King of Spain had ſuch a high opinion of his integrity, that he not only uſed to ſpeak of him as by far the most ingenious artist, as a watchmaker, he had ever employed, but excelling alſo in his ſenſe of honour and justice *.

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[*] The difference between a ſtriking-watch and a repeater is this, that the former ſtrikes of itſelf, like a clock; but the latter will not ſtrike, unleſs acted upon by puſhing in the pendant.

[†] Apparent time, called by foreign aſtronomers *true time*, is that which is derived immediately from the ſun, either by obſerving its tranſit over the meridian, which happens at the inſtant of apparent noon, when a new day commences, or by obſerving its altitude at a diſtance from the meridian.—Mean time is that which is ſhown by good clocks or watches, properly regulated: it is ſometimes called equated time.

[‡] Some of the principles upon which this watch was conſtructed have ſince been applied, with ſucceſs, to larger machines, and particularly to turret-clocks.

In 1750, Mr. Mudge entered into partnerſhip with Mr. William Dutton, who had alſo been an apprentice of Mr. Graham's. They took a houſe in Fleet-street, and till Mr. Mudge's retirement from buſineſs, maintained that perfect harmony and good underſtanding, which reſulted from the most entire and reciprocal conviction of each other's honour and integrity. In 1760, an event happened, which Mr. Mudge ever after conſidered as the most fortunate in his life. This was his introduction to his excellency the Count de Bruhl, who firſt came to England, that year, as envoy extraordinary from the Court of Saxony. This nobleman, who to many other valuable qualities unites great knowledge of mechanical purſuits, and great attachment to them, ever after treated Mr. Mudge with the most generous and condeſcending friendſhip; evincing, on every occaſion, the most ardent zeal for his fame and fortune, by the most active ſervices.

About this time, Mr. Mudge appears to have first turned his thoughts to the improvement of time-keepers; for, in the year 1765, he publiſhed a ſmall tract, intitled, "Thoughts on the Means of improving Watches, and particularly thoſe for the Uſe of the Sea."—"In this publication," ſays the late ingenious Mr. Ludlam, "the true principles upon which all time-keepers must be conſtructed are clearly laid down, and the means of improvement fully pointed out."—In 1771, Mr. Mudge quitted buſineſs, and retired to Plymouth, that he might devote his whole time and attention to the improvement and perfection of time-keepers, that great object of his uſeful and honourable ambition.

As many of our readers may be unacquainted with the nature of the attempt to aſcertain the longi-

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* Mr. Townſhend, then ſecretary to the embaſſy at Madrid, once told Mr. Mudge, that his Catholic Majesty had often expreſſed to him his great admiration of his character, and would frequently aſk his aſſiſtance to enable him to expreſs the name of Mudge.

tude by time-keepers, we ſhall here tranſcribe the very plain and eaſy explanation of it by Mr. Harriſon: "The longitude of any place is its diſtance, eaſt or weſt, from any other given place; and what we want is a method of finding out at ſea, how far we have got to the eaſtward or weſtward of the place we ſailed from. The application of a time-keeper to this diſcovery is founded upon the following principles: the earth's ſurface is divided into 360 equal parts (by imaginary lines drawn from north to ſouth) which are called degrees of longitude: and its daily revolution eaſtward, round its own axis, is performed in twenty-four hours; conſequently, in that period, each of theſe imaginary lines, or degrees, becomes ſucceſſively oppoſite the ſun (which makes the noon, or preciſe middle of the day, at each of thoſe degrees) and it muſt follow, that from the time any one of theſe lines paſſes the ſun, till the next paſſes, muſt be juſt four minutes; for twenty-four hours being divided by 360 muſt give juſt that quantity; ſo that for every degree of longitude we ſail weſtward it will be noon with us four minutes the later, and for every degree eaſtward four minutes the ſooner, and ſo in proportion for any greater or leſs quantity. Now, the exact time of the day, at the place where we are, can be aſcertained by well-known and eaſy obſervations of the ſun if viſible for a few minutes, at any time, from his being ten degrees high, till within an hour of noon, or from an hour after noon, till he is only ten degrees high in the afternoon: if, therefore, at any time when ſuch obſervation is made, a time-keeper tells us, at the ſame moment, what o'clock it is at the place we ſailed from, our longitude is clearly diſcovered. To do this, it is not neceſſary that a watch ſhould perform its revolutions preciſely in that ſpace of time which the earth takes to perform her's; it is only required that it ſhould invariably perform it in *ſome known time*, and then the conſtant difference between the length of one revolution and the other, will appear to be ſo much daily gained or loſt by the watch, which conſtant gain or loſs is called *the rate of its going*, and which being added to, or deducted from, the time ſhown by the watch, will give the true time, and conſequently the difference of longitude *."

The improvement of time-keepers for nautical purpoſes has long been an object of public attention; and, in the reign of Queen Anne, an Act of Parliament was paſſed, offering the following rewards to any perſon who ſhould, either by the invention of a time-keeper, or other methods therein stated, determine the longitude within the following limits; namely, 10,000l. if ſuch method ſhould determine the longitude to one degree of a great circle, or ſixty geographical miles; 15,000l. if to two-thirds of that diſtance; and 20,000l. if to half that diſtance. Under this Act of Parliament the late ingenious Mr. Harriſon, after proſecuting his labours with great aſſiduity, during a conſiderable part of a very long life, and contending, it is aſſerted, with great perſonal oppoſition from an official quarter *, obtained the reward of 10,000l.; and, upon his petitioning Parliament for a further recompenſe, in conſideration of the ſervices he had rendered to the public, ſuch an additional ſum was granted to him, as (together with what he had previouſly received, from time to time, from the Board of Longitude, to enable him to continue the undertaking) made, in the whole, 20,000l.

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* Remarks on a Pamphlet lately publiſhed by the Rev. Mr. Maſkelyne, under the Authority of the Board of Longitude; by John Harriſon, 8vo, 1767.

Since the making of this Act, as Mr. Harriſon's time-keepers, though very ingenious machines, have not been found to anſwer the purpoſe of determining the longitude with ſo much certainty and exactneſs as to render no further improvements neceſſary, another Act of Parliament paſſed in the fourteenth year of his preſent Majeſty's reign offering other rewards for a more perfect method. But, although the degree of exactneſs required by this Act is four times as great as by the former, yet the rewards are leſſened to one half.

When Mr. Mudge retired to Plymouth, as already obſerved, in the year 1771, he proſecuted, what he had meditated long before, the improvement of time-keepers for diſcovering the longitude at ſea; and having ſome years afterwards completed one time-keeper, he put it into the hands of Dr. Hornſby, Savillian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Oxford. After this gentleman had tried it for four months, during which time it went with great accuracy, it was committed to the care of Dr. Maſkelyne, as Aſtronomer Royal, to be tried by him at Greenwich. After it had been under his care a conſiderable time, the Board of Longitude, by way of encouraging Mr. Mudge to make another, ſo as to become properly a candidate for the ſpecific rewards of the Act of Parliament, thought proper to give him 500l.; it being expreſsly required by the Act, that two time-keepers ſhould be made upon the ſame principles, and both tried at the ſame time, that if each ſhould go with the required degree of exactneſs, it might, with the more certainty, appear to reſult from the perfection of the principles upon which they were conſtructed, and not from accident. †

The firſt time-keeper, after it had been tried by the Aſtronomer Royal, was in poſſeſſion of M. de Zach, (aſtronomer to the Duke of Saxe Gotha) from May 1786 to July 1788; during which time he carried it from London to Gotha, thence to Hieres, thence by ſea to

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* Remarks on a Pamphlet lately publiſhed by the Rev. Mr. Maſkelyne, under the Authority of the Board of Longitude; by John Harriſon, 8vo, 1767.

† It has aſſerted, that this reſolution of the Board of Longitude was not made in conformity to the wiſhes and repreſentations of the Aſtronomer Royal, whoſe treatment of Mr. Mudge's time-keepers, while under his care, was neither fair nor proper. A candid mind will not admit, without reluctance, that men of ſcience (whoſe views, like the ſubject of their ſtudies, ought to be noble and elevated) can be actuated by illiberal motives. The charge, however, was brought againſt the Aſtronomer Royal, in "A Narrative of Facts relative to the Time-keepers conſtructed by Mr. Thomas Mudge, &c. by Thomas Mudge, jun. of Lincoln's-Inn."—Dr. Maſkelyne publiſhed a vindication of himſelf in "An Anſwer to a Narrative of Facts," &c.—Mr. Mudge publiſhed "A Reply," and the controverſy dropped.

Genoa, thence by land to Piſa, Milan, and back to Hieres. At the end of about a year's abſence from Gotha (to which he returned by Geneva) after having travelled over ſeveral thouſand miles, he found that it had preſerved the ſame regularity of going which it had when it firſt came into his poſſeſſion; and by its very great accuracy he was enabled to aſcertain the longitude of ſeveral places with a greater degree of preciſion than ever had been done before.

In the year 1784 and 1785 alſo this time-keeper was carried two voyages to Newfoundland by the late Admiral Campbell, and in each voyage went ſo well as to determine the longitude within one mile and a quarter on the firſt voyage, and to ſix miles and an eighth on the ſecond. In conſequence of this, the admiral (a man of great ſcientific knowledge and accuracy of obſervation) repeatedly declared, that, in his opinion ſuch time-keepers were capable of anſwering every nautical purpoſe that could be required of them.

After Mr. Mudge had received the 500l. inſtead of making only one more time-keeper, which would have been ſufficient to anſwer the purpoſes of the Act, he immediately ſet about making two; the more fully, if they went well, to ſhow by the number made, that it was to the principle of their conſtruction, and not to chance, that they were indebted for the goodneſs of their going. When theſe were completed, they likewiſe (purſuant to the Act) underwent a trial by the Aſtronomer Royal.

In July 1790, the year's trial required by the Act expired; about a fortnight previouſly to which a Board of Longitude was held, when Dr. Maſkelyne's report of the going of the time-keepers was ſo favourable, that it was declared, that direction ſhould be given at the next board to apply to the Admiralty for a ſhip, in which they might be ſent to ſea, in further compliance with the Act. At the meeting of the next Board, however, Dr. Maſkelyne produced certain calculations, in order to prove that *neither* of them had gone within *any* of the limits of the Act; and, therefore, at a Board held in 1790, in conſequence of the doctor's report, it was determined, that no further trial of them ſhould take place*.

In June 1791, Mr. Thomas Mudge, jun. preſented from his father a memorial to the Board of Longitude, ſtating, that although his time-keepers, during the time of their public trial, had not been adjudged to go within the limits preſcribed by Act of Parliament, yet, as the honourable board were of opinion that they were ſuperior to any that had been hitherto invented, and were conſtructed upon ſuch principles as would render them permanently uſeful; as the memorialiſt, moreover, had employed near twenty years to bring them to the perfection they poſſeſſed; and as the firſt time-keeper made by him had been going upward of ſixteen years, with ſuch an uniform degree of excellence as evidently to prove, that the principles upon which his time-keepers were constructed were permanent in their nature; therefore, the memorialist trusted that the honourable Board would exerciſe the powers veſted in them by Parliament, and give to him, upon his making a diſcovery of the principles upon which his time-keepers were conſtructed, ſuch a ſum of money as his invention and great labours ſhould appear to deſerve. This memorial being unſucceſsful, Mr. Mudge, in 1792, preſented a petition, to the ſame effect, to the Houſe of Commons. Nothing could be done that year, on account of the lateneſs of the ſeſſion; but, in the next, notwithstanding all the oppoſition of the Board of Longitude, the merits of Mr. Mudge, from the testimony of perſons of high rank in talents and ſcience, appeared ſo conſpicuouſly to the Houſe, that they were pleaſed to vote him, in the most honourable manner, and by a great majority, the ſum of 2,500l. which with 500l. given him before by the Board of Longitude, made, in the whole, 3,000l.*

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* "Dr. Maſkelyne had, ſeveral times *after* the year's trial had cloſed, ſaid, that *both* the time-keepers had gone *within the limits of the Act*; that one of them had gone within the ſtricteſt limits appointed by the Act, and the other within the moſt extended limits." *Mudge's Narrative*, p. 15.

Mr. Mudge did not long ſurvive this honourable testimony to the utility of his mechanical labours. He died on the 14th of November 1794, in the eightieth year of his age, at the houſe of his eldest ſon, Mr. Thomas Mudge, in Newington Place, Surry. In the year 1789, on the death of his wife, he had given up houſekeeping; reſiding afterward, ſometimes with his eldest ſon in London, and ſometimes in the country, with his other ſon the Rev. John Mudge, A.M. rector of Lustleigh, and vicar of Bramford Speke, both in the county of Devon.

To ſpeak of Mr. Mudge, in general terms only, as the first watchmaker of his age, would be unjust. Beſide his ſuperior merits in bringing time-keepers to a greater degree of perfection than had been hitherto attained, he has done the mechanical world no ſmall ſervice by the invention of a ſcapement for pocket watches, which is one of the most conſiderable improvements that have been made upon them for a great number of years. †

We ſhall cloſe theſe Memoirs in the words of his Excellency the Count de Bruhl: Mr. Mudge "was "a man whoſe ſuperior genius as

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* Although this ſum was confeſſedly inadequate to the juſt claims of Mr. Mudge, and far inferior to what Mr. Harriſon had received, yet it will be allowed to be great, when the ſtrong *official* oppoſition which Mr. Mudge met with is conſidered, and that during the expenſive demands of a war all private applications for grants of money muſt ever be ill-timed, however juſt the claims of the petitioners.

† Two anecdotes deſerve to be recorded, as ſtriking proofs of Mr. Mudge's great mental powers: Count Bruhl, when he firſt came to England in his diplomatic capacity, brought an ingenious watch from Paris, made by the celebrated Bertoud, intending it as a preſent to his Majeſty. This watch, however, not performing its offices, was ſent back to the inventor, in order to be rectified. After its return, it ſtill continued imperfect; and, on further applications to Mr. Bertoud, that artiſt acknowledged, with great candour, that although he thought the

principles

“ an artiſt, united with the liberality of a mind replete with candour, ſimplicity, modeſty, and integrity, deſerve the higheſt admiration and reſpect; whoſe name will be handed down to the remoteſt poſterity, with the ſame veneration which attends the names of his predeceſſors in the ſame line, Tompion, Graham, and Harriſon, who, while living, were admired by their contemporaries, and whoſe fame adds to the ſplendour and glory of this great nation.”

Of the Sepoy Forces of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company in India.

[*From the European Magazine.*]

THE Sepoys of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company in India compoſe (perhaps) the moſt numerous, regular, and beſt diſciplined body of black troops in the world. They are raiſed from among the natives of the country, and conſiſt of Moors (or Mahometans), Raja-poots, Hindoos, Pariars, beſides many intermediate Caſts peculiar to themſelves; the whole modelled in all correſponding particulars, and diſciplined in every reſpect as the Army of Great Britain.

The military eſtabliſhment of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, have each their reſpective numbers, that of Bengal exceeding the reſt. But to confine myſelf ſtrictly to the Sepoys and ſpeak of thoſe on the Madras coaſt (as ſerving on that Eſtabliſhment) I ſhall exclude or paſs unnoticed the various other denominations of Native Forces in the Company's ſervice, as Cavalry, Revenue, Gun-Laſcars, Pioneers, Invalids, &c.

The Sepoys are formed into complete, uniform, and regular battalions, as our marching regiments at home, being intended to repreſent and anſwer fully to every purpoſe in India to the like troops in Europe. A battalion conſiſts of ſeven hundred

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principles on which his watch was conſtructed were good, he was himſelf unable to carry them into effect. The Count then applied to Mr. Mudge, requeſting him to undertake the taſk; but deeming it an indelicate circumſtance to interfere with the inventions of another artiſt, Mr. Mudge expreſſed the greateſt reluctance on the occaſion. The importunity of the Count, however, added to the gratitude which he felt for the diſtinguiſhing marks of eſteem he had already received, induced Mr. Mudge, at laſt, to wave his objections; and he had the ſatisfaction to be completely ſucceſsful.—The other anecdote relates to a large and complicated watch belonging to his Majeſty, which had long gone ſo ill, that it had been repeatedly put into the hands of the moſt diſtinguiſhed watchmakers, to be repaired; all of whom, though confident in their abilities to give it the requiſite perfection, had been obliged to abandon the watch as incapable of amendment. It was then put into the hands of Mr. Mudge, who happily ſucceeded. This circumſtance gave his Majeſty a very high opinion of his ſuperiority over every other watchmaker. In 1777, he appointed him his watchmaker, and often honoured him with conferences on mechanical ſubjects. Her Majeſty likewiſe expreſſed a great eſteem, not only for his talents as an artiſt, but for his character as a man. At one time, ſhe preſented him with fifty guineas for only cleaning a watch; and it was through her recommendation to the lord chancellor, that his ſecond ſon obtained the living of Bramford Speke, as he did afterwards that of Luſtleigh through Count Bruhl's intereſt with the Hon. Percy Charles Wyndham, brother to the earl of Egremont.

men, complete effective ſtrength. In each there are eight companies (including two flank ones, or grenadiers). They are reſpectively commanded by their own Black and European officers; to each Company there is attached a ſubaltern, who takes the command, under whom are two native commiſſioned officers, bearing the rank of Subidar, and Jimindar; of eight ſubalterns, ſix are Lieutenants, the other two Enſigns: excluſive is a Staff, of Adjutant and Surgeon. The Black non-commiſſioned officers anſwer to our Serjeants and Corporals, and are called Havildars and Naigues.—There is alſo to each corps an Engliſh Serjeant-Major, drill and store Serjeant; to each battalion is a band of drums and fifes, and to each a pair of colours. A Captain commands the whole.

Their dreſs, which in their jackets preſents the ſtrongeſt European traits, is in the latter red, with yellow facings (as worn by all the infantry of the Company on the Coromandel Coast). The remaining part of their attire aſſimilates more to the country or Indian habit, and conſiſts of a dark blue turban, broad and round at top, deſcending deep to the bottom, the ſides of which, of a concave form, are croſſed by a white band, running in front, faſtened under a roſe above. As an under garment they have a jacket of linen. A dark-blue ſaſh girding, to anſwer the turban, goes round their middle. On the thighs they have ſhort drawers faſtened by an eſcaloped band. Their legs are bare, which renders them more ready for action or ſervice; indeed, reverting to their complexion, it is no inconvenience in a hot climate. Their arms are a fire-lock and bayonet; their accoutrements, or croſs-belts, black leather, with pouches the ſame.

A battalion drawn out cannot but ſtrike the ſpectator with a lively and fanciful military impreſſion, as they unite in their exterior traits reſpectively Indian and European.

They are brought to the utmost exactneſs of diſcipline; go through their evolutions and manœuvres with a regularity and preciſion equal to, and not ſurpaſſed by, European troops. In action they are brave and steady, and have been known to stand where Europeans have given way.

Their diſcipline puts them on a footing with European troops, with whom they are always ready to act in concert.

Their utility and ſervices are evident: they ſecure to the Company the internal good order and preſervation of their territorial diſtricts, which, though poſſible to be enforced with a ſtrong hand by Europeans, requires numbers, and can only be conducted with that eaſe and addreſs peculiar to the native forces of the country.

They are conſidered with reſpect in the eyes of the other natives, though they ſufficiently, and with a good grace, feel and aſſert their own conſequence. In large garriſons, where the duty is great, as Madras, Pondicherry, Trichinopoly, Vellore, &c. two or three battalions might be preſent together, excluſive of Europeans. If ſent ſingly up the country, they are liable to be detached, ſometimes by one or more companies being ſent to a station dependent on the chief garriſon or head quarters otherwiſe they are diſperſed through the diſtrict, four or five together, with a non-commiſſioned officer (this is a part of the ſervice which is called going on command) on hills, or in villages, to preſerve order, convey intelligence, and aſſiſt the Taſildar, Renter, or Cutwall of the place, in caſes of emergency. They alſo enforce the police, and prevent in ſuch caſes the country from being infested with thieves, which otherwiſe have combined, forming a banditti, to rob paſſengers and plunder cattle, of which there are ſo many instances upon record. As for ſuch Britiſh Officers in the Company's ſervice as are attached to battalions, they are obliged to follow the fortunes and destinations of their men, with their reſpective corps, leading a life often replete with adventures of a peculiar nature. And here let me remark, that an individual in ſuch caſes is frequently ſecluded from the rest of the world of his own colour, when up the country or detached upon command, where in a frontier garriſon, or hill fort, in the interior parts of India, none but natives are to be found. Here he might live as he pleaſed, being perfectly abſolute within his juriſdiction. Such stations, being lucrative, are productive, with management, of great emoluments. Neither is the condition hard, if converſant in the language of the country, or that of the Sepoys, called Moors (which most Officers in the Company's ſervice acquire); otherwiſe the loſs of ſociety is not recompenſed by other advantages, as you forget your own language, grow melancholy, and paſs your days without comfort.

The Madras peace eſtabliſhment conſists of thirty Sepoy battalions, but in time of war is augmented as occaſion requires; or frequently each corps is strengthened by two additional companies being added, which are reduced again in time of peace, the Officers remaining ſupernumeraries in the ſervice. In garriſon they are quartered in barracks;—they live agreeably to the uſage of the country, ſleep on the ground, on a mat, or thin carpet. In their perſons they are cleanly, have much ambition about them, but appear to best advantage in their uniform. Off duty they go as the other natives in poor circumstances; have only a cloth round their middle and over their ſhoulders. In perſonal exertion they much agree. As to the different Caſts, the Moor-men, or Muſſulmen, however, aſſert pre-eminence, as coming into the country by conquest. In their perſons they are rather robust, and vindictive in their tempers. Their religion and dreſs is distinct from the Hindoos, who are mild and paſſive in their temper, faithful, steady, and good ſoldiers. The Pariars are inferior to the others, live under different circumstances, dwell in huts, and aſſociate not on equal terms with the rest; they do all menial offices, are ſervants to Europeans, and think themſelves happy when by them employed, though they are equally good Sepoys.

Having thus treated of the Company's Sepoys, I ſhall obſerve, that they are kindly attentive to their Officers when often in circumstances requiring their aſſistance; are guilty of few vices; are ſober from religion and cuſtom; and profeſs a ſtrong attachment for thoſe who have any time commanded them. An Officer travelling merely with his ſervants on the road, will ſuffer obvious inconveniencies to another with a Sepoy or Orderly, who will procure him proviſions, bait for his horſe, ſummon the Taſildar of the village, and procure on the ſpot any thing which can there be found. The latter will always obey, and you travel free from any embarraſſment in your mind, beſides keeping the coolies or bearers carrying your baggage together, who, when fatigued, or have a long ſtage to go, will take an opportunity and run off, thereby impeding your progreſs on the road.

Ceremony of burning a Gentoo Woman with the Corpſe of her Huſband. From a Journey over-land to India. By Donald Campbell, *Eſq.*

THE place fixed for this tragic ſcene was a ſmall iſlet on the bank of one of the branches of the river Cavery, about a mile to the northward of the fort of Tanjore.

When I came to the ſpot, I found the victim, who appeared to be not above ſixteen, ſitting on the ground, dreſſed in the Gentoo manner, with a white cloth wrapped round her, ſome white flowers like jeſſamines hanging round her neck, and ſome of them hanging from her hair. There were about twenty women ſitting on their hams round her, holding a white handkerchief, extended horizontally over her head, to ſhade her from the ſun, which was exceſſively hot, it being then about noon. At about twenty yards from where ſhe was ſitting, and facing her, there were ſeveral Bramins buſy in conſtructing a pile with billets of fire-wood: the pile was about eight feet long and four broad. They firſt began by driving ſome upright ſtakes into the ground, and then built up the middle to about the height of three feet and a half with billets of wood.

The dead huſband, who, from his appearance, ſeemed to be about ſixty years of age, was lying cloſe by, ſtretched out on a bier made of bamboo canes. Four Bramins walked in proceſſion three times round the dead body, firſt in a direction contrary to the ſun, and afterwards other three times in a direction with the ſun, all the while muttering incantations; and at each round or circuit they made, they untwiſted and immediately again twiſted up the ſmall long lock of hair which is left unſhaven at the back of their heads.

Some other Bramins were in the mean time employed in ſprinkling water out of a green leaf, rolled up like a cup, upon a ſmall heap of cake of dry cow dung, with which the pile was afterwards to be ſet on fire.

An old Bramin ſat at the north-eaſt corner of the pile upon his hams, with a pair of ſpectacles on, reading, I ſuppoſe, the Shaſtar, or their ſcriptures, from a book compoſed of Cajan leaves.

Having been preſent now nearly an hour, I inquired when they meant to ſet the pile on fire, they anſwered in about two hours. As this ſpectacle was moſt melancholy, and naturally ſtruck me with horror, and as I had only gone there to aſſure myſelf of the truth of ſuch ſacrifices being made, I went away towards the fort. After I was gone about five hundred yards they ſent ſome one to tell me that they would burn immediately; on which I returned, and found the woman had been moved from where ſhe was ſitting to the river, where the Bramins were bathing her. On taking her out of the water they put ſome money in her hand, which ſhe dipped in the river, and divided among the Bramins: ſhe had then a yellow cloth rolled partially round her. They put ſome red colour, about the ſize of a ſixpence, on the centre of her forehead, and rubbed ſomething that appeared to me to be clay. She was then led to the pile, round which ſhe walked three times as the ſun goes: ſhe then mounted it at the north east corner, without any aſſiſtance; and ſat herſelf down on the right ſide of her huſband, who had been previouſly laid upon the pile. She then unſcrewed the pins which faſtened the jewels or ſilver rings on her arms: after ſhe had taken them off, ſhe ſhut them, and ſcrewed in the pins again, and gave one to each of two women who were ſtanding. She unſcrewed her earrings and other toys with great compoſure, and divided them among the women who were with her. There ſeemed to be ſome little ſquabble about the distribution of her jewels, which ſhe ſettled with great preciſion; and then, falling gently backwards, pulled a fold of yellow cloth over her face, turned her breaſt towards her huſband's ſide, and laid her right arm over his breaſt; and in this poſture ſhe remained without moving.

Juſt before ſhe lay down, the Bramins put ſome rice in her lap, and alſo ſome into the mouth and on the long grey beard of her huſband; they then ſprinkled ſome water on the head, breaſt, and feet of both, and tied them gently round the middle with a ſlender bit of rope: they then raiſed, as it were, a little wall of wood lengthways on two ſides of the pile, ſo as to raiſe it above the level of the bodies; and then put croſs pieces ſo as to prevent the billets of wood from preſſing on them: they then poured on the pile, above where the woman lay, a potfull of ſomething that appeared to me to be oil; after this they heaped on more wood, to the height of about four feet above where the bodies were built in; ſo that all I now ſaw was a ſtack of fire-wood.

One of the Bramins, I obſerved, ſtood at the end of the pile next the woman's head—was calling to her through the interſtices of the wood, and laughed ſeveral times during the converſation. Lastly, they overſpread the pile with wet ſtraw, and tied it on with ropes.

A Bramin then took a handful of ſtraw, which he ſet on fire at the little heap of burning cake of cow dung; and, ſtanding to windward of the pile, he let the wind drive the flame from the ſtraw till it catched the pile. Fortunately, at this inſtant the wind roſe much higher than it had been any part of the day, and in an inſtant the flames pervaded the whole pile, and it burnt with great fury. I liſtened a few ſeconds, but could not diſtinguiſh any ſhrieks, which might perhaps be owing to my being then to windward. In a very few minutes the pile became a heap of aſhes.

During the whole of this proceſs, which laſted from firſt to laſt above two hours before we loſt ſight of the woman, by her being built up in the middle of the pile; I kept my eyes almoſt conſtantly upon her; and I declare to God that I could not perceive, either in her countenance or limbs, the leaſt trace of either horror, fear, or even heſitation: her countenance was perfectly compoſed and placid; and ſhe was not, I am poſitive, either intoxicated or ſtupefied. From ſeveral circumſtances I thought the Bramins exulted in this helliſh ſacrifice, and did not ſeem at all diſpleaſed that Europeans ſhould be witneſſes of it.

Singular Account of a Woman of the Dog-ribbed Indian Tribe.

[*From* Hearne's *journey from Prince of Wales's fort to the Northern Ocean, undertaken by order of the Hudſon's Bay Company in the years* 1769, 1770, 1771, *and* 1772.]

ON the 11th of January, as ſome of my companions were hunting, they ſaw the track of a ſtrange ſnow-ſhoe, which they followed; and at a conſiderable diſtance came to a little hut, where they diſcovered a young woman ſitting alone. As they found that ſhe underſtood their language, they brought her with them to the tents. On examination ſhe proved to be one of the Weſtern Dog-ribbed Indians, who had been taken priſoner by the Athapuſcow Indians, in the ſummer of 1770; and in the following ſummer, when the Indians that took her priſoner were near this part, ſhe had eloped from them, with an intent to return to her own country; but the diſtance being ſo great, and having, after ſhe was taken priſoner, been carried in a canoe the whole way, the turnings and windings of the rivers and lakes were ſo numerous, that ſhe forgot the track; ſo ſhe built the hut in which we found her, to protect her from the weather during the winter, and here ſhe had reſided from the firſt ſetting in of the fall.

From her account of the moons paſt ſince her elopement, it appeared that ſhe had been near ſeven months without ſeeing a human face; during all which time ſhe had ſupported herſelf very well by ſnaring partridges, rabbits, and ſquirrels; ſhe had alſo killed two or three beavers, and ſome porcupines. That ſhe did not ſeem to have been in want is evident, as ſhe had a ſmall ſtock of proviſions by her when ſhe was diſcovered; and was in good health and condition, and I think one of the fineſt women, of a real Indian, that I have ſeen in any part of North America.

The methods practiſed by this poor creature to procure a livelihood were truly admirable, and are great proofs that neceſſity is the real mother of invention. When the few deer ſinews that ſhe had an opportunity of taking with her were all expended in making ſnares, and ſewing her clothing, ſhe had nothing to ſupply their place but the ſinews of the rabbits legs and feet; theſe ſhe twiſted together for that purpoſe with great dexterity and ſucceſs. The rabbits, &c. which ſhe caught in thoſe ſnares, not only furniſhed her with a comfortable ſubſiſtence, but of the ſkins ſhe made a ſuit of neat and warm clothing for the winter. It is ſcarcely poſſible to conceive that a perſon in her forlorn ſituation could be ſo compoſed as to be capable of contriving or executing any thing that was not abſolutely neceſſary to her exiſtence; but there were ſufficient proofs that ſhe had extended her care much farther, as all her clothing, beſide being calculated for real ſervice, ſhowed great taſte, and exhibited no little variety of ornament. The materials, though rude, were very curiouſly wrought, and ſo judiciouſly placed, as to make the whole of her garb have a very pleaſing, though rather romantic appearance.

Her leiſure hours from hunting had been employed in twiſting the inner rind or bark of willows into ſmall lines like net-twine, of which ſhe had ſome hundred fathoms by her; with this ſhe intended to make a fiſhing net as ſoon as the ſpring advanced. It is of the inner bark of willows, twiſted in this manner, that the Dog-ribbed Indians make their fiſhing nets; and they are much preferable to thoſe made by the northern Indians.

Five or ſix inches of an iron hoop, made into a knife, and the ſhank of an arrow-head of iron which ſerved her as an awl, were all the metals this poor woman had with her when ſhe eloped; and with theſe implements ſhe had made herſelf complete ſnow-ſhoes, and ſeveral other uſeful articles.

Her method of making a fire was equally ſingular and curious, having no other materials for that purpoſe than two hard ſulphureous ſtones. Theſe, by long friction and hard knocking, produced a few ſparks, which at length communicated to ſome touchwood; but as this method was attended with great trouble, and not always with ſucceſs, ſhe did not ſuffer her fire to go out all the winter. Hence we may conclude that ſhe had no idea of producing fire by friction, in the manner practiſed by the Eſquimeaux, and many other uncivilized nations; becauſe if ſhe had, the above-mentioned precaution would have been unneceſſary.

The ſingularity of the circumſtance, the comelineſs of her perſon, and her approved accompliſhments, occaſioned a ſtrong conteſt between ſeveral of the Indians of my party, who ſhould have her for a wife; and the poor girl was actually won and loſt at wreſtling by near half a ſcore different men the ſame evening. My guide, Matonabbee, who at that time had no leſs than ſeven wives, all women grown, beſides a young girl of eleven or twelve years old, would have put in for the prize alſo, had not one of his wives made him aſhamed of it, by telling him that he had already more wives than he could properly attend. This piece of ſatire, however true, proved fatal to the poor girl who dared to make ſo open a declaration; for the great man, Matonabbee, who would willingly have been thought equal to eight or ten men in every reſpect, took it as ſuch an affront, that he fell on her with both hands and feet, and bruiſed her to ſuch a degree, that, after lingering ſome time, ſhe died.

When the Athapuſcow Indians took the above Dog-ribbed Indian woman priſoner, they, according to the univerſal cuſtom of thoſe ſavages, ſurpriſed her and her party in the night, and killed every ſoul in the tent, except herſelf and three other young women. Among thoſe whom they killed, were her father, mother, and huſband. Her young child, four or five months old, ſhe concealed in a bundle of clothing, and took with her undiſcovered in the night; but when ſhe arrived at the place where the Athapuſcow Indians had left their wives (which was not far diſtant) they began to examine her bundle, and finding the child, one of the women took it from her and killed it on the ſpot.

This last piece of barbarity gave her ſuch a diſguſt to thoſe Indians, that notwithſtanding the man who took care of her treated her in every reſpect as his wife, and was, ſhe ſaid, remarkably kind to, and even fond of her, ſo far was ſhe from being able to reconcile herſelf to any of the tribe, that ſhe rather choſe to expoſe herſelf to miſery and want, than live in eaſe and affluence among perſons who had ſo cruelly murdered her infant. The poor woman's relation of this ſhocking ſtory, which ſhe delivered in a very affecting manner, only excited laughter among the ſavages of my party.

Deſcription of Pekin.

From a Narrative of the Britiſh Embaſſy to China, in 1792, 1793, *and* 1794. *By* Æneas Anderſon.]

ON entering the ſuburbs, we paſſed beneath ſeveral very beautiful triumphal arches, elegantly painted, and enriched with various fanciful ornaments: the upper part of them was ſquare, with a kind of penthouſe, painted of a green colour, and heightened with varniſh: from the inſide of this roof was ſuſpended the model of an accommodation junk, admirably executed, and adorned with ribbons and ſilken ſtreamers.

Theſe ſuburbs are very extenſive; the houſes are of wood, the greater part of them two ſtories in height, and their fronts painted in various colours. The ſhops are not only commodious for their reſpective purpoſes, but have a certain grandeur in their appearance that is enlivened by the very pretty manner in which the articles of the reſpective magazines are diſplayed to the view of the public, either to diſtinguiſh the trade, or to tempt the purchaſer.

We proceeded gradually through ſpacious ſtreets, which are paved on either ſide for the convenience of foot paſſengers. The whole way was lined with ſoldiers, and, indeed, without ſuch a regulation, it would have been impoſsible for the carriages to have proceeded, from the crowd that attended us.

At two o'clock we arrived at the gates of the grand imperial city of Pekin, with very little ſemblance of diplomatic figure or importance: in ſhort, for I cannot help repeating the ſentiment, the appearance of the Ambaſſador's attendants, both with reſpect to the ſhabbineſs of their dreſs, and the vehicles which conveyed them, bore a greater reſemblance to the removal of paupers to their pariſhes in England, than the expected dignity of the repreſentative of a great and powerful monarch.

Pekin, or as the natives pronounce it, Pitchin, the metropolis of the Chineſe empire, is ſituated in one hundred and ſixteen degrees of eaſt longitude, and between forty and forty-one degrees of north latitude. It is defended by a wall that incloſes a ſquare ſpace of about twelve leagues in circumference: there is a grand gate in the centre of each angle, and as many leſſer ones at each corner, of the wall: they are ſtrongly arched, and fortified by a ſquare building, or tower, of ſeven ſtories, that ſprings from the top of the gateway; the ſides of which are ſtrengthened by a parapet wall, with port-holes for ordnance. The windows of this building are of wood, and painted to imitate the muzzle of a great gun, which is ſo exactly repreſented, that the deception is not diſcoverable but on a very near approach: there are nine of theſe windows to each ſtory on the front towards the ſuburbs. Theſe gates are double; the firſt arch of which is very ſtrongly built of a kind of free-ſtone, and not of marble, as has been related by ſome writers: the depth of it is about thirty feet, and in the middle of the entrance is a very ſtrong door of ſix inches thick, and fortified with iron bolts: this archway leads to a large ſquare which contains the barracks for ſoldiers, conſiſting of mean wooden houſes of two ſtories: on turning to the left, the ſecond gateway is ſeen, whoſe arch is of the ſame dimenſions and appearance as that already deſcribed, but without the tower.

At each of the principal gates there is a ſtrong guard of ſoldiers, with ſeveral pieces of ordnance placed on each ſide of the inner entrance. Theſe gates are opened at the dawn of day, and ſhut at ten o'clock at night, after which hour all communication with the city from the ſuburbs is impracticable; nor will they be opened on any pretence or occaſion whatever, without a ſpecial order from the principal mandarin of the city.

The four leſſer gates are defended by a ſmall fort built on the wall, which is always guarded by a body of troops.

The wall is about thirty feet high, and ten feet in breadth on the top: the foundation is of ſtone, and appears about two feet from the ſurface of the earth: the upper part is of brick, and gradually diminiſhes from the bottom to the top. Whether it is a ſolid ſtructure, or only filled up with mortar or rubbiſh, is a circumſtance concerning which I could not procure any authentic information.

This wall is defended by outworks and batteries, at ſhort diſtances from each other; each of them being ſtrengthened by a ſmall fort, though none of the fortifications are garriſoned but thoſe which are attached to the gates; and though there is a breaſt-work of three feet high, with port holes for cannon, which crowns the whole length of the wall, there is not a ſingle gun mounted upon it. On the ſide towards the city, it is, in ſome places, quite perpendicular; and, in others, forms a gentle declivity from the top to the ground. It is cuſtomary for bodies of ſoldiers to patrole the wall every night during the time that the Emperor reſides in the city, which is from October to April, when his imperial Majeſty uſually goes to a favourite palace in Tartary. From its perfect ſtate of repair and general appearance, I ſhould rather ſuppoſe it to be of modern erection, and that many years cannot have paſſed away ſince it underwent a complete repair, or was entirely rebuilt.

The diſtance from the ſouth gate, where we entered, to the eaſt gate, through which we paſſed out of the city, comprehends, on the moſt moderate computation, a courſe of ten miles. The principal ſtreets are equally ſpacious and convenient, being one hundred and forty feet in breadth, and of great length, but are only paved on each ſide for foot paſſengers. The police of the city, however, ſpares no pains to keep the middle part clean, and free from all kind of nuiſance; there being large bodies of ſcavengers continually employed for that purpoſe, who are aſsiſted, as well as controlled, in their duty by ſoldiers stationed in every district, to enforce a due obſervance of the laws that have been enacted, and the regulations which have been framed, for preſerving civil order among the people, and the municipal œconomics of this immenſe city. I obſerved, as we paſſed along, a great number of men, who were ſprinkling the streets with water, in order to lay the dust, which, in dry weather, would not only be troubleſome to paſſengers, but very obnoxious alſo to the ſhops; whoſe commodities must be more or leſs injured, were it not for this beneficial and neceſſary precaution.

Though the houſes at Pekin are low and mean, when conſidered with reſpect to ſize and domestic accommodation, their exterior appearance is very handſome and elegant, as the Chineſe take a great pride in beautifying the fronts of their ſhops and dwellings; the upper part of the former is ornamented with a profuſion of golden characters; and on the roofs of the latter are frequent galleries, rich in painting and other decoration; where numerous parties of women are ſeen to amuſe themſelves according to the faſhion of the country. The pillars, which are erected before the doors of the ſhops, are gilded and painted, having a flag fixed at the top, whoſe characters ſpecify the name and buſineſs of the owner: tables are alſo ſpread with commodities, and lines attached to theſe pillars are hung with them.

I obſerved a great number of butchers ſhops, whoſe mode of cutting up their meat reſembles our own; nor can the markets of London boast a better ſupply of fleſh than is to be found in Pekin. My curioſity induced me to inquire the prices of their meat, and on my entering the ſhop, I ſaw on a stall before it an earthen stove, with a gridiron placed upon it; and on my employing a variety of ſigns to obtain the information I wanted, the butcher instantly began to cut off ſmall thin ſlices of meat about the ſize of a crown piece, and broiled as fast as I could eat them. I took about a dozen of theſe ſlices, which might altogether weigh ſeven or eight ounces; and when I paid him, which I did by giving him a string of caxee, or ſmall coin, he pulled off, as I ſuppoſe, the amount of his demand, which was one conderon, or ten caxee, the only current money in the empire. I ſaw numbers of people in other butchers ſhops, as I paſſed along, regaling themſelves with beef and mutton in the ſame manner.

The houſes for Porcelain utenſils and ornaments are peculiarly attractive, having a row of broad ſhelves, ranged above each other, on the front of their ſhops, on which they diſpoſe the most beautiful ſpecimens of their trade, in a manner full of fancy and effect.

Beſides the variety of trades which are stationary in this great city, there are many thouſands of its inhabitants who cry their goods about as we ſee in our own metropolis. They generally have a bamboo placed acroſs their ſhoulders, and a baſket at each end of it, in which they carry fiſh, vegetables, eggs, and other ſimilar articles. There are alſo great numbers of hawkers and pedlars, who go about with bags strapped on their ſhoulders like a knapſack, which contain various kinds of stuff goods, the folds of which are expoſed to view. In ſelling theſe stuffs, they uſe the cubic meaſure of ſixteen inches. Barbers alſo are ſeen running about the streets in great plenty, with every instrument known in this country for ſhaving the head and cleanſing the ears: they carry with them for this purpoſe a portable chair, a portable stove, and a ſmall veſſel of water, and whoever wiſhes to undergo either of theſe operations, ſits down in the street, while the operator performs his office, for which he receives a mace. To distinguiſh their profeſſion they carry a pair of large steel tweezers, which they open with their fingers, and let them cloſe again with ſome degree of violence, which produces a ſhrill ſound that is heard at a conſiderable distance; and ſuch is their mode of ſeeking employment. That this trade in China is a very profitable one may be pronounced, becauſe every man must be ſhaved on a part of the head where it is impoſſible to ſhave himſelf.

In ſeveral of the streets I ſaw perſons engaged in ſelling off goods by auction: the auctioneer stood on a platform ſurrounded with the various articles he had to ſell; he delivered himſelf in a loud and bawling manner, but the ſmiling countenances of the audience, which was the only language I could interpret, ſeemed to expreſs the entertainment they received from his harangue.

At each end of the principal streets, for there are no ſquares in Pekin, there is a large gateway fancifully painted, with an handſome roof coloured and varniſhed: beneath which the name of the street is written in golden characters; theſe arches terminate the nominal street, or otherwiſe there would be streets in ſome parts of the city of at least five miles in length, which are formed into ſeveral diviſions by theſe gateways. They are very handſome, as well as central objects, and are railed in on each ſide from the foot pavement.

The narrow streets are encloſed at each end with ſmall lattice gates, which are always ſhut during the night; but all the conſiderable streets are guarded both night and day by ſoldiers, who wear ſwords by their ſides, and carry long whips in their hands, to clear the streets of any inconvenient throng of people, and to chastiſe ſuch as are refractory in ordinary decorum or good behaviour.

Notwithstanding the vast extent of this place, there is little or no variety in their houſes, as I have before obſerved, but in the colours with which they are painted; they are in reality nothing better than temporary booths, erected entirely for exterior ſhow, and without any view to strength or durability. It is very rare, indeed, to ſee an houſe of more than one ſtory, except ſuch as belong to mandarins, and even thoſe are covered, as it were, by the walls, which riſe above every houſe or building in Pekin, except a lofty pagoda, and the imperial palace.

There are no carriages ſtanding in the ſtreets for the convenience of the inhabitants, like our hackney coaches in London: the higher claſſes of people keep palanquins, and others of leſs diſtinction have covered carts drawn by an horſe or mule.

The opinion, that the Chineſe women are excluded from the view of ſtrangers, has very little, if any, foundation, as among the immenſe crowd aſſembled to ſee the cavalcade of the Engliſh embaſſy, one-fourth of the whole at leaſt were women; a far greater proportion of that ſex than is to be ſeen in any concourſe of people whom curioſity aſſembles in our own country: and if the idea is founded in truth, that curioſity is a peculiar characteriſtic of the female diſpoſition in Europe, I ſhall preſume to ſay that, from the eagerneſs which we obſerved in the looks of the Chineſe women as we paſſed by them, that the quality which has juſt been mentioned is equally prevalent among the fair ones of Aſia.

The women we ſaw on our paſſage through Pekin poſſeſſed, in general, great delicacy of feature, and fair ſkins by nature, with which, however, they are not content, and therefore whiten them with coſmetics; they likewiſe employ vermilion, but in a manner wholly different from the application of rouge among our European ladies, for they mark the middle of their lips with it by a stripe of its deepeſt colour, which, without pretending to reaſon upon it, certainly heightened the effect of their features. Their eyes are very ſmall, but powerfully brilliant, and their arms extremely long and ſlender. The only difference between the women of Pekin, and thoſe we had already ſeen, as it appeared to us, was, that the former wear a ſharp peak of black velvet or ſilk, which is ornamented with ſtones, and deſcends from the forehead almoſt between their eyes; and that their feet, free from the bandages which have already been mentioned, were ſuffered to attain their natural growth.

When we had paſſed through the eastern gate of the city, ſome confuſion having ariſen among the baggage carts, the whole proceſsion was obliged to halt. I, therefore, took the opportunity of eaſing my limbs, which were very much cramped by the inconvenience of the machine, and perceiving a number of women in the crowd that ſurrounded us, I ventured to approach them; and addreſsing them with the Chineſe word *Chou-au*, (or beautiful) they appeared to be extremely diverted, and gathering round me, but with an air of great modeſty and politeneſs, they examined the make and form of my clothes, as well as the texture of the materials of which they were compoſed. When the carts began to move off, I took leave of theſe obliging females by a gentle ſhake of the hand, which they tendered to me with the moſt graceful affability; nor did the men, who were preſent, appear to be at all diſſatisfied with my conduct, but, on the contrary, expreſſed, as far as I could judge, very great ſatisfaction at this public attention I paid to their ladies. It appears, therefore, that in this city, the women are not diveſted of a reaſonable portion of their liberty, and, conſequently, that the jealouſy attributed ſo univerſally to the Chineſe men, is not a predominant quality, at leaſt, in the capital of the empire.

Among other objects which we ſaw in our way, and did not fail to attract our notice, we met a funeral proceſsion, which proved to be a very ſtriking and ſolemn ſpectacle: the coffin is covered by a canopy decorated with curtains of ſatin, enriched with gold and flowers, and hung with eſcutcheons: it is placed on a large bier or platform, and carried by at leaſt fifty or ſixty men, who ſupport it on their ſhoulders with long bamboos croſsing each other, and march eight abreaſt with ſlow and ſolemn ſtep. A band of muſic immediately follows, playing a kind of dirge, which was not without a mixture of pleaſing tunes: the relations and friends of the deceaſed perſon then followed, arrayed in black and white dreſſes.

Having paſſed through the eaſtern ſuburbs of the city, we entered into a rich and beautiful country, when a ſhort ſtage of about four miles brought us to one of the Emperor's palaces named Yeumenmanyeumen, where we arrived about five o' clock in the afternoon, oppreſſed with fatigue from the extreme heat of the day, and the various impediments which obſtructed our paſſage, ariſing from the immenſe crowds of people that may be ſaid to have filled up the whole way from Tong-tchew to this place, a journey of thirty miles.

In a ſhort time after our arrival, we received a very ſcanty and indifferent refreſhment, when the whole ſuite retired to ſleep off the fatigue of the day.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Particulars of the Zoology of the Iſle *of* Wight: *From the Hiſtory of that Iſland, by the Rev.* Richard Warner.

WE have hitherto conſidered the magnificent exhibitions of nature in the Iſle of Wight: we ſhall now deſcend to her more minute but not leſs intereſting operations. In the contemplation of caverns, rocks, and mountains, the mind is rather awed into aſtoniſhment than ſoftened into delight: we there behold the agency of a Being of infinite power and majeſty, at whoſe preſence the 'earth ſhakes, the heavens drop, and the waters are afraid;' but in ſurveying the economy of the animal and vegetable kingdoms; the exquiſite mechaniſm with which their individuals are formed; the unerring inſtincts with which they are endued; and the nice adaptation of their ſeveral parts to anſwer the purpoſes for which they were created, we acknowledge the finger of a God, wiſe and benevolent, as he is great and powerful; who is "good to all the creatures of his hand; and whoſe tender mercies are over all his works."

The *fauna Vectenſis* does not add much to the zoology of Hampſhire. It is indeed marked by ſome ſingular omiſsions in the chain of quadrupeds common in every other part of England. The fox, who has for ages been the terror of the farmer, and the delight of the ſportſman throughout Britain, was never yet found in the Iſle of Wight. The harmleſs badger alſo, and the fetid fitchet, or polecat, are ſtrangers to this diſtrict; which, from the abſence of theſe animals, and its inſular ſituation, appears to be the beſt calculated for the production of game of any place in Great Britain. And indeed it has always been famous for its hares, pheaſants, and partridges.

The hare of the Iſle of Wight furniſhes good and conſtant ſport to the hunter during the ſeaſon. It is, I think, rather ſmaller than its brethren on the continent, but ſwift and ſtrong. The inequalities of the iſland make this ſpot an excellent reſidence for the animal, and give it conſiderable advantages over its purſuers. The long muſcular hind legs which it has, are well calculated to mount the ſteep downs of the iſland with uncommon fleetneſs; and it not unfrequently eſcapes, by diſtancing both hunters and dogs, at theſe rapid aſcents.

As the hare is an animal of ſurpriſing fecundity, and ſecured from the attacks of the fox and polecat, by the abſence of theſe deſtructive vermin in this part, we may naturally ſuppoſe they would be found in very great plenty throughout the iſland. And indeed this was the caſe till within theſe thirty or forty years; but as a Roman taste for theſe animals has ariſen among us, and they are conſidered as tit-bits by modern epicuriſm, the midnight poacher finds it well worth while to employ all his ſkill, and run every riſk, in the capture of the hare; a practice which of courſe must thin the breed extremely. There remain, however, ſufficient for the ſport of the gentlemen of the iſland.

There are few diſagreeable reptiles in the iſland. Such as occur, are found in the lower, ſandy parts of it; the other ſpots being freed from them by the elevation and expoſure of their ſituation. Many vipers indeed are met with in the chalky and stony places, and the largest I ever ſaw, I had nearly trodden upon, in the pariſh of Wootton, in the outſkirts of Coombly wood, in August 1792. Had my foot, however, come in contact with this animal, no injury could have enſued to me from the preſſure; as it was utterly incapable of revenging the inſult. This incapacity had been produced by its voraciouſneſs, as was evident on an examination of the reptile. We then found that it had attempted to gorge a frog, (at least three times as large in circumference as the thickest part of its own body) but being unable to accompliſh the taſk entirely, one of the legs and thighs of its prey continued to depend from the viper's mouth, and effectually prevented it from cloſing the jaws and excluding its poiſon. The animal indeed (as is the caſe with all the ſerpent kind after ſatisfying their voracity) was in a state of torpor, which rendered it apparently inſenſible of our approach or obſervation, and unable to expreſs any tokens of indignation when we destroyed it. On meaſuring it when dead, it was found to be exactly twenty-nine inches long.

On contemplating this animal, one of the most remarkable circumstances relating to it, appears to be the faculty it thus poſſeſſes of extending its jaws, throat, and stomach ſo conſiderably, as to render them capable of admitting a ſubstance much thicker than any part of its body. In the ſingular conformation of its parts, to accompliſh this purpoſe, the wiſdom of Providence strikingly manifests itſelf. The head of the viper is broad and flat, having a wide mouth of very uncommon and diſproportionate magnitude. This permits the jaws to gape to a great extent; but the aperture would still be inſufficient for the admiſsion of the animal's prey, were not the capability of its distenſion increaſed by the following nice contrivance. The jaws are not united together at the bottom, as in the human mouth, by a proceſs reſembling a pair of hinges; but connected by a strong muſcle, the elaſticity of which is ſuch, as to keep the features firm when not in action, and to allow their being stretched to an immoderate extent, when the ſize or form of the animal's food requires it. The gullet or throat receives the aliment from the mouth, and being very capacious and elastic, eaſily accommodates itſelf to the magnitude and figure of it. From hence a part only immediately finds its way into the stomach, a receptacle by no means ſo large as the gullet; here it continues till it be reduced by the action of digestion into chyle, which going off in the natural way, affords room for the remaining parts to be abſorbed by the stomach, and digested.

Theſe reptiles are viviparous, but fortunately for mankind not very prolific. The poiſon of their bite is fully eſtabliſhed; and the effects of it, if there be no ſpeedy application to the wound, extremely frightful, and many times fatal. The ſimpleſt and moſt ready cure, in caſe of an injury from a viper, is a briſk fomentation of the wounded limb with warmed ſalad oil; and taking about a gill of the ſame liquid internally.

The only inſect of any curioſity, which my occaſional walks through the iſland have given me an opportunity of diſcovering, is the *gryllus talpa*, or mole-cricket. The character and manners of this little creature, which is perfectly inoffenſive, are well deſerving notice, particularly as its homely, and indeed hideous figure, are apt to excite emotions of dread and abhorrence, neither of which need be entertained against it. The only one I have ſeen in this part of Hampſhire occurred in a wet meadow in the heart of the iſland. It had been dug up by a lad who was grouting for earth-worms; and had filled him with aſtoniſhment and apprehenſion. The ſpade was juſt lifted for dividing the harmleſs inſect in twain, when my preſence and entreaty prevented the meditated blow. On examining this inſect, it appeared to be of a very dark brown colour, and little more than two inches in length. Its body was ſcaly, furniſhed with two long, pointed wings, and as many hairy tails. The moſt remarkable parts about it, however, were the fore feet, which have ſome reſemblance to a human hand, and are admirably formed for making thoſe ſubterraneous excavations wherein the animal reſides, and depoſits its eggs. Strong, webbed, and a little incurvated, the mole-cricket works with its paws at a prodigious rate, and will burrow its way through a whole ridge of leguminous plants, (of the roots of which it is very fond) in the courſe of a ſingle night. With theſe inſtruments, alſo, its neat habitation (which is a room about the ſize of a hen's egg) is quickly formed, and guarded with various winding paſſages, and curious approaches to it. This domicilium is generally, in the ſummer time, placed within ſix inches of the ſurface of the ground, and herein the female lays her eggs, from one hundred to one hundred and fifty; but toward winter, inſtinct, ever faithful to its office, informs the little being that in order to ſecure his tender offſpring he muſt get deeper into the ſoil, and retire from the influence of the froſt. Again therefore he ſets to work, and in a ſhort time completes with his little webbed feet, a commodious hybernaculum, about fourteen inches below the ſurface of the ground. Hither he retires with his family, and patiently waits for the return of genial ſuns, and warmer ſeaſons, when he again takes poſſeſſion of his ſummer abode.

The chief food of the mole-cricket conſiſts of roots and vegetables; for which he ſometimes travels at night, by the aſsiſtance of his wings, to a conſiderable diſtance. Before morning he generally returns to his ſubterraneous habitation, and, wonderful to tell! is found (by the minute inveſtigations of naturaliſts and anatomiſts) to be employed there during the day chiefly in ruminating, or chewing the cud.

The fiſh found on the coaſt of the iſland are chiefly ſuch as frequent the ſouthern ſhores of Britain. Now and then, indeed, theſe innoxious tribes are diſturbed by the ſhark, who is either brought from the Baltic, or the tropics. In theſe caſes he comes,

> Lur'd by the ſcent
> Of steaming crowds, of rank diſeaſe, and death,

following veſſels, the crews of which are unhealthy, and afford him luxurious meals by their occaſional diſſolution. Sharks have been ſhot in the strait that ſeparates the iſland from the oppoſite ſhore, and been ſeen even within the harbour of Cowes. They make, however, but a ſhort stay in this neighbourhood; and either return to the regions from whence they came, or go more to the westward, in ſearch of the droves of pilchards on the Corniſh coast.

The *porpeſſe* alſo is perpetually ſeen on the coasts of the iſland, "tempesting the deep" with its unweildy gambols. It is a very diſgusting fiſh to the eye, being almost black in colour, with a head like a hog, and from three to ſix feet in length.

During the whiting and herring ſeaſon it is very amuſing to watch theſe animals in purſuit of their food, which is compoſed of the ſmaller fiſh; and to remark the various arts by which they accompliſh the great end of ſatisfying their voracity. An excellent naturalist compares their exertions, at this time, to thoſe of a pack of hounds after a fox; and indeed there is a great reſemblance in the operations of both. Their eagerneſs alſo, when thus engaged, equals that of the dog, and frequently renders the porpeſſe ſo blind to its ſafety, that he will daſh headlong upon ſhoals from which he never can recede, rather than give up the purſuit. It is either by an accident of this nature, or by an injury or indiſpoſition which prevents him keeping the ſeas, that the porpeſſe is now and then forced on our ſhores, and found either dead or expiring. When this happens, the carcaſs proves to be no contemptible treaſure to the finder; for the quantity of fat with which the fleſh is ſurrounded, being well boiled, is converted into a very excellent and valuable oil. The lean alſo of this fiſh is in ſome parts of the world uſed for the table; but proves, to a palate not habituated to it, a very rank and diſagreeable viand.

The mutations of faſhions and tastes, however, in the line of eating, have been not a little whimſical, even in our own country; ſince the porpeſſe, which we now turn from with loathing and abhorrence, was eaten with avidity by the old Engliſh epicure. Ancient cookery exhausted all its art in mixing ſauces for this delectable morceau; and there was no entertainment of any magnificence, till the ſixteenth century, at which the porpeſſe, either bodily or in junks, did not find a reſpectable place.

There is another fiſh of a curious form and ſingular history, which is often fiſhed up by the dredgers on the iſland ſhores. This is the *loligo*, or great cuttle fiſh, whoſe bones are the well known white, oval ſubstances, found on the beach in many parts of the iſland. This aquatic animal, which the naturalists place in the *vermes* claſs, exhibits a very hideous and deformed appearance. It is from eighteen inches to two feet in length, and covered with a thin dark-coloured ſkin. To the eye it ſeems to be of the conſistence of jelly; strengthened, conſolidated, and defended as it were by a bone on the upper part of the back. For the convenience of feeding itſelf, it poſſeſſes eight arms, placed with great regularity round its mouth, each of which is thickly ſet with a multitude of ſmall concave diſcs, that enable it to adhere, with inconceivable tenacity, to rocks or ſtones when it chooſes to be quieſcent. Excluſive of theſe arms it has two *tentacula*, or feelers, of conſiderable length, which it is able to extend or contract at pleaſure. With theſe it ſeizes upon the ſmall fry that compoſe its food; which having entangled, they immediately commit the prey to the management of the eight arms, while themſelves are again extended in ſearch of further plunder. The eyes are ſeated immediately beneath the *tentacula*; and a little below them is diſcovered a curious mouth, which in ſhape and ſubſtance nearly reſembles the beak of a parrot.

As this fiſh is formed without any external weapons of defence, and by no means made for conteſt or exertion, it would fare but ill amid the dangers of the deep, and the numerous enemies that ſurround it, had not Providence wiſely afforded it a means of ſafety, which enables it to eſcape miſchance, and continue the propagation of its kind. This ariſes from a ſecretion of a black fluid, nearly reſembling the beſt ink, contained in a bladder under the belly of the fiſh. No ſooner does the animal perceive himſelf to be in danger, from the purſuit of an enemy which he can neither out-ſwim nor contend with, than he emits (by the anus) a certain portion of his dingy liquor; this immediately diſcolours the circumambient waters, and precludes the purſuer from ſeeing his deſtined prey, which, wrapped in impenetrable darkneſs, quietly ſinks to the bottom, and there remains till the danger be overpaſt.

Theſe remarkable means of ſelf-preſervation, did not elude the obſervation of the ancient naturaliſts, who all make mention of them; and particularly Oppian, in the following pretty manner:

"Th' endanger'd cuttle thus evades his fears,
And native hoards of fluid ſafely bears.
A pitchy ink peculiar glands ſupply,
Whoſe ſhades the ſharpeſt beams of light defy;
Purſu'd, he bids the ſable fountains flow,
And wrapt in clouds eludes th' impending foe.
The fiſh retreats unſeen, while ſelf-born night,
With pious ſhade befriends her parent's flight."

The *launce*, *ammodytes*, or ſand-eel, is a delicate little fiſh, found on the ſandy ſhores of the iſland. It being both a good bait for other ſpecies, and excellent eating in itſelf, the fiſhermen take ſome trouble in procuring them. At the receſs of the tide, they are to be found about fourteen inches below the ſurface, and are eaſily turned up by a light ſpade, or tridented fork. The iſlanders call them the ſand ſprat, from the place of their reſidence; into which they bore with great dexterity and diſpatch.

Here alſo is found the *ſiliqua*, a ſpecies of the *ſolen*, or razor; ſo called from the exact reſemblance of its ſhell to the haft of that inſtrument. I believe the iſlanders are unacquainted with the excellence of this fiſh; ſince I did not find they ever made a practice of taking them, although it is evident they are ſufficiently plentiful on the ſandy parts of the coaſt, from the numbers of caſt ſhells which occur, and the holes of their habitations viſible at low water.

The ſlender form of this ſhell enables its inhabitant to ſink it eaſily into the ſand, which it does in a perpendicular direction, to the depth of nearly two feet. When the fiſh requires food, it aſcends from this dark retreat, and diſcovers one end of the ſhell a few inches above the ſurface of the ſand; from this the body is ſeen to be protruded, and actively employed in the ſearch of ſuch minute inſects as conſtitute its prey.

The *ſiliqua* is only to be caught at the receſs of the tide; and ſo vigilant is it in providing for its own ſafety, that it requires great circumſpection to ſurpriſe it even then. In this caſe, the fiſherman takes ſome ſalt, and places a ſmall quantity of it round the perforation in the ſand wherein the fiſh reſides. This quickly melting, penetrates to the *ſiliqua*, who is led from thence to believe the tide is riſen, and accordingly elevates himſelf to the ſurface to ſeek for food. A moment, however, convinces it of the deceit, and if the fiſherman be not extremely active, his deſtined prey eſcapes him; by ſinking inſtantaneouſly into its dark and deep retreat, from whence it is not a ſecond time to be allured.

The *mytilus edulis*, or eatable muſcle, is found in many parts of the iſland ſhores, but appears not to be regarded much, from the opinion of its poſſeſſing ſome noxious, nay poiſonous qualities. The idea, however, is ſlanderous and without foundation, as the fiſh itſelf is a wholeſome and nutritious food. What occaſions the diſagreeable effects ſometimes experienced after eating muſcles, is ſwallowing inadvertently the little maſs of hair or ſilky web, found in the middle of the fiſh, with which it attaches itſelf when alive to rocks and ſtones. This is very pernicious and highly indigeſtible, producing that ſickneſs, ſwelling, &c. which raw ſilk, cobwebs, or any thing of the ſame nature, is found, if ſwallowed, to occaſion*.

On opening the muſcle, there is generally diſcovered a ſmall crab, called the *piſum*, or pea crab, who ſeems to be the voluntary inhabitant of this bivalve. The ancients fancifully imagined, that this minute inſect was purpoſely placed in the ſhell of the muſcle, and other fiſh of the ſame claſs, to aſsiſt by its ſagacity, the ſtupidity of its hoſt, in acquiring food and avoiding danger. When the friendly pair feel inclined to eat, the muſcle opens its ſhells, and permits the little lodger to travel forth in queſt of provender. As ſoon as he has procured a ſupply, he returns to the ſluggiſh muſcle, enters the ſhell, and divides the plunder with him. But ſhould he, on going out, perceive any of the *polypus* race, (the ſworn enemies of the mytilus tribe) in the neighbourhood, he inſtantly hurries to his teſtaceous home, communicates the alarm, and all danger is immediately prevented by the muſcle firmly cloſing his impenetrable ſhell.

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* The ſingular conformation of the organs of this marine animal is ſaid to be this: it has a mouth furniſhed with two fleſhy lips; its inteſtine begins at the bottom of the mouth, paſſes through the brain, and makes a number of circumvolutions through the liver; on leaving this organ it goes on ſtraight into the heart, which it penetrates, and ends in the anus; near which the lungs are placed, and through which it breathes.—Goldſmith's Animated Nature, vol. vii. page 42.

All the ſubmarine rocks and stones on the coast of the iſland afford protection to the *patella vulgata*, or common limpet; and to theſe this fiſh attaches itſelf with the most obstinate adheſion. The difficulty of ſeparation indeed is ſuch, that the fiſhermen are deterred from attempting to collect limpets for ſale; though ſuch as have patience ſufficient to diſengage them from the places to which they are affixed, are rewarded for their trouble by an extremely good and nouriſhing viand.

Various ſpecies of turbinated ſhells, chiefly of the *buccinum* or *welk* kind, are picked up on theſe ſhores. As the natural inhabitants of theſe affect the deep receſſes of the ocean, the ſhells are never found with their original poſſeſſors alive. It frequently happens, however, that on taking them up they appear to be tenanted by a kind of crab; the claws and legs of which diſcover themſelves at the mouth or opening of the ſhell. This lodger is called the *bernard*, or hermit-crab, and curiouſly exhibits the wonderful operations of animal instinct. As the hinder parts of the hermit's body are tender and naked, unprotected by that ſhelly covering which its crustaceous brethren poſſeſs, perpetual injuries would happen to it, had not nature provided it with a foreſight which ſerves to guard it from external accident. Taught by this, the hermit-crab ſeeks for the roomy cavity of ſome forſaken welk, into which it wriggles itſelf, and there continues till its increaſed ſize obliges it to look out for a habitation of greater dimenſions. It then leaves its temporary protector, and traverſes the coast with patient aſſiduity in ſearch of another abode, to which when found it attaches itſelf, as to the former one, by means of a strong hook placed at the extremity of its tail. So kindly has Providence bestowed even on the most minute and contemptible animals, the means of comfort and ſelf-preſervation!

The ſouthern ſhore of the iſland abounds with crustaceous fiſh of all ſorts. The lobster and crab in particular are found in great plenty, and of uncommon ſize and excellence. Of the former, I have ſeen an individual that weighed ſix pounds and a half; and I am informed the latter will arrive to an equal magnitude. The plentiful production of this fiſh on a particular part of the ſhore, at the back of the iſland, has occaſioned a neighbouring village to be called Crab-niton.

Account of the Papilio Atlantica, explaining the cauſe of ſeeming Showers of Blood.

[*From the Naturaliſt's Miſcellany*, vol. v.]

THE Papilio Atlantica is one of the most beautiful of the Britiſh inſects, and proceeds from a caterpillar, which feeds on the leaves of the common nettle. It generally changes to a chryſalis in the month of July or August; from which, in about the ſpace of ſixteen or eighteen days, emerges the complete inſect.

The papilionaceous inſects in general, ſoon after their first enlargement from the chryſalis, and commonly during the firſt flight they take, diſcharge ſome drops of a coloured fluid, which in many ſpecies is of a red, more or leſs intenſe. This may be frequently obſerved in ſome of the moſt common ſpecies, as the P. Urtica, Atalanta, Polychloros, &c. and is a circumſtance which, excluſive of its analogy to the ſame proceſs of nature in other animals, is peculiarly worthy of attention, from the explanation which it affords of a phenomenon ſometimes conſidered, both in ancient and modern times, in the light of a prodigy; viz. the deſcent of red drops from the air, which has been called a ſhower of blood: an event recorded by ſeveral writers, and particularly commemorated by Ovid among the prodigies which took place after the death of the great dictator.

> "Sæpe faces viſæ mediis ardere ſub aſtris:
> Sæpe inter nimbos guttæ cecidere cruentæ:
>
> With threatening ſigns the lowering ſkies were fill'd,
> And ſanguine drops from murky clouds diſtill'd."

This highly rational elucidation of a phenomenon, at firſt view ſo inexplicable, ſeems to have been firſt propoſed by the celebrated Piereſc, who, with his own eyes, obſerved the veſtiges of an appearance of this kind in France, in the year 1608, and was clearly convinced of its real origin; viz. the diſcharge above mentioned, proceeding from a ſpecies of butterfly, probably the P. Urticæ, which happened during that ſeaſon to be uncommonly plentiful in the particular diſtrict where the phenomenon was obſerved. The ſame idea was alſo entertained by Swammerdam, though he does not appear to have verified it from his own obſervations. I am the more particular on this ſubject, as I have ſeen in ſome author, whoſe name I do not at preſent recollect, this ſolution, and even the appearance itſelf, regarded as in the higheſt degree improbable: but the ocular atteſtation of ſo eminent a character as Piereſc, and the full perſuaſion of a reaſoner like Swammerdam, are ſurely ſufficient to eſtabliſh not only the credibility but the certainty, both of the phenomenon itſelf and its explication.

On the fiſh encloſed in ſtone of Monte Bolca. By the Rev. George Graydon, LL.B.

[*From Tranſactions of the Royal Iriſh Academy,* vol. v.]

MONTE Bolca lies on the border of the Veroneſe territory, about fifty miles W. N. W. of the Lagunes of Venice, which I believe is the neareſt ſea. I am not informed of its height, but it muſt be pretty conſiderable, as I underſtood from the inhabitants that the climate is too cold for the growth of the country fruits, which are common about every peaſant's houſe in the lower grounds, ſuch as apricots, apples, cherries, &c. as well as vines. It forms one of the chain or ladder of ſecondary hills, which, from ſome diſtance within the adjoining Vicentine, riſe gradually above one another to the Alps of the Biſhopric of Trent.

Great part of this tract of country has been conſidered by many Italian; as well as other naturaliſts of eminence that have viſited it, as covered with productions of extinct volcanos. The ſuppoſed lava of theſe diſtricts differs eſſentially from that of which the Euganean hills are compoſed; this latter is of a whitiſh, yellowiſh, or browniſh grey, rough and coarſe in the grain, and mixed with numerous minute fragments of what they denominate ſchorl and felt-ſpar; whence Sir John Strange, Monſieur de Dolomieu, and others, have called it granitical, though unlike granite in many important points: But the ſuppoſed compact lava of the Vicentine and Veroneſe is black, or dark blue, of a cloſe and rather fine grain, even, and almoſt homogeneous, except that it ſometimes contains a few fragments of ſchorl, and is wholly of the argillaceous genus, and of the trapp or hornblend ſpecies; and in ſhort almoſt perfectly reſembles our baſaltic ſtone of the county of Antrim, and the N.W. of Scotland. The baſaltic columns of San Giovanni Harione, deſcribed by Sir John Strange, lie not many miles from Bolca, on the ſide of the valley that leads to it, and the ſummit of this hill itſelf was, many years ago, diſcovered by Abbate Fortis to be crowned with a great maſs of tolerably defined columnar baſalte.

The whole of the hill, as far as I could obſerve, ſeems to be compoſed of ſimilar, or, at leaſt, of argillaceous matter, except the quarries in which the fiſh are found, which are calcareous, and lie at about half a mile from the ſummit. Beſides the diſſimilarity of thoſe to the other materials of the hill, it is further important to remark, that they do not form a continued ſtratum, but lie in great and wholly detached and diſtinct maſſes, as it were accidentally imbedded in the ſide of the hill, ſet in a looſe rubble of argillaceous, and the ſame kind of calcareous fragments, the whole more or leſs in a ſtate of decompoſition.

The maſs that has been moſt worked ſtands near the point of an angle formed by two deep channels, that have been worn by a greater and leſs torrent that meet there. The height of its face above the preſent ſurface is, as well as I can recollect, about fourteen or fifteen feet; but as it cannot be determined to what depth it may be buried in the ground, it is not eaſy to judge what its poſitive height or breadth may be. The length of the face, I ſhould ſuppoſe, for I did not meaſure it, may be two hundred feet or upwards. The ſtone is of a ſchiſtous or flag-like ſtructure, the leaves lying in the ſame direction, and parallel to each other; but this direction, it is to be remarked, is neither horizontal, nor coincident with the ſlope of the hill.

I got ſome of the people that are uſually employed in working the quarry, to bring their tools, and ſhow me their manner of operation, as well to be informed in this, as, if poſſible, to ſee ſome fiſh actually opened in this ſtone. Unfortunately the day proved very wet, which prevented my having more than two or three workmen, but from theſe I procured almoſt all the information and ſatisfaction I could expect. I ſpent nearly three hours on the ſpot, during which time I not only ſaw ſome fiſh, as well as a few remains of marine vegetables found by the men, but had the pleaſure to find ſome myſelf, opening, with my own hands, ſtones which contained them. Theſe I collected, packed, and brought home; and ſome of them are now in the Muſeum of the Academy: they are but ſmall, indeed, and in the mutilated ſtate that accident preſented them; but I believe they are amply ſufficient to authenticate the principal fact, if any one ſhould be found to doubt it.

The manner of working theſe ſtones, is, by detaching from the face of the quarry moderate ſized blocks, which are then drawn out, ſet on edge, and quickly ſplit, with ſharp-ſided hammers or wedges, the workmen glancing between the leaves, to obſerve if there be any mark of fiſh, or other organic ſubſtance; when they diſcover ſuch, if they happen to be ſhattered, as they generally are, by the rude manner of opening, and the fragile texture of the ſtone, they ſet about to collect all the fragments that compoſe the piece as carefully as poſſible, detaching alſo from the great ſtone ſuch parts as may remain adhering to it. When their day's work is done, they bring their collections to their houſes, until they happen to go, either to market, or on any other occaſion, to Verona, when they take them in baſkets, just as they are, to the proprietor of the ſoil, who is their landlord and employer; or frequently, I believe, to ſell underhand, for their own profit, to ſome naturaliſt there, or to ſome of the ſhops that vend theſe productions. Thoſe who receive them in this manner from the peaſants, are then obliged to employ a ſkilful stone-cutter, to find and arrange together the ſeveral fragments that compoſe each piece, and veneer or cement them on another stone of the ſame kind; which is ſometimes done with ſuch art and exactneſs, that it is not eaſy to diſcern where they have been joined; and thus the ſpecimens are made up for cabinets or for ſale.

Account of the Pinna Nobilis, and the ſilk produced by it.

[*From Travels through various provinces of the Kingdom of Naples, in* 1789. *By* Charles Ulyſſes, *of Salis Marſchlins.*]

PINNA Nobilis. Linn. 265. Mart. t. viii. tab. 89. Although every part of the Neapolitan ſea produces this ſhell-fiſh in great abundance, and of an extraordinary ſize, the Tarentines alone reap any advantage from it, and even collect it upon the coasts of Sardinia and Corſica; but the tuft of ſilk, for which they are ſought and collected, is not equally good in all places. Where the bottom of the ſea is ſandy, the ſhell and its tuft, which takes root in the ſand, may eaſily be drawn out; and when waſhed the tuft is of a gloſſy gold colour. In ruſhy and muddy bottoms, the ſhell and tuft not only stick ſo fast as to be generally broken when drawn up, but the colour of the ſilk is black, and without gloſs. The ſhell is always in an upright poſition, open, and half a palm deep in the ground. Many fiſhermen aſſured me, that they have frequently taken notice of the ſhrimp, which is constantly in the neighbourhood of the pinna, but does not keep within it, and is known by the name of the pinna's centinel. When an enemy of the muſcle, eſpecially the ſepia octopedia, here called polypo, is in the neighbourhood, the ſhrimp makes a motion in the water; upon which the pinna ſhuts its ſharp ſhells ſo cloſe and forcibly, that if a finger were in the way, it would riſk being cut off. They alſo aſſured me, that the ſepia ſometimes takes a stone, and lets it fall into the open ſhell, ſo as to prevent its ſhutting; but that when that trick fails, it endeavours forcibly to tear the ſhell from the bottom, and break it to pieces. Chemnitz, whoſe opinion is doubtleſs of great weight, has indeed treated all this as a ridiculous fable, in the tenth part of his "Natural Hiſtorian," and in his admirable continuation of Martini's Cabinet of ſhells; but ſo many reſpectable old fiſhermen, who have paſſed their lives upon the ſea, have ſo earneſtly aſſured me of the contrary, that the truth is ſtill in my mind undecided.

This muſcle is fiſhed up with an iron, called pernonico, and the operation is thus performed. The inſtrument conſiſts of two ſemicircular bars of iron, faſtened together at each end, but three inches diſtant from each other in the centre. From one end to the other, the diameter is nine inches, and the cavity, or half diameter, is from four to five inches. At one end is a hollow handle, in which a pole of the length required may be faſtened at pleaſure; but at the other end is a ring, to which a cord is made faſt. As ſoon as a pinna is diſcovered, the iron is ſlowly let down on the ground over the ſhell, which is then twiſted round, and drawn out. When the fiſherman has got a ſufficient number of them, the ſhell is opened, and the ſilk, called at Taranto lana penna, is cut off the animal, and after being twice waſhed in tepid water, once in ſoap and water, and twice again in tepid water, is ſpread upon a table, and ſuffered to half dry in ſome cool and ſhady place. Whilſt it is yet moiſt, it is again ſoftly rubbed and ſeparated with the hand, and ſpread upon the table to dry; and when thoroughly dry, it is drawn through a wide comb, and afterwards through a narrow one. Both theſe combs are of bone, and, except in ſize, are like hair combs. The ſilk thus combed belongs to the common ſort, and is called extradente; but that which is deſtined for finer works, is again drawn through iron combs, or cards, there called ſcarde. It is then ſpun with a diſtaff and ſpindle, two or three threads of it being mixed with one of real ſilk; after which they knit not only gloves, ſtockings, and waiſtcoats, but even whole garments of it. When the piece is finiſhed, it is waſhed in clean water, mixed with lemon juice, after which it is gently beaten between the hands, and finally ſmoothed with a warm iron. The moſt beautiful are of a brown cinnamon and gloſſy gold colour, producing a very rich and pleaſing effect. As every thing made of this ſort of ſilk is very ſubject to be moth-eaten, care muſt be taken to keep it from all eatables and ſweetmeats, and to wrap it in clean linen. A pair of womens gloves coſts upon the ſpot ſixteen carlini (ſix ſhillings) and a pair of ſtockings coſts from three to four ducats (from 11*s.* 3*d.* to 19*s.*) and ſo in proportion; but the ſale of this manufacture is not very extenſive. For my part I greatly doubt if the byſſus of the ancients were made of this ſort of ſilk; it may indeed be true, as is ſuppoſed by the commentator upon the Deliciæ Tarentinæ, that the gloſſy light garments worn by the dancing women, as they are repreſented in the paintings at the Muſeum at Portici, and which were called Tarantinidie, were made of this ſilk.

The pinna is found moſt abundantly at Cape San Vito, to the eaſt of Taranta, and the fiſhermen often bring from thence not only ſilk, but beautiful pearls, and very uſeful mother of pearl.

Obſervations on the Maritime Alps.

[*From Travels through the Maritime Alps. By* Albanis Beaumont.]

THINKING that ſome general deductions from the principal facts, or phenomena, mentioned in the courſe of this work may be expected of me, eſpecially with reſpect to the theory of the formation of the irregular ſurface of the earth, at least of that wonderful part of it which I have ſo repeatedly explored, I have ventured to annex a few obſervations, which appear to me to merit the particular attention of philoſophers, as likewiſe the conſequences which I think might be drawn from them.

I do not, however, mean to ſpeak of what relates to the first and great revolution experienced by our globe at the formation of its continents: that is, at the epoch when the waters covered it about two thouſand four hundred and fifty toiſes, and which is nearly the preſent elevation of ſome of the granitic peaks of the Alps, as Mont Blanc, Mont Roſe, &c. In ſhort, of the time when they were totally ſubmerged by that element, and formed themſelves under that fluid, either by effect of crystallization or precipitation. I therefore only intend to touch on the pheromena which relate to the last immerſion experienced by our continent, and which appears to have been partial.

I. From the immenſe atterriſſements, or land-accumulations, already formed, and which are continually increaſing at the mouth of the Po; from the extreme variation or great variety existing in the different strata of ſand, pebbles, and vegetable earth, which now form the banks of that wonderful river; from the number of beds of maritime and fluviatiles, or river ſhells, which lie in ſome places distinct or ſeparated, and in others confuſedly mixed together, from Cremona to the ſea: in fine, from the progreſſive diminution which the velocity of the waters of the Po experience, in proportion as the lower valley of Lombardy enlarges and gets nearer the ſea: I conclude or deduce the following conſequences. 1. That that part of the valley, which lies eastward of Cremona, cannot owe its origin or increaſe but to the quantities of earthy matter continually brought down and depoſited by this river, which, to all appearances, were formerly infinitely more conſiderable than at preſent. 2. That the ſea once covered this fertile plain; and that the greatest part of Lombardy may be conſidered as an encroachment made on that element, by a quantity of fragments detached from the primordial and ſecondary chain of mountains, which were at first hurled by the ſea in its last retreat, and then carried along by the waters of the Po, which in ſome degree still continues to depoſit them, as before mentioned, by means of the frequent inundations cauſed by the overflowings of the Po in the confines of Ferrara and Bologna, which are increaſed by the eagerneſs of the inhabitants of thoſe provinces, who unfortunately attempted to restrain the waters of that formidable river too ſoon by banks, dykes, &c.

II. From the direction of the valley of Lombardy, and of all the ſecondary ones which terminate in it; from the extreme difference in the elevation of the head of theſe ſecondary valleys ſituated at the foot of the Alps, and likewiſe from their number, compared to thoſe on the weſt and ſouth-weſt of the ſame mountains; from their irregular form, number, and great degree of abruptneſs, which exiſt likewiſe in the ſecondary and tertiary mountains on the eaſtern ſide of the granitic peaks, in compariſon to thoſe of the ſame order on the weſtern: in ſhort, from the calcareous chain of hills which ſurround all Lombardy: I think I may venture to conclude: 1. That the motion of the ſea, in its firſt mutation or change, had a direction tending nearly from weſt to eaſt. 2. That at firſt it roſe to a great height, which appears to be fully proved by the calcareous matter, containing maritime ſhells, now found lying on ſome of the primitive rocks of the Alps. 3. That its motion and retreat, or ſubſiding, were at firſt extremely rapid. 4. That the ſeas having roſe above the plains which form the high valleys of the Alps, it afterwards precipitated itſelf towards the eaſt, and dug by its weight and velocity the valleys which are at their feet, mutilating and chamfretting the ſecondary mountains which intercepted its paſſage. 5. That the ſea, having in proceſs of time abated in its motion, had by its ſediment formed the ſchiſtus and ſecondary mountains, which deſcribe a kind of zone to the plain of Lombardy: in ſhort, 6. That it is evident, that the ſea remained, or ſtopped a much longer time on the weſtern ſide than on the eaſtern.

III. From the enormous maſſes of granite and primitive rock which now lie iſolated on the ſummit of ſeveral high calcareous, ſchiſtous, and ſandy hills in Piedmont, to which they have not the leaſt analogy, I am naturally led to believe, 1. That the ſoil of the upper part of the valley of Lombardy was, when ſtill covered or ſubmerged by the ſea, nearly as elevated as the ſummit of thoſe hills are at preſent. 2. That theſe granitic maſſes were moſt probably driven on the top of thoſe hills by the accelerated action of the ſea, as I have previouſly obſerved in a former part of my work, and left in that iſolated ſtate by the ſame current, which, by gradually furrowing the ſoil in various directions, formed an innumerable quantity of ſmall irregular valleys, which have, however, in general, their ſalient or prominent angles uniformly oppoſed to the concave ones.

IV. From the extreme degree of cold particularly experienced on the Cols de Tende, Fineſtre, and Argentera, &c. though leſs elevated than Mont Cenis, I draw the following concluſion; viz. That the height and degree of elevation of the mountains, above the level of the ſea, have leſs influence than that which they have above their valleys, in order to the abſolute determination of the kind of climate which exiſts on their ſummit; provided, however, their height does not exceed one thouſand or twelve hundred toiſes, that being nearly the zone in which the ſnow is permanent.

V. From the irregular inclinations or directions ſo generally found in the beds or ſtrata of the ſecondary mountains, and from their abruptneſs, breaks, and quantity of heterogeneous matter ſo frequently contained in their cavities, I am of opinion, 1. That thoſe mountains could not have given way and ſunk, except at the time when their ſummits were entirely ſubmerged by the ſea; indeed this ſuppoſition appears to be fully elucidated, by the calcareous matter containing marine foſsils, which generally fill the vacuum formed by the different breaks of thoſe mountains, and which is likewiſe ſometimes found on their ſummits. 2. That they could not have thus broken or ſeparated, but from the effect of ſubterraneous caverns formed in the interior of the globe, the vaults of which, from being progreſſively over-charged by a continual accumulation of calcareous particles depoſited by the ſea, have ſunk or given way, as, I flatter myſelf, I have in a former part of this work clearly demonſtrated.

VI. From the number of mountains formed of grés, or ſand-ſtone, marne, or marle, and pudding-ſtone, which lie on others of different ſpecies, ſuch as granite, rock-ſtone, &c. which likewiſe vary as to the reciprocal inclinations of their ſtrata; alſo, from the irregularity and extreme verticality in the ſtrata of the mountains of ſchiſt, which even form a right angle with the horizon; in fine, from the general diſorder or confuſion which appear ſo conſpicuous in the ſecondary and tertiary mountains, ſituated towards the weſt and ſouth-weſt chain of the Alps, I am led to believe: 1. That the wonderful changes which our globe has experienced are entirely owing to the effects of fire and water, which have at different epochs, powerfully and viſibly acted either together or ſeparate. 2. That the continents have likewiſe been expoſed to ſimilar revolutions; and, in ſhort, that the laſt great débâcle, or bouleverſement, is not, by ſeveral centuries, of ſo remote a date as has been generally ſuppoſed.

VII. From the ſandy hills which compoſe the valley deſcribed in the eighth chapter, containing different ſpecies of marine foſsils, and which are as if incloſed or wedged in the midſt of high calcareous mountains, which do not contain any; from the direction of this valley, which extends from north to ſouth; from the petrified trees likewiſe found ten feet below the ſoil of the ſame valley, in the environs of Nice, reſting on calcareous beds, the roots of which contain in their ramifications a quantity of marine foſsils; I am induced to conclude: 1. That the ſea, in its ſlow and gradual retreat, muſt have formed an extenſive gulf in the neighbourhood of Eſcarene; and that the calcareous mountains, above alluded to, ſerved as its eaſtern and weſtern boundary. 2. That the ſummit of the ſandy hills, which now form the inner valley, indicates as nearly as poſsible the elevation of the bottom of the gulf at that period. In fine, that the waters having afterwards effected their retreat in that place, from north to ſouth, had, as it were, traced out the valley, which has ſince been finiſhed by the draining of that part of the ſea which had been accidentally retained in ſome of the higher valleys, in conſequence of having broken, by its weight and action, the calcareous barrier which for a time retained it.

VIII. From the abrupt ſtate of the calcareous mountains which border the Mediterranean coaſt from Nice to Savona; from their extreme height or elevation; from the depth of the ſea which waſhes their baſis; as likewiſe from the direction of the rivers and valleys of that part of the chain, which is in general from north to ſouth, and the vaſt number of gypſum quarries which are within a mile or two of the coaſt; I am led to ſuppoſe: 1. That the major part of the ſecondary and tertiary chain of the Alps ſtill remains covered by the ſea. 2. That it appears probable that thoſe mountains may extend to the iſlands of Corſica and Sardinia. In fine, that a number of theſe calcareous mountains owe their abruptneſs to the laſt retreat of the ſea, which had, by inſenſibly undermining their baſis, occaſioned part of their maſs to detach and fall into the water, from their not having at that period acquired the ſame degree of conſiſtence which they now poſſeſs.

IX. From not having been able, with the greateſt care and attention, to trace or diſcover the leaſt indication of volcanic operations from La Bouchette, near Genoa, to Mont Viſo, in Piedmont, which are the two mountains which terminate the maritime chain, I think myſelf authorized to ſay that there does not appear to have exiſted any volcanos in that part of the Alps, except in the valley of Fontaine du Temple, mentioned in the laſt chapter, and which, from not having been able properly to inveſtigate, I cannot to a certainty venture to give my opinion.

Theſe are the concluſions I deduce from the foregoing premiſes, and which I offer to the conſideration of the public with ſome diffidence, ſenſible of the difficulties which attend the ſtructure of all the theories of the earth; but, if I ſhould be thought to have failed in any of my inferences, I have ſtill the ſatisfaction to know that, without any view to ſyſtem, I have endeavoured faithfully to collect and to record natural facts, of which others may probably make a better uſe than I have made myſelf, and to which the attention of ſcientific men may not unprofitably be directed. It is not for me to pronounce how far I have ſucceeded; but as Sir William Hamilton's object has been to trace the operation of fire in the formation of the great features of nature, ſo it has been mine to trace and to notice the operation of water; and, perhaps, when the power of theſe two mighty elements is duly conſidered, great light will be thrown on a ſubject hitherto imperfectly inveſtigated.

I ſhall be happy ſhould my works, with their embelliſhments, be allowed the honour of ſtanding as an invitation or introduction to the ſtudy of that part of the Alps, where the few flowers and ears of corn which I have gathered may ſerve as a ſpecimen of their richneſs and fertility, as a field of ſcience, and whoſe harveſt I muſt leave to be reaped by others more converſant than myſelf in the philoſophy of natural hiſtory.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

Hints reſpecting the Culture and the Uſe of Potatoes.

[Printed and circulated by the Board of Agriculture.]

THE Board of Agriculture think it incumbent upon them to take the earlieſt opportunity of ſubmitting the following hints to the public; they come recommended by the experience of many who have cultivated potatoes largely.

SORTS.

Two circumſtances require attention: 1. That the ſorts ſhould not be liable to the *curl;* and 2. That they ſhould be mealy. The kind known under the name of the champion has thoſe qualities, and is alſo very early and productive. The oxnoble is hardy, keeps well, and, in the ſpring, boils mealy. The kidney is of an excellent quality, and though the crop is leſs productive, and in ſome ſoils liable to curl, the price at market is proportionably greater. The Surinam cluster, or yam, ſo well calculated for stock, never curls, and is extremely productive. Thoſe who cultivate potatoes on a great ſcale ought to have different ſorts,—for early uſe,—for keeping,—and for stock.

MODES OF PLANTING.

1. Drilling on land already in tillage. 2. Dibbling upon graſs or lays. 3. Lazy beds on bogs, wet peat moors, and lands too rough to plough.

Drilling.

Soils liable to be wet during the winter ſhould be ploughed in autumn, ſo as to lie dry. In the ſpring, plough and harrow flat. In April and May the ſets may be planted. Draw furrows three feet aſunder; in thoſe furrows lay the dung not leſs than twenty loads or tons per acre. Drop the ſets on the manure nine inches aſunder. If the land be at all stiff, cover the dung and ſets, by drawing earth over them with hand-hoes; adding more, afterward, with the plough; if it be light and friable, they may be covered with the plough. Keep the intervals clean, by ploughing or horſe-hoeing; for ſix or eight weeks after the potatoes appear; afterward by hand-hoeing: hand-hoe the rows when young, and afterward weed them. Take up the crop by opening the rows with a plough, and harrow and pick more than once.

Lands prepared and dunged for wheat that could not be ſown, or where the plant has been destroyed by the froſt, are ready, without further manuring, to receive potatoes in this mode of culture.

Dibbling.

If the ſoil of the graſs be very rich, it will want no manure; if moderately good, only ten or twelve tons per acre. If no manure be ſpread, plough late in autumn, and ſcuffle and ſhim the ſurface ſhallow; or, for want of theſe tools, if weeds or graſs ariſe, hand-hoe it in March. If manure be uſed, ſpread it on the lay in ſpring, and plough it in; in either caſe, dibble in the ſets ſtraight on the centre of every other furrow, nine inches from plant to plant. Keep clean by hand-hoeing; but a narrow ſhim may be paſſed twice along the intervals. Weed the rows, if neceſſary. When the crop is taken up, plough *acroſs* the former furrows.

This method is alſo applicable to dry moors and waſtes, capable of being ploughed; and, by paring and burning the ſurface, during the drying north-eaſt winds of March, dung may be ſaved. To add lime, in ſuch caſes, to the aſhes, is beneficial.

After an early crop of graſs for hay, or after the firſt crop of clover, the land may be ploughed and potatoes dibbled in, if proper ſets have been preſerved for that purpoſe; and in the more ſouthern parts of the iſland a good crop may be obtained.

Lazy Beds.

Upon bogs, partially or wholly drained, and upon ſuch rough ſoils as are difficult to plough, this method may be adopted. Pare and burn the ſurface; add lime to the aſhes. Strike the land into ſtraight beds, ſix feet wide, with intervals of two feet, or two and a half. Lay the ſets twelve inches ſquare on the beds, and cover them two or three inches deep, with ſpades, from the intervals; when the plants appear, cover them again in the ſame manner, one and a half or two inches more. Keep them clean, by one hand-hoeing and ſucceſſive weeding. They may be taken up with the plough, by ſplitting the beds and filling the former intervals; converting the open furrows, left in the centre of the former beds, into drains, deep enough to leave the land dry in winter.

PRODUCE.

In any of theſe methods the farmer may expect from 200 to 300 buſhels an acre, of 75 lb. per buſhel. Some ſoils will yield more, and ſome may afford leſs. The ſelling price, throughout the kingdom, may be reckoned from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* the buſhel; at 1*s.* 3*d.* 300 buſhels yield 18*l.* 15*s.* the acre; even at 1*s.* it is 15*l.* The expenſes will vary with circumſtances, but they can ſcarcely be reckoned more than 10*l.* and conſequently leave from 5*l.* to 8*l.* 15*s.* profit per acre, counting on an average. In ſome places the charges will run higher; in others, perhaps, ſomething leſs. The drill method is by much the cheapeſt. If the whole ſhould not be ſaleable, the reſt may be given to fatting oxen, to horſes, and to any other live-ſtock, with advantage; particularly if, when boiled or ſteamed, a handful of ſalt be added to two buſhels of potatoes.

DOUBLE CROPS.

In Cornwall, in Cheſhire, in Lancaſhire, and in the neighbourhood of London, two crops have been obtained from the ſame ground in one year; the mode of raiſing which, will be found in the agricultural reports from the counties of Cheſhire and Lancaſhire*. Thoſe who raiſe early potatoes may certainly have a ſecond crop on the ſame ground.

THE FOLLOWING CROP.

Wheat has been ſown with ſucceſs after potatoes; but barley or oats are more to be recommended. On dry moory ſoils, treated as above, turnips may follow, fed off by ſheep, and theſe by ſpring corn and graſſes.

PRESERVATION.

The moſt approved method is that of digging, in a very dry ſpot, trenches, ſix feet wide and eighteen inches deep; ſpread ſtraw; pile the potatoes into the ſhape of the roof of a houſe; cover tight and cloſe, with ſtraw, ſix inches thick; and then with earth, fifteen or eighteen more; flatted regularly and firmly, and ſharp at top, raiſed from three feet to five feet above ground. If there ſhall be any apprehenſion of moiſture, dig a trench a few yards off, deeper than that in which the roots are laid. The drier they are, when thus packed up, the ſafer they will be.

GENERAL HINTS.

There are a great number of borders round the corn fields of every farm, which may be broken up to great advantage; as potatoes always thrive beſt upon newly broken up ground; and if the ſoil ſhall be tolerably good, the turf, being inverted at about eight or ten inches depth, will be nearly as efficacious as dung. Upon large farms labourers might be allowed to plant for themſelves, in ſuch angles and corners as might otherwiſe be neglected, which would be a beneficial indulgence to them, and no material loſs to the poſſeſſor. In waſtes in general, alſo, potatoes might be raiſed, with little manure, to great advantage.

POTATOE BREAD.

To thoſe who prefer making potatoes into bread, to the common modes of uſing them, the following receipt is recommended.

"Chooſe the moſt mealy ſort of potatoe, boil and ſkin them. Take 12lb.; break and ſtrain well through a very coarſe ſieve of hair, or a very fine one of wire, in ſuch manner as to reduce the roots, as nearly as poſſible, to a ſtate of flour. Mix it well, with 20lb. of wheaten flour. Of this mixture, make and ſet the dough exactly in the ſame manner as if the whole were wheaten flour. This quantity will make nine loaves, of about 5lb. each in the dough; and, when baked about two hours, will produce 42lb. of excellent bread."

The raw potatoe alſo, ſkinned and grated down, and mixed with flour in the above proportion, makes very good bread.

The board takes the liberty of deſiring the clergy in their ſeveral pariſhes to have the goodneſs to communicate the above to their neighbours; and, at the ſame time, to encourage, as much as they can, the farmers and cottagers to plant potatoes this ſpring, in order that the kingdom may experience no ſcarcity, if the next harveſt ſhould prove either very late, or not ſufficiently productive in bread corn.

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* The method purſued in Cheſhire for raiſing early potatoes, is to keep the ſets of the earlieſt kinds in a warm place, where they may ſprout, at leaſt three inches, by the beginning of March; being covered with ſtraw or ruſhes every night in froſts. They are carefully planted with the ſprouts on, in drills, on a light ſoil; the end of the ſprout juſt under the ſurface of the ground. Yield a crop the middle of May.—Cheſhire Report, page 18. See alſo Lancaſhire Report, page 32, where a very full account is given of the proceſs.

The board would have taken a more direct and reſpectful mode of requeſting the aſsiſtance both of the clergy and laity, in promoting theſe objects, had they not conceived this to be the moſt expeditious and extenſive.

The board will be happy to give any additional information to thoſe who may be inclined to enter, with zeal and energy, into the meaſures above propoſed. Any letters upon the ſubjects may be addreſſed to Sir John Sinclair, bart. M P. London, or to any other member of the board.

A more enlarged paper, pointing out the additional experiments neceſſary for bringing the culture of potatoes to perfection, is preparing, and will ſoon be publiſhed. In the interim, the board thought it adviſable to print and circulate the preceding hints as early as poſsible, that the attention of the public might be drawn to ſo important an object; and that thoſe who might be induced, from the recommendation of the board of agriculture, to attend to the culture of this valuable root, might have it in their power to take, without delay, the neceſſary steps for that purpoſe; more eſpecially that of ſecuring, without loſs of time, a ſufficient quantity of the beſt ſorts for planting.

Signed, by order of the board,

JOHN SINCLAIR, Preſident.

Whitehall, Feb. 20, 1795.

Obſervations on the grafting of Trees. In a Letter from Thomas Andrew Knight, *Eſq. to Sir* Joſeph Banks, *Bart.*

[*From the Philoſophical Tranſactions for the year* 1795, *part* 2.]

Sir,

I AM encouraged to addreſs the following letter to you, by the opinion you were laſt year pleaſed to expreſs of part of my experiments and obſervations, on the diſeaſes and decay of thoſe varieties of the apple and pear which have been long in cultivation. The diſeaſe, from whoſe ravages they ſuffer moſt is the canker, the effects of which are generally firſt ſeen in the winter, or when the ſap is firſt riſing in the ſpring. The bark becomes diſcoloured in ſpots, under which the wood, in the annual ſhoots, is dead to the centre, and in the older branches, to the depth of the laſt ſummer's growth. Previous to making any experiments, I had converſed with ſeveral planters, who entertained an opinion, that it was impoſsible to obtain healthy trees of thoſe varieties which flouriſhed in the beginning and middle of the preſent century, and which now form the largeſt orchards in this country. The appearance of the young trees, which I had ſeen, juſtified the concluſion they had drawn; but the ſilence of every writer on the ſubject of planting, which had come in my way, convinced me that it was a vulgar error, and the following experiments were undertaken to prove it ſo.

I ſuſpected that the appearance of decay in the trees I had ſeen lately grafted, aroſe from the diſeaſed ſtate of the grafts, and concluded that if I took ſcions or buds from trees grafted in the year preceding, I ſhould ſucceed in propagating any kind I choſe. With this view, I inſerted ſome cuttings of the beſt wood I could find in the old trees, on young ſtocks raiſed from ſeed. I again inſerted grafts and buds taken from theſe on other young ſtocks, and, wiſhing to get rid of all connection with the old trees, I repeated this ſix years; each year taking the young ſhoots from the trees laſt grafted. Stocks of different kinds were tried, ſome were double grafted, others obtained from apple-trees which grew from cuttings, and others from the ſeed of each kind of fruit afterwards inſerted on them; I was ſurpriſed to find that many of theſe ſtocks inherited all the diſeaſes of the parent trees.

The wood appearing perfect and healthy in many of my laſt grafted trees, I flattered myſelf that I had ſucceeded; but my old enemies, the moſs and canker, in three years convinced me of my miſtake. Some of them, however, trained to a ſouth wall, eſcaped all their diſeaſes, and ſeemed (like invalids) to enjoy the benefit of a better climate. I had before frequently obſerved, that all the old fruits ſuffered leaſt in warm ſituations, where the ſoil was not unfavourable. I tried the effects of laying one kind, but the canker deſtroyed it at the ground. Indeed I had no hopes of ſucceſs from this method, as I had obſerved that ſeveral ſorts, which had always been propagated from cuttings, were as much diſeaſed as any others. The wood of all the old fruits has long appeared to me to poſſeſs leſs elaſticity and hardneſs, and to feel more ſoft and ſpongy under the knife, than that of the new varieties which I have obtained from ſeed. This defect may, I think, be the immediate cauſe of the canker and moſs, though it is probably itſelf the effect of old age, and therefore incurable.

Being at length convinced that all efforts, to make grafts from old and worn out trees grow, were ineffectual, I thought it probable that thoſe taken from very young trees, raiſed from ſeed, could not be made to bear fruit. The event here anſwered my expectation. Cuttings from ſeedling apple-trees of two years old were inſerted on ſtocks of twenty, and in a bearing ſtate. Theſe have now been grafted nine years, and though they have been frequently tranſplanted to check their growth, they have not yet produced a ſingle bloſſom. I have ſince grafted ſome very old trees with cuttings from ſeedling apple-trees of five years old: their growth has been extremely rapid, and there appears no probability that their time of producing fruit will be accelerated, or that their health will be injured, by the great age of the ſtocks. A ſeedling apple-true uſually bears fruit in thirteen or fourteen years; and I therefore conclude, that I have to wait for a bloſſom till the trees, from which the grafts were taken, attain that age, though I have reaſon to believe, from the form of their buds, that they will be extremely prolific. Every cutting, therefore, taken from the apple (and probably from every other) tree, will be affected by the ſtate of the parent ſtock. If that be too young to produce fruit it will grow with vigour but will not bloſſom, and if it be too old it will immediately produce fruit, but will never make a healthy tree, and conſequently never anſwer the intention of the planter. The root, however, and the part of the stock adjoining it, are greatly more durable than the bearing branches; and I have no doubt but that ſcions obtained from either would grow with vigour, when thoſe taken from the bearing branches would not. The following experiment will, at leaſt, evince the probability of this in the pear-tree. I took cuttings from the extremities of the bearing branches of ſome old ungrafted pear-trees, and others from ſcions which ſprang out of the trunks near the ground, and inſerted ſome of each on the ſame stocks. The former grew without thorns, as in the cultivated varieties, and produced bloſſoms the ſecond year; whilst the latter aſſumed the appearance of stocks just raiſed from ſeeds, were covered with thorns, and have not yet produced any bloſſoms.

The extremities of thoſe branches which produce ſeeds, in every tree, probably ſhow the first indication of decay; and we frequently ſee (particularly in the oak) young branches produced from the trunk, when the ends of the old ones have long been dead. The ſame tree, when cropped, will produce an almost eternal ſucceſsion of branches. The durability of the apple and pear, I have long ſuſpected to be different in different varieties, but that none of either would vegetate with vigour much, if at all, beyond the life of the parent stock, provided that died from mere old age. I am confirmed in this opinion by the books you did me the honour to ſend me; of the apples mentioned and deſcribed by Parkinſon, the names only remain, and thoſe ſince applied to other kinds now alſo worn out; but many of Evelyn's are still well known, particularly the red-streak. This apple, he informs us, was raiſed from ſeed by lord Scudamore in the beginning of the laſt century. We have many trees of it, but they appear to have been in a state of decay during the last forty years. Some others mentioned by him are in a much better state of vegetation; but they have all ceaſed to deſerve the attention of the planter. The durability of the pear is probably ſomething more than double that of the apple.

It has been remarked by Evelyn, and by almost every writer ſince, on the ſubject of planting, that the growth of plants raiſed from ſeeds was more rapid, and that they produced better trees than thoſe obtained from layers or cuttings. This ſeems to point out ſome kind of decay attending the latter modes of propagation, though the custom in the public nurſeries of taking layers from stools (trees cropped annually cloſe to the ground) probably retards its effects, as each plant riſes immediately from the root of the parent stock.

Were a tree capable of affording an eternal ſucceſsion of healthy plants from its roots, I think our woods must have been wholly overrun with thoſe ſpecies of trees which propagate in this manner, as thoſe ſcions from the roots always grow in the first three or four years with much greater rapidity than ſeedling plants. An aſpin is ſeldom ſeen without a thouſand ſuckers riſing from its roots; yet this tree is thinly, though univerſally, ſcattered over the wood-lands of this country. I can ſpeak from experience, that the luxuriance and exceſsive diſpoſition to extend itſelf in another plant which propagates itſelf from the root (the raſpberry), decline in twenty years from the ſeed. The common elm being always propagated from ſcions or layers, and growing with luxuriance, ſeems to form an exception; but as ſome varieties grow much better than others, it appears not improbable that the most healthy are thoſe which have laſt been obtained from ſeed. The different degrees of health in our peach and nectarine trees may, I think, ariſe from the ſame ſource. The oak is much more long-lived in the north of Europe than here: though its timber is leſs durable, from the numerous pores attending its ſlow growth. The climate of this country being colder than its native, may, in the ſame way, add to the durability of the elm; which may poſsibly be further increaſed by its not producing ſeeds in this climate, as the life of many annuals may be increaſed to twice its natural period, if not more, by preventing their ſeeding.

I have been induced to ſay a great deal more on this ſubject than, I fear, you will think it deſerves, from a conviction that immenſe advantages would ariſe from the cultivation of the pear and apple in other counties, and that the ill ſucceſs which has attended many efforts to propagate them, has ariſen from the uſe of worn out and diſeaſed kinds. Their cultivation is ill underſtood in this country, and worſe practiſed; yet an acre of ground, fully planted, frequently affords an average produce of more than five hundred gallons of liquor, with a tolerably good crop of graſs; and I have not the leaſt doubt but that there are large quantities of ground in almost every county in England capable of affording an equal produce.

I have only to add an aſſurance, that the reſults of the foregoing experiments are correctly stated; and that

I am, Sir, &c.

THO. AND. KNIGHT.

Elton, Herefordſhire,
April 13, 1795.

Communications relative to Orcharding. By Thomas Skip Dyot Bucknall, *Eſq.**

[*From the Tranſactions of the Society instituted at London, for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. Vol. XIII.*]

" Sir,

" I BEG you will convey my best acknowledgments to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, for the regular attention they have been pleaſed to ſhow to the papers I have had the honour to lay before them, on the ſystem of cloſe-pruning and medication, as expreſſed in my letters, inſerted in the eleventh and twelfth volumes of their Tranſactions; and for the very handſome premiums offered by them, in conſequence of thoſe communications: and I hope, like the other uſeful branches, which have been at first foſtered, and then brought to perfection by their attentive care, this will produce elegance throughout the plantations of fruit-trees in the kingdom, and general good to the community at large.

" In this I will add ſuch further hints as may conduce to guard the planter from diſappointment. Let it be obſerved, I do not retract in the least the ſtreſs I before laid on ſhelter, nor the neceſsity of the ſoil being well choſen, with proper aſpect.

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* See A. R. 1794, p. 89.

"It is generally imagined, that when the trees are planted, the troubleſome part of forming an orchard is over: but the fact is far otherwiſe; for a greater difficulty remains, which is, to determine what proper uſe to apply the ground to; for if it is cultivated by the plough, little good can be expected; for the injuries which young trees constantly receive from implements in huſbandry bruiſing and destroying them before they can have got poſſeſſion of the ſoil, generally hurt them moſt eſſentially; and if, by a ſuperlative care, they ſhould ſurmount the evils ſo brought on, the crops of corn being regularly carried off the land, impoveriſhes the ground ſo much, that the trees are ſoon stunted, and run to moſs.

"There is not any culture we are acquainted with, equal to hops, for raiſing an orchard; and when the proper time comes for grubbing up the hops, the trees may be ſecured, and the land turned to grazing. However, let the agriculture be what it may, the land ſhould never be ploughed, or dug deep, directly over the roots of a young-planted fruit-tree; for as the roots collect their best benign ſap from their extreme points, if thoſe points are broken off from the upper ſide of the roots, that tree is compelled to ſubſist on nurture drawn from the under-strata, and conſequently the ſap will be of an inferior quality.

"It may be regularly obſerved, that, where trees stand in ſuch a ſituation that the hogs and poultry are constantly running over the ground, thoſe trees very ſeldom fail of a crop, which is the best proof that manure is neceſſary; and any manure will ſuit an orchard: but there are ſeveral ſorts of manure which are overlooked, ſuch as the ſweepings of cowhouſes, ſlaughterhouſes, emptying of drains, and every thing filthy; and theſe are more diſpoſed to facilitate the growth and health of fruit-trees, than the manure from the stable.

"An eſſential circumstance to be attended to is, that the fruits be ordered of thoſe ſorts which thrive in the neighbourhood where the plantation is intended to be made, and a strict regard ſhown to that purpoſe, as the beauty and value of the whole orchard will greatly depend upon the trees being well ſuited. There is a striking instance of this at Sittingbourne, and its neighbourhood: the lemon pippin is invariably a fine thriving tree, and the ſummer pearmain as constantly ragged and out of health; and this obſervation may be applied throughout the whole range of fruit-bearing trees, according to the ſoil and ſituation.

"The ancient orchards of Kent, which were mostly grubbed up about fifty years ſince, produced the Kentiſh pippin, lemon-pippin, ruſſet, cat's-head, and other hardy-keeping fruits; but as the age refined in luxury, the more delicate apples were introduced. The ſharp north-east winds, in many ſituations, were certainly too ſevere for theſe productions: though I entertain no doubt but this appearance of a caprice or particularity in nature, may by attention be in part corrected, though any attempt to point out the cauſe would lead me too far from the preſent ſubject.

"Care ſhould be taken not to ſuffer trees to bear much fruit while young: it ſhould be gathered as ſoon as ſeen, except about half a dozen, to ſhow the ſize and quality. The young trees being kept clear, will give them, if I may uſe the expreſsion, the habit of producing larger and finer fruit: but that is not the material reaſon; by being kept clear, the leading and collateral branches run stronger each year; and be aſſured, if the tree can be brought to a proper ſize, there will be no doubt of its bearing afterwards. Obſerve among thoſe gentlemen who pride themſelves for being masters of fine stock, either horſes, cattle, or ſheep, and you will find the governing principle with each of them, is to run the young stock to as *long bone* as poſsible in the first year; knowing, from experience, that having once ſecured bone, fleſh, figure, and ſymmetry will follow. Such trees as ſuit the ſoil may, by eaſy means, be induced to grow to a ſize beyond what we imagine: let the land be grazed or manured, and gather the fruit before it can be applied to any uſe. How long this custom ſhould be continued, each orchardist must judge for himſelf; but no one will have the least chance for the prize, who does not take off the fruit for ſome time at least.

"There is no impropriety in deeming the heads of fruit trees, as ſo many hemiſpheres: only ſuppoſe it poſsible, by any art, to induce each of the branches of one tree to grow two inches longer than thoſe of another tree in the ſame year; that free-growing tree will, in eighteen years, double the head of the other: ſo much for ſize. Health is the certain conſequence.

"No young plant, or newly-engrafted tree, ſhould be ſuffered to run *mop-headed*; for until each branch has acquired a determined leader, that tree will make no progreſs; and a tree, like an animal, if it takes a stunt, it is difficult to throw ſuch energy into the ſystem afterwards as will make it free-growing.

"It has been objected, that if no leading branches are to be ſhortened, the nurſery-man could not form the stems to ſupport the head.

"Undoubtedly, while the plants are in the nurſery, the ſlightest practitioner knows that the head must be cut down, to give strength and ſymmetry to the stem; and it is alſo neceſſary that most of the grafts be ſhortened, or the wind will blow them out; and during the time the plants are in an infant state, ſhortening helps to ſwell out the buds. It was never meant to exclude ſhortening, until the plant was become a tree; and it is perfectly within the nurſery-man's art to produce all his standard fruit-bearing trees with stems large and ſmooth, buds full and round, and leaves broad and open, without the tree being liable to canker, or gum; and this is given as the character of a perfect and valuable tree.

MOSS.

"One of the greatest obstructions to good orcharding is moſs, which is merely the reſult of poverty and neglect, reflecting a diſcredit on the owner. Where trees are much over-run with moſs, a strong man with a good birch-broom, in a wet day, would do great execution. But to enter more into the buſineſs, what is moſs? a plant; and, like other plants, may be eradicated on the firſt appearance: for that purpoſe, on young trees, the beſt method is to rub all the branches, ſpring and autumn, with a hard ſcrubbing-bruſh and ſoap-ſuds; and the action of rubbing will ſo far invigorate the tree as to over-pay both trouble and expenſe. There is no damage can befall the tree from rubbing; and let it be performed as a groom does a horſe's legs.

"Certainly the beſt ſoil to plant on is a fine deep loam; and no one, for profit, would think of planting on a ſtrong clay, chalk, or a cold ſharp gravel; but where a gentleman, for the embelliſhment of his reſidence, would wiſh for an orchard on either of theſe ſoils, never dig into the under-ſtrata; for that would be placing the trees in ſo many well-holes, where certain deſtruction muſt enſue; therefore, rather plant the trees above-ground, raiſing over it a little mound of good freſh mould, about as large as an extenſive ant-hill, under a curve of eight inches by ſixty, and ſow the top with white Dutch clover.

CANKER.

"In pruning, the medication ought never to be omitted; for, from experience, the mercury is found to be ſo ſtrongly operative in removing the baneful effects of canker in the more delicate fruit-trees, that it may be preſumed to enter into the economy of the plant, giving a ſmoothneſs to the bark and freeneſs of growth; proofs of which will be produced to the ſociety in a few years, by perſons who have attentively conſidered the ſubject.

"I ſhall here give an abſtract of the ſyſtem of cloſe-pruning and medication, as before laid down, that it may be ſeen at one point of view.

"Let every ſtump, the decayed or blighted branches, with all thoſe which croſs the tree, or where the leaves curl, be taken off ſmooth and even; pare down the gum cloſe to the bark, and rather a little within, but not to deſtroy the rough coat; open the fiſſures, out of which the gum oozes, to the bottom; cut away the blotches, and pare down the canker; then anoint all the wounds with the medication, ſmearing a little over the canker, which was not large enough to be cut; ſcore the tree, and rub off the moſs; but do not ſhorten a ſingle branch: follow the ſurgeon's rule, go to the quick, and no more; act with obſervation, and each practitioner will improve the ſcience.

"A tree under ſuch care, muſt, with its remaining free ſhoots, run large, which requiring a great flow of ſap, will keep the roots in conſtant employ, and from that very ſource neceſſarily eſtabliſh permanent health.

"P. S. Where the only object is to remove the canker, I find hogs lard preferable to tar; but where the wet is to be guarded againſt, tar is ſuperlatively better."

On the Means of deſtroying Inſects in Orchards; confirming the Doctrine in the foregoing Paper. By William Hampſon, *Eſq.*

[*From the ſame.*]

IT will not appear foreign to the ſubject, if ſome general obſervations, which are well known to thoſe who have the management of fruit-trees, and more particularly the apple, precede an account of the means here diſcovered for preventing the deſtruction often occaſioned by the ravages of the caterpillars. 1ſt. A winter, in which there is a ſevere froſt for a long continuance, is accounted favourable to the ſucceeding fruit-harveſt. 2dly. Young and healthy trees, which are continually diſtending the rind, and putting forth vigorous branches, are not often attacked with the caterpillars; or if they are, it is when the foliage of an aged or ſickly neighbour is exhauſted, and then being urged by want of food, the worm throws out its ſilken line, which, carried by the wind, clings to the branches of another tree, and by this means it effects a paſſage.

"Some time ago, having an intention to improve a number of apple-trees, which, owing to their being yearly infeſted with the caterpillar, had been long neglected, I began in the following manner. It being early in the ſpring, I firſt cauſed the thick brown moſs to be removed from the trunk of the tree, around which, but at a diſtance equal to the extremities of the roots, I ſpread warm rotten litter; and then, with the back of a pruning knife, ſcraped off the livid-coloured moſs with which the branches of the tree were entirely incruſted. But what ſurpriſed me, and to which I would beg particular attention, was, that ſmall detached pieces of moſs hung upon the bough by fine threads, after it had been cleaned: this led me to think they belonged to ſome eggs or inſects which lay concealed between the moſs and the outer bark, or between the outer and the inner rind; but being then without the help of glaſſes, my curioſity remained unſatisfied, although the effects diſcovered in the opening ſeaſon juſtified my ſtrongeſt apprehenſions; for thoſe trees which had been thoroughly cleaned put forth ſtrong and healthy ſhoots, and retained their leaves; when others, their neighbours, were eaten up: yet what convinced me beyond the leaſt doubt, was a tree which through negligence had been left in part cleaned: the boughs which I had cleaned were untouched by the caterpillars; on the contrary, the leaves of thoſe boughs I had not cleaned were ſoon conſumed by them.

"Theſe facts being ſtated, the following remarks are naturally ſuggeſted. Firſt, that the eggs of the caterpillars lie, during the winter, concealed in ſuch trees as are overgrown with moſs, between the moſs and the rind, or, where the rind is decayed, in the cavities occaſioned by ſuch decay; a circumſtance which, with the aſſiſtance of a microſcope, I have ſince aſcertained: but through mere neglect, having not preſerved the eggs for future obſervation, I cannot ſay determinately they were the eggs of the caterpillar; but this I can ſay, that the removal of thoſe eggs prevented the leaves of the tree from being eaten. Secondly, that the proper time for deſtroying them would be before the eggs are hatched; for, by the time the caterpillar is come out, the buds begin to open, and of courſe become its immediate prey; and as the butterfly tribe are ſo numerous and ſo perfectly free from reſtraint, the nature of the caſe will require an annual ſearch to be made in ſuch places as are thought favourable to them for depoſiting their eggs: there will be often found full-grown trees, which by being encumbered with branches, the power of the ſun is not admitted to ſhrivel the old rind as the new one is forming; conſequently ſuch trees become incruſted with decayed coats, the fit receptacles for preſerving the embryo caterpillars; and ſuch trees whoſe wounds have been ſuffered to heal, ſo as to form an hollow, retaining moiſture, which cankers the wood, and renders it eaſily perforated by the fly, are likewiſe liable to become a prey to the inſects they have preſerved.

"The above obſervations are offered as hints only, on a ſubject capable of deriving more advantage from thoſe who enjoy greater opportunities to inveſtigate, and ability to inform, than what has fallen to the lot of their author; and it is with this preſumption they are offered to a ſociety, the members of which have it in their power to employ them to the beſt advantage, namely, that of the public good."

Deſcription of a Method of Increaſing Potatoes, in a Letter from Mr. John Lockett, *of Donnington, to Mr.* More.

[*From the ſame.*]

"Sir,

"HAVING lately ſeen in the news-papers various methods propoſed in order to increaſe and multiply potatoes in the moſt effectual manner, I take the liberty of ſending you an experiment which I have repeatedly made; alſo a method to procure plants in a very cheap and eaſy way; not after ſuch as the preſent winter, but after a mild winter, when the froſt has penetrated but a ſmall diſtance below the ſurface of the ground.

Firſt, as to the experiment; I took three potatoes, the 17th of December, 1793, and put them in a ſmall caſk, and placed the caſk in a cellar: the 10th of March, I took off fifteen ſhoots from them, and planted them with a ſetting or dibbling-ſtick, in the ſame manner as cabbage-plants, about one foot ſquare; the 16th of April I took twenty-one more ſhoots from the ſame three potatoes, and planted them as before: on the 22d of May I took twenty-five ſhoots more, and planted them alſo, and then waſhed and boiled the ſaid three potatoes, which proved very good to eat. I had, from the ſaid ſixty-one ſhoots, as many potatoes as weighed ninety-two pounds, notwithſtanding the rooks did me much damage.

"My method of procuring plants after a mild winter, is to go (about the month of May) over the fields where potatoes were planted the preceding year, and pull up from among the corn all the ſhoots produced by the potatoes left in the ground the preceding autumn, which had eſcaped the digger; and plant theſe ſhoots in the ſame manner as above, viz. the ſame as cabbage-plants.

"I am, Sir,
Your very humble ſervant,
JOHN LOCKETT."

Donnington,
March 1, 1795.

MR. MORE.

On the Cultivation of Vines in Sir R. Worſley's Vineyard in the Iſle of Wight.

[*From* Warner's *Hiſtory of the Iſle of Wight, Military, Civil, and Eccleſiaſtical.*]

THE claſſical owner of this charming retreat (the cottage of St. Lawrence, in the ſouthern part of the iſland) having remarked a very ſenſible mildneſs of climate in this part of the iſland (occaſioned by its lying immediately open to the ſouth, and being ſheltered to the north and eaſt by a high range of rocky hills, which at the ſame time ſhut out the biting winds, and ſtrongly reflect the rays of the ſun on the ſoil beneath them) determined to attempt the propagation of the vines of Britanny, the climate of which country correſponded in ſome meaſure with that of Steephill.

For this purpoſe he procured the neceſſary number of plants of the two grapes called white muſcadine and plant verd, from which the natives of the north-weſt of France, make a light white wine; and at the ſame time hired a Breton to attend to their management and cultivation.

The man began his operations in the early part of the year 1792. Having gotten rather more than an acre (in a very ſheltered ſpot) into proper order for the reception of the plants, in the month of March he put them into the ground.

This piece of land is divided into ſeveral beds, each bed being about twelve feet in breadth; theſe are ſeparated by foot-paths, for the convenience of a near approach to the vines. The plants themſelves are placed in rows, at the diſtance of a foot and a half from each other.

As the firſt experiment wore a very encouraging appearance, another piece of ground, rather more to the eaſtward, and about an acre and a half in extent, was gotten into order, and a ſimilar plantation made in it in the year 1793. Theſe two plantations compriſe together about three acres, and contain ſeven hundred plants.

The man who has the care of theſe plantations, appears to underſtand his employment, and keeps the plants in good order; the ſtem of the vine is about eight inches from the ground, and the earth around it is well hoed and freed from weeds. He does not allow more than two ſhoots to remain on each ſtem; theſe are cut off in the enſuing March, and their place ſupplied by other young ones. The ſhoots alſo are not ſuffered to run into luxuriance; but kept at the length of two feet, or two and a half. In September 1793, when I had the pleaſure of ſeeing theſe plantations, every vine bore the appearance of health and vigour. There was ſome little fruit on two or three of thoſe which had been firſt planted; but this prematurity was to be attributed to their being ſituated near a rock, and receiving the rays of the ſun ſtrongly reflected from it. The vine-dreſſer did not expect any conſiderable quantity of grapes till the fourth year after planting. He ſeemed to entertain no doubt as to the ſucceſs of his labour, and aſſured me that he had never before ſeen ſuch ſtrong and proſperous young plants in any vineyard.

But in order to give every poſſible chance to his experiment, Sir Richard has not confined himſelf to one mode of planting only. In a bank within his incloſures (having a ſlope of about forty-five degrees to the ſouth) he has made a terrace, conſiſting of ſeven ſtages, formed of rough ſtones riſing like a flight of ſteps one above another. Againſt the perpendicular face of each ſtage are placed trelliſes, and on them the vines are intended to be trained in the manner of eſpaliers. The plants were put in during the month of March in the year 1793.

With reſpect, however, to this mode of propagating vines, it may admit of doubt whether it be likely to ſucceed or not, owing to the ſmall degree of nouriſhment which the plants can poſſibly receive as they now ſtand. For although the vine, when mature, will flouriſh where there is little ſoil, nay where there is apparently no ſoil at all, among gravel, flints, and rocks, drawing ſupport with its minute but far extending fibres, from ſources imperceptible to the human eye; yet I believe in its infant ſtate it requires more nutriment and more room for the extenſion of its tender roots, than it will find where it is at preſent planted.

An Account of the Compoſition of a Water which has the Property of deſtroying Caterpillars, Ants, and other Inſects; invented by C. Tatin, *Seedman and Floriſt, at Paris**.

TAKE of black ſoap, of the beſt quality, one pound three-quarters; of flowers of ſulphur, one pound three-quarters; of muſhrooms, of any kind, two pounds; of river or rain water, fifteen gallons.

Divide the water into two equal parts; pour one part, that is to ſay, ſeven gallons and a half, into a barrel, of any convenient ſize, which ſhould be uſed only for this purpoſe; let the black ſoap be ſtirred in it till it is diſſolved, and then add to it the muſhrooms, after they have been ſlightly bruiſed.

Let the remaining half of the water be made to boil in a kettle; put the whole quantity of ſulphur into a coarſe open cloth, tie it up with a packthread in form of a parcel, and faſten to it a ſtone or other weight, of ſome pounds, in order to make it ſink to the bottom. If the kettle is too ſmall for the ſeven gallons and a half of water to be boiled in it at once, the ſulphur muſt alſo be divided. During twenty minutes (being the time the boiling ſhould continue) ſtir it well with a ſtick, and let the packet of ſulphur be ſqueezed, ſo as to make it yield to the water all its power and colour. The effect of the water is not rendered more powerful by increaſing the quantity of ingredients.

The water, when taken off the fire, is to be poured into the barrel, where it is to be ſtirred for a ſhort time with a ſtick; this ſtirring muſt be repeated every day until the mixture becomes fetid in the higheſt degree. Experience ſhows that the older, and the more fetid the compoſition is, the more quick is its action. It is neceſſary to take care to ſtop the barrel well every time the mixture is ſtirred.

When we wiſh to make uſe of this water, we need only ſprinkle it, or pour it, upon the plants, or plunge their branches into it; but the beſt manner of uſing it is to inject it upon them with a common ſyringe, to which is adapted a pipe of the uſual conſtruction, except that its extremity ſhould terminate in a head of an inch and a half in diameter, pierced in the flat part with ſmall holes, like pin-holes, for tender plants; but, for trees, a head pierced with larger holes may be made uſe of.

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* The Bureau de Conſultation of Paris gave a reward to the author of this compoſition for his diſcovery, which they deſired might be made as public as poſſible.

Caterpillars, beetles, bed-bugs, *aphides*, and many other inſects, are killed by a ſingle injection of this water. Inſects which live under ground, thoſe which have a hard ſhell, hornets, waſps, ants, &c. require to be gently and continually injected, till the water has penetrated to the bottom of their abode. Ant-hills, particularly, require two, four, ſix, or eight quarts of water, according to the ſize and extent of the ant-hill, which ſhould not be diſturbed till twenty-four hours after the operation. If the ants which happen to be abſent ſhould aſſemble, and form another hill, it muſt be treated in the way before mentioned. In this manner we ſhall at laſt deſtroy them, but they muſt not be too much diſturbed with a ſtick; on the contrary, the injection ſhould be continued till, by their not appearing upon the ſurface of the earth, they are ſuppoſed to be all deſtroyed.

We may advantageouſly add to the mixture two ounces of *nux vomica*, which ſhould be boiled with the ſulphur; the water, by this means, will acquire more power, particularly if uſed for deſtroying ants.

When all the water has been made uſe of, the ſediment ſhould be thrown into a hole dug in the ground, leſt the poultry, or other domeſtic animals, ſhould eat it.

Reſearches on the Preſervation of Grain and Roots in Workſhops, Magazines, and above all on Ship-board; addreſſed to the National Convention. By Antoine Gouan, *National Profeſſor of Botany at Montpelier.*

NO perſon is ignorant how much grain, roots, and collections of natural hiſtory, are liable to be devoured by inſects, and particularly by weevils, which, by conſuming the internal part, and leaving only the huſk, occaſion frequently the greateſt miſchiefs. Theſe are conſiderably felt in great magazines, but eſpecially on ſhip-board, where numerous crews on long voyages require very ample ſtores of corn, and where the diminution and damage produce often the moſt fatal conſequences.

Theſe inconveniencies, and the difficulty of preſerving theſe articles of the firſt neceſſity, have engaged my attention for many years, and induced me to attempt ſeveral methods of preſerving them from the approach and ravages of theſe inſects. I knew that in certain countries they expoſe their grain to ſmoke and vapour; in others it was placed for ſome time in an oven. I alſo knew that pepper and other aromatics were conſidered as good preſervatives. But that which is eaſy and unexpenſive on a ſmall ſcale, becomes dear and impracticable when applied to a larger. My object was to find means, therefore, which ſhould be at once eaſy, efficient, and economical: 1. By baniſhing the inſects which cauſe this damage to the grain. 2. By avoiding a weighty expence. 3. And by exempting the grain from the odour contracted in fumigation, particularly from the oils of a low quality which are employed for this purpoſe.

In conſequence, in the year 1786, I tried the experiment of placing different roots, &c. ripe and newly gathered in a box which I had bored, for the purpoſe of giving admiſſion to mites and other inſects. At the corners and bottom of the box I placed ſeveral leaves of hart wort, the odour of which I knew was noxious to ſeveral animals. In another I put leaves of horehound, of rue, and of tanſy.—The boxes thus prepared remained for a full year on the ground under my ſhelves.

At the end of that term I found the roots, &c. perfectly ſound, but the odour of the plants more or leſs remained; and fearing that it might communicate itſelf to the outward ſkin, and occaſion a diſguſting taſte, I proceeded to ſubſtitute to the former bitter aromatic herbs, ſuch as the little centaury, wormwood, thyme, mint, ſavory, &c. which are every where found in great abundance.

I thus preſerved the grain, &c. for a long time, without renewing the plants. Thoſe which I now preſent to the Convention have been thus preſerved ſince the year 1788.

After this experiment, now made ſeven years ſince, there can be no doubt that the practice would ſucceed on a much larger ſcale; and as the grain and ſeeds, when gathered ripe and kept from a moiſt air, preſerve for a long time their vegetative faculties, it follows, that they may be thus conveyed in ſafety, and planted with ſucceſs, in the moſt diſtant countries, and after the longeſt voyages.

Manner of making Parmeſan Cheeſe. From Letters and Papers on Agriculture, Planting, &c.

[*Selected from the Correſpondence of the Bath and Weſt of England Society.* VOL. VII.]

AT ten o'clock in the morning, five brents and a half of milk, each brent being about forty-eight quarts, was put into a large copper, which turned on a crane, over a ſlow wood-fire, made about two feet below the ſurface of the ground. The milk was ſtirred from time to time; and, about eleven o'clock, when juſt lukewarm, or conſiderably under a blood heat, a ball of rennet, as big as a large walnut, was ſqueezed through a cloth into the milk, which was kept ſtirring. This rennet was ſaid to have been purchaſed of a man at Lodi, famous for the compoſition; but that it was principally made of the ſame part of the calf as we uſe in England for that purpoſe, mixed up with ſalt and vinegar: it appeared to me to be alſo mixed with old cheeſe. I much doubt whether there was any great ſecret in the compoſition: but it ſeems to me that the juſt proportion of rennet is a matter of conſequence, which is not in general ſufficiently attended to. By the help of the crane the copper was turned from over the fire, and let ſtand till a few minutes paſt twelve; at which time the rennet had ſufficiently operated. It was now ſtirred up, and left to ſtand a ſhort time, for the whey to ſeparate a little from the curd. Part of the whey was then taken out, and the copper again turned over a fire ſufficiently briſk to give a ſtrongiſh heat, but below that of boiling. A quarter of an ounce of ſaffron was put in, to give it a little colour; but not ſo unnaturally high as ſome cheeſes in England are coloured; and it was well ſtirred from time to time. The dairy *man* (this is not womens work in Italy) frequently felt the curd. When the ſmall, and, as it were, granulated parts, felt rather firm, which was in about an hour and a half, the copper was taken from the fire, and the curd left to fall to the bottom. Part of the whey was taken out, and the curd brought up in a coarſe cloth, hanging together in a tough ſtate. It was put into a hoop, and about half a hundred weight laid upon it, for about an hour; after which the cloth was taken off, and the cheeſe placed on a ſhelf in the ſame hoop. At the end of two, or from that to three days, it is ſprinkled all over with ſalt: the ſame is repeated every ſecond day, for about forty to forty-five days; after which no further attention is required. Whilſt ſalting they generally place two cheeſes one upon another; in which ſtate they are ſaid to take the ſalt better than ſingly.

The whey is again turned into the copper, and a ſecond ſort of cheeſe is made; and afterwards even a third ſort, as I was informed; a piece of economy which I have not known practiſed in England.

Proceſs to deprive Treacle of its diſagreeable Taſte, and to render it capable of being employed for many Purpoſes, inſtead of Sugar.

THE high price of refined ſugar deprives a great number of perſons of a wholeſome aliment to which they have been accuſtomed; among the methods which have been propoſed to compenſate the loſs of ſugar, the uſe of purified treacle is one of the leaſt expenſive. The following is a proceſs given by M. Cadet (Devaux) in the *Feuille du Cultivateur*, founded upon experiments made by Mr. Lowitz, of Peterſburgh.

Take of treacle, - -	24 pounds.
—— of water, -	24 pounds.
—— of charcoal, thoroughly burnt,	6 pounds.

Bruiſe the charcoal groſsly, mix the three ſubſtances in a cauldron, and let the mixture boil gently upon a clear wood-fire: after it has boiled for half an hour, pour the liquor through a ſtraining bag, and then replace it upon the fire, that the ſuperfluous water may be evaporated, and that the treacle may be brought to its original conſiſtence.

There is little or no loſs by this operation, as twenty-four pounds of treacle give nearly the ſame quantity of ſyrup.

This proceſs has been repeated in the large way, and has ſucceeded; the treacle is ſenſibly ameliorated, ſo that it may be uſed for many diſhes: nevertheleſs thoſe with milk, and the fine or aromatic *liqueurs*, are not near ſo good as with ſugar.

An Account of the Manner of treating Bees in Portugal.

[*From* Murphy's *Travels in Portugal.*]

TO form a colony of bees, a ſpot of ground is choſen for the hives, expoſed toward the ſouth or ſouth-eaſt, well ſheltered from the northern blaſts, and ſurrounded with ſhrubs and flowers; of the latter, the beſt is roſemary. The richer the neighbouring grounds are the better; for bees are ſaid to range for food to the diſtance of a league from their homes. The ſituation being choſen, lanes muſt be cut through the ſhrubby thickets of five or ſix feet wide. The fences between the lanes ſhould be about the ſame dimenſions, and formed at intervals into ſmall receſſes, like bowers or niches, to receive the hives.

The figure of the hives uſed here in general is cylindrical; in height about twenty-ſeven inches by fourteen diameter. They are formed of the rind of the cork-tree, and covered with a pan of earthen-ware inverted, the edge of which projects over the hive like a cornice. The whole is faſtened with pegs made of ſome hard and durable wood, and the joints stopped with peat. In the front of the cylinder, at the height of about eight inches, there is a ſmall aperture where the bees enter. The inſide is divided into three equal diviſions, which are ſeparated by croſs ſticks: here the bees form their combs or cells.

When the bees ſwarm, which is uſually in the month of May or June, the hives are placed to receive them where they alight. If they deſcend on a tree, they are ſhaken off: the perſon who performs this operation muſt not be afraid of them, as they do not commonly ſting unleſs they are irritated; it will be ſafer, however, to cover the head with a wire maſk, and the hands with gloves.

Some bees are ſo wild that they fly away in attempting to collect them, but they may be caught again in this manner: a ſheet is placed by night on the ground contiguous to the ſwarm, and when they alight the hive is placed over them, with the entrance ſtopped, then the whole is covered with a ſheet, in which they are carried home. But they ſhould not be placed near the hive whence they had originally departed.

When the time arrives for taking out the honeycombs, which is generally in the month of June, when the flowers begin to decay, it ſhould be done in the heat of the day, as the greater part of the bees are then abroad, but not during a high wind, or at the commencement of a new or full moon. The hiver muſt have his face and hands defended, as above mentioned, and accompanied by a perſon holding a chafing-diſh, with a coal-fire, covered with moiſt peat, to make the greater ſmoke: this ſmoke being infuſed among the bees from the top of the cylinder, they fly away, or remain intoxicated at the bottom, then the hive is taken to pieces, by drawing out the pins. The combs are cut out without deſtroying the bees, except two cells, which are left around the hive; and leſt the bees ſhould feed on what remains, the inciſion is covered with pulverized clay; after this the hive is put together as before.

The combs ſhould not be taken out but when they are full of honey; it is rarely good the firſt year the bees aſſemble. In the months of March and Auguſt the wax is taken out, which is lodged in the firſt diviſion of the hive, after which the bees form other combs, and generate a young colony.

The hiver ſhould often viſit the

ground, and repair any accidents that have happened. If ſnakes frequent the place, they ſhould not be killed, ſince they do not moleſt the bees, but deſtroy the toads and lizards, which are obnoxious to them.

When the hives are decayed, they are taken aſunder and fumigated; then the bees forſake their habitations, and take ſhelter in an adjoining hive, previouſly prepared for that purpoſe. This ſhould be performed in the ſpring, when the flowers begin to open and afford them ſuccour. The ſame method may be uſed in taking out the honey; but if repeatedly practiſed, it will extinguiſh the colony.

As the bees, in returning from their excurſions, are loaded and fatigued, there ſhould be nothing near the hives to obſtruct their deſcent, which is not in a perpendicular courſe, but in an oblique one.

The General Report of the Magiſtrates of the County of Hants, on the State of the Poor.

"THAT the poor-rates have of late generally increaſed.

"That the price of neceſſaries has increaſed in a greater proportion than the wages of labour.

"That the moſt ſuitable employment, the moſt proper maintenance, and the beſt management of the poor, ſhould become matters of general and particular conſideration and adoption.

"That veſtries, therefore, be recommended to be holden in every pariſh church, to be attended by the miniſter with the principal inhabitants, as well as pariſh officers; in which veſtries, ſo conſtituted and reſtored to their real reſpect and original deſign, the condition of the poor may be locally conſidered and improved in the way beſt adapted to each place.

"That it is not expedient to make a general regulation of wages of labour, till the recommendation hereby generally given of ſome local advancement, according to the different occaſion for it in different places, ſhall have proved ineffectual, eſpecially as ſuch wages are already in an improving ſtate.

"That animal food and beer are neceſſary parts of the proper ſubſiſtence of labourers, to enable them to do juſtice in their work to themſelves, their employers, and the community; and that theſe articles can be ſecured to them moſt effectually by boarding wholly, or in part, with their maſters, or receiving the proper recompenſe for their labour, as far as may be, in proviſions rather than money.

"That it be earneſtly recommended to maſters to ſtand in the place of ſhopkeepers to their own labourers wherever they can, furniſhing them with the beſt commodities at prime coſt, whereby the extra charge of the retailer would be wholly ſaved to them.

"That taſk-work be extended to every poſſible caſe, with proper pay in proportion to the work done.

"That the proper ſubſiſtence of labourers with their families in any particular place ſhould be aſcertained, and their income rendered adequate to their neceſſary expenditure—firſt, by wages from their employers, or where, from infirmity, or the numbers in family, that is impoſſible, next, the difference between their higheſt income

come under the beſt employment, and their loweſt outgoing under the beſt management, ſhould be made up in relief granted by pariſh officers; and, laſtly, in default of them, ſhould be ordered by the magiſtrates.

"That other parochial charges be not blended with the poor-account; and that all unneceſſary expenſes for entertainments and the like be not allowed.

"That in general it is not adviſable that the poor ſhould be farmed, either with reſpect to proviſion, employment, or medicine.

"That ſo much of the 43 Eliz. c. 2, as reſpects ſetting the poor to work, and finding materials for that purpoſe, is often neglected by overſeers, and ſhould be generally enforced.

"That houſes of induſtry for the poor, under the regulation of 22 Geo. III. c. 83, are ſtrongly to be recommended either in large ſingle pariſhes or ſmall pariſhes united; becauſe, excluſive of other weighty reaſons, theſe are the chief means of reducing the poor-rates, as has been generally experienced whereever they have been eſtabliſhed, and ſteadily conducted.

"That ſchools of induſtry ſhould be eſtabliſhed in aid of the foregoing inſtitutions, as well as of all workhouſes; wherein boys ſhould be taught common country buſineſs, particularly the uſe of implements in huſbandry, by being exerciſed in working the ground, which ſhould, where practicable, be annexed to ſuch houſes; and wherein girls ſhould learn ſewing, ſpinning, and other plain work.

"That Friendly Societies, under the 33 Geo. III. are alſo recommended as another mode of reducing the poor-rates."

Extract from a Plan of Agreement among the Powers in Europe, and the United States of America, for the purpoſe of rewarding Diſcoveries of general Benefit to Society. By Sir John Sinclair, *Bart. Preſident of the Board of Agriculture.*

THE plan of eſtabliſhing a Board of Agriculture, for promoting the internal improvement of Great Britain, though long a favourite idea of the perſon who brought forward that propoſal, yet could never have been carried to its preſent ſtate of perfection, had it not been for an extenſive tour which the author made, through ſome of the moſt intereſting parts of Europe. In the courſe of that tour he ſaw ſeveral valuable inſtitutions for public purpoſes, from each of which, as well as from thoſe at home, he took ſuch hints as ſeemed to him likely to be of ſervice, and formed on the whole the plan of an eſtabliſhment, on a ſcale ſufficiently extenſive, to merit, in his opinion, the approbation of the Britiſh Parliament: They were prevailed upon to adopt it, not, however, without ſome oppoſition, and merely as an experiment. The reſult, he flatters himſelf, muſt be in the higheſt degree ſatisfactory to thoſe who wiſhed well to ſuch an undertaking. The Board was conſtituted only on the 4th of September 1793, and already a greater maſs of agricultural and ſtatiſtical knowledge has been collected in little more than a year and a half, than ever was accumulated before in ſo ſhort a period.

The improvement of his native country was not the ſole object which the author, however anxious to promote it, had in view when he formed this eſtabliſhment. He knew well that it would ſoon prove of general benefit to ſociety. The carrying on, therefore, a correſpondence with foreign States, diſpoſed to enter into ſuch an intercourſe, was a part of the original plan. A ſecretary, acquainted with ſeveral of the moſt important languages in Europe, was attached to the Board, for the purpoſe of conducting that correſpondence; and though the war, ſo generally raging on the Continent, has given a different direction to the minds of men, and greatly impeded ſuch an intercourſe, yet much uſeful information has been received from, and communicated to, foreign countries, ſince the Board was eſtabliſhed.

There are ſome points connected with the improvement of a country which are only applicable to particular places; an improvement, for inſtance, in the culture of the vine would be of no uſe to the northern parts of Europe; nor would it be of any conſequence in the ſouthern; that the Scotch fir could be made doubly valuable, by uſing the branches of young fir as an article of food for ſheep or cattle in the winter ſeaſon, when it is ſo difficult to ſupport them. There are many objects, however, of equal importance to all countries, and in the improvement of which every nation is equally intereſted; for example, any diſcoveries in conſequence of which a greater quantity of animal or vegetable food can be produced for the uſe of man,—any improvement in medicine,—in the means of ſaving fuel,—in the conſtruction of houſes for the lower orders of the people, &c. and many other particulars of a ſimilar nature.

Diſcoveries made in one country gradually reach another: but the interval is often tedious, and the loſs thereby ſuſtained is great; whereas if the progreſs could be more accelerated, the conſequences might be in the higheſt degree beneficial, not only to the country that receives, but to the one that makes the diſcovery. For no individual, or even nation, can carry any art or new invention to its ultimate ſtate of perfection: it muſt be improved upon for that purpoſe by the inveſtigation and the experience of others.

Deeply impreſſed with the juſtneſs and importance of theſe ideas, I take the liberty of ſubmitting to the conſideration of thoſe intruſted with the government of this, and of other ſtates, the propriety of a general agreement among the Powers of Europe, and the United States of America, for the purpoſe of rewarding thoſe who make any uſeful diſcovery, intereſting to the ſpecies at large, in rural economy, in medicine, or in the uſeful arts; and that every means be taken to have the ſame rapidly extended, and brought to its ultimate ſtate of perfection.

Such an agreement would be attended with but little expenſe to the different Powers who entered into it, whilſt the credit, the ſatisfaction, and the benefit which each government would ultimately derive from ſuch an underſtanding, would be of infinite value.

If each Power ſhould agree to pay a ſum, call it from fifty to five hundred, or a thouſand pounds, according to the amount of its revenue, and to the advantage which it would be likely to obtain from any new invention of the nature above alluded to, it would be of little conſequence to each, whilſt the total would be of conſiderable value to the fortunate diſcoverer.

The attention of mankind being directed to ſuch uſeful objects, it is impoſſible to ſay to what perfection the arts neceſſary for their comfort and ſuſtenance might be carried.

The deſire for fame and emolument, and the emulation of many nations, rivalling each other in ſuch arts, would ſoon produce diſcoveries, the importance of which can hardly be eſtimated at preſent.

Outlines of a Plan for turning the Thames, as it flows through London, into a moſt capacious Wet-dock, &c.

THOUGH London may juſtly claim to be the greateſt ſea-port in the world, yet the veſſels that frequent it are far from being ſo well accommodated as the intereſts of commerce would require, or as the improvability of the river will admit. The tide at London, on an average, riſes about 16 feet; and then the river makes a moſt noble and magnificent appearance, which it is the object of the preſent Eſſay that it ſhould always retain, as the ſhips would thereby be relieved from the ſtraining which they ſuffer at low water. Were the Thames to continue naturally always as high, or nearly as high, as it is at flood-tide, it would not only be a tenfold greater ornament to London than it is at preſent, but it would, by many degrees, be more beneficial to all thoſe who have any intereſt in the ſhips that load or unload at the capital. But, what we cannot expect from Nature alone, we may have from Art in co-operation with Nature. I hope, therefore, it will not be unacceptable to thoſe who deſire the embelliſhment of London, the improvement of its harbour, and the convenience of its merchants, to peruſe the outlines of a plan, by which the Thames, as it flows through the capital, may, during the whole year (or from year to year), be kept up to the ſame height, or nearly the ſame height, as it now is at every high tide.

Wet-docks are univerſally allowed, by thoſe converſant in ſhipping, to contribute greatly to the preſervation of the ſhips moored in them; on which account ſome of our chief ſea-ports, namely, Hull and Liverpool, have lately procured to themſelves thoſe naval conſervatories, if I may ſo call them, at no ſmall labour and expenſe. But the Thames affords to the city of London an opportunity of forming a wet-dock ſuperior to any other in this iſland, or perhaps in the whole world beſides, conſiſting of 300 acres; which, excluſive of the advantage to the ſhipping, would add a moſt pleaſing embelliſhment to the capital, by rendering the Thames, as it flows through it, according to the deſcription of the Poet,

> Tho' ne'er overflowing, always full.

This advantage and this embelliſhment may be procured to London by the eaſy means of an additional bridge built acroſs the Thames about two miles below London bridge, a little higher than Bell wharf, and ſo conſtructed as to ſerve for a lock as well as a bridge. Of the three bridges now exiſting in London acroſs the Thames, one of them, namely, London-bridge, may be conſidered as an imperfect lock, by which the river, for a couple of hours every tide, is kept up three or four feet higher on one ſide of the bridge than on the other. But, by a complete lock-bridge, built, as is propoſed, about Bell wharf, the Thames may be kept up above ſuch bridge 15 or 16 feet higher than low-water mark, not only a few hours of the tide, but from one tide to another, that is, perpetually.

I ſhall therefore enter into ſome detail relative to the form and conſtruction of ſuch a bridge, and to the advantages that would reſult from keeping up the ſurface of the Thames at London as high as it now is at high water. Suppoſing the breadth of the river at Bell wharf to be 1220 feet, the ſame as at Weſtminſter bridge, that would conſequently be the length of the new bridge. This new bridge I would propoſe to be erected upon one continued foundation of maſonry from bank to bank, of the breadth of about 90 feet, and of 12 feet in thickneſs, 6 of which to be ſunk in the bed of the river. Towards the middle of the length of the bridge I would erect two locks or ſluices, with flood-gates, to remain open from one hour before high tide to one hour after it, for the ingreſs and egreſs of ſhips when the tide flowed, or when it was high tide. Let the diſtance between theſe locks be 200 feet: and, allowing 40 feet for the width of each lock, and 8 feet thick of wall for each of the cheeks or ſide-walls, they would then occupy 112 feet of the whole length. The remainder of the length I would diſtribute in the following manner. Dividing the whole into portions of 20 feet, and of each of thoſe 20 feet allowing four feet for a ſtone pier, the whole length then, excluſive of the locks and abutments, would conſiſt of 55 piers, and 55 openings of 16 feet in width each. On the 55 piers, and over the 55 openings, let 55 equal arches be erected, of 16 feet ſpan each, rendering the road over the bridge perfectly level from one end to the other, as moſt bridges ought to be. At the two locks the road muſt paſs over draw-bridges, which muſt be kept open two hours every tide, when the bridge would be ſhut up as impaſſable, the paſſage being free during the reſt of the 24 hours. This obſtruction of the road during 4 hours every day would be unavoidable; but, weighed againſt the other conveniences ariſing from the bridge, ought to paſs for nothing: and certainly he would be deemed an unreaſonable murmurer who had a paſſage opened to him for 20 hours a day, where there was no paſſage before, ſhould he complain that he could not paſs during the whole of the 24 hours.

But, before the arches and the road over the bridge are conſtructed, let flood-gates be fitted to the two locks, and alſo to the 55 openings; which flood-gates, when ſhut, will render the whole bridge one continued lock, and will give to the Thames, for 10 or 12 miles above the bridge, nearly the ſame appearance that it has at every high tide, and thereby keep the ſhips in the port of London always a-float in a perfect and moſt capacious wet-dock; and the nuiſances of low water and muddy ſhores, at preſent ſo unſightly and ſo inconvenient, will thereby be removed from the wharfs and quays.

Having thus given a deſcription of the eſſential part of the conſtruction of the new lock-bridge, I ſhall now proceed to explain ſome of the advantages that might conſequentially be made to ariſe from it. By the confeſſion of all naval people, it would be allowed to afford a great benefit to the ſhips in the port of London: for which benefit, were the ſhips to pay the ſame acknowledgment *per* week as is uſually demanded at other wet-docks, it might be expected to produce an annual income of 20,000l. To this may be added the many conveniences and advantages of lading and unlading at the wharfs. But on theſe points I need not here enlarge, as they have been very amply explained in a pamphlet lately publiſhed *on Wet-docks, Quays and Wharfs, for the Port of London;* a performance where ſound judgment and extenſive information are equally conſpicuous. From this performance it would ſeem that I have much underſtated the income that would probably ariſe from turning the port of London into a wet-dock; for, ſince the wet-docks at Liverpool, where the ſhipping amounts to 300 veſſels, produce an annual revenue of 12,480l. a wet-dock at London, where the ſhipping is 1860 veſſels, ought to produce ſix times as much as at Liverpool.

Thus far in regard to the ſhipping, and the revenue thence ariſing from the conſtruction of a lock-bridge. Let us now turn our views to other advantages that would accompany that lock-bridge. The flood-gates of the two locks, and of the 55 openings, muſt be ſo conſtructed as to pen in the high tide to any height that public convenience may require; but in each of them let ſliding vanes or wickets be made, to allow one eighth of the whole depth of water to run off every tide. Thus, ſuppoſing the flood gates completely ſhut at the turning of every high tide, when the additional riſe of water is 16 feet, the ſliding vanes or wickets muſt be then opened to ſuch a degree as to let two feet of the water run off between one tide and another, ſo that, when a ſucceeding tide returns, the depth of the water penned up on the upper ſide of the bridge may be about 14 feet above low-water mark. In this manner, after the bridge is built, there will be, as at preſent, a flowing and ebbing in the Thames as it runs through London; but, inſtead of flowing five hours, and ebbing ſeven hours and an half, every tide, it will flow two hours, and ebb about ten hours and an half every tide; and, inſtead of riſing 16 feet, and falling 16 feet, it will riſe only 2 feet, and fall 2 feet.

At the ebb-tide the Thames at the lock-bridge will be 14 feet higher on the upper ſide of the bridge than on the lower, and about half-tides it will be about 8 feet higher on one ſide of the bridge than on the other; conſequently the water, in running off by the wickets and ſliding vanes, may be ſaid to have a fall of about 8 feet upon an average. I would, therefore, propoſe to take the benefit of this fall of the ſtream to tranſport what is now called the water-works of London bridge to the lock-bridge, where the ſame effect would be produced by one half the preſent expence of machinery, the ſame rent continuing to be paid for thoſe water-works in their new ſituation as is now paid. London bridge, being thus freed from its preſent encumbrance, might then be rebuilt upon ſuch a plan as to prevent any fall of the ſtream between its piers, which might induce the owners of many ſmall veſſels to take their moorings above that bridge; whereby the port of London would be greatly enlarged, and the wharſage greatly extended. The only objection I can ſee to the removing of the water works to the lock-bridge is, that it would carry the forcing power to too great a diſtance from the reſervoir, or pipes of diſtribution. But, whoever conſiders the forcing-machine at Chelſea, which conducts the water of the Thames to the circular reſervoir at the top of Hyde park, will abandon this objection.

Allowing a ſpace of 300 feet by the ſide of the lock-bridge for theſe water-works, that is, 15 of the 55 openings, with their correſpondent piers, all of which openings may be applied to the purpoſes of water-mills, having a fall of water of 8 feet upon an average, and capable of being worked 12 hours every day. I ſhall not here enter into the detail of the conſtruction of thoſe water-mills, but ſhall only obſerve that, if corn-mills are erected, each opening will ſuffice for two mills; conſequently the bridge will give on the whole 80 pair of ſtones, with water in abundance. Were we to adopt the late politic ſyſtem of the French, of ſupplying their Weſt Indies with flour from home, inſtead of from North America, our ſhips in the Weſt-Indian trade would give full employment to all thoſe mills, excluſive of the conſumption of London; and, ſuppoſing the flour carried out not in caſks, but in large jars, like the Italian oil jars, thoſe jars that carry out the flour might bring home the ſugar, which would ſuperſede the continual expenſe of pipe-staves, cooperage, &c. At Moiſac and at Montauban I counted, if I remember right, 20 pairs of ſtones in one houſe, which were chiefly employed in grinding flour for the French Weſt-Indian iſlands; and each pair of ſtones yielded a rent of 100l. a year. But, reckoning each of our 80 mills at the rent of only 50l. a year, that would give another annual income ariſing from the lock-bridge of 4,000l. Adding this income to that ariſing from the tonnage of the ſhipping enjoying the benefit of the wet-dock, and it may I think be juſtly concluded, that the propoſed lock-bridge would, excluſive of the embelliſhment of the capital, yield an annual income of above 30,000l.

Let us ſuppoſe this income, with the expenſe of the conſtruction of the bridge; and we may, I think, fairly conclude, that the above great advantages, and great embelliſhments, might be procured to the City of London at no expenſe; for a capital, that in the courſe of a few years will more than reimburſe itſelf, cannot properly be ſaid to be expended. Suppoſing the length of the bridge, including its abutments, to be 1220 feet; the breadth of the foundation, as above mentioned, of ſolid maſonry, to be 90 feet, and its depth 12; theſe three numbers, multiplied together, give us 82,350 tons of ſtone at 16 ſolid feet to the stone. Fifty-five piers, each 40 feet long, 4 feet broad, and 15 feet high, give an addition of 8275 tons. The cheeks of the two locks, together with the two abutments, may be computed to take 2626 tons, and the arches of the bridge, ſide-walls, and parapets, 10,300 tons. The maſs of ſtone requiſite to complete the bridge would then be 103,551 tons, which, at 20s. a ton, will amount to 103,551l. Suppoſing the workmanſhip, and other materials, to amount to as much more, the bridge would then coſt 207,102l.

But to the bridge I have propoſed the appendage of 80 water-mills placed on the lower ſide of it, for which purpoſe the breadth of the foundation of maſonry at the bottom of the river was to be extended at 90 feet. What of this breadth was not occupied by the bridge would be occupied by the mills. The mills muſt be built upon piers and arches of nearly the ſame dimenſions as the piers and arches of the bridge, only that the arches, which would be but 16 feet ſpan, might be of brick, and would ſerve for the ground-floors of the mills. It is not my intention here to enter into the minute detail of the eſtimate; therefore I will ſuppoſe the conſtruction of theſe mills to coſt 40,000l. and, allowing 60,000l. extra charges on the whole undertaking, the new lock-bridge, and all the advantages immediately connected with it, will then coſt about 300,000l. or, as I have above obſerved, may truly be ſaid to coſt nothing, as they would fully compenſate for their firſt expenſe by a large annual revenue.

From theſe conſiderations, rich individuals, who have a deſire to improve their capital in the building way, have in this undertaking a fair proſpect of employing it to advantage, excluſive of the benefit they would thereby render to the metropolis and to the public; and can any juſt reaſon be aſſigned why undertakers in ſuch great works ſhould not be amply recompenſed? Sound policy will unite with juſtice in giving to great undertakings great rewards; and, I may alſo add, in keeping down the profits of low uneſſential occupations. What ſeems chiefly neceſſary to prevent jobbing ſpeculators in theſe and ſimilar undertakings, is to prohibit any partner in them from ſelling or tranſferring his ſhare during the firſt ten years.

Suppoſing the bridge completed, it would follow as a natural conſequence, that a new road ſhould be made from each end of it in a ſtraight line with the bridge, as far as the contour or circuit of London would allow, becauſe I would wiſh this new road to be a bounding road to the capital, and that there ſhould be a prohibition in the Act from erecting any houſes upon new foundations on the outſide of it, or within a mile of that outſide. On the inſide it would ſoon be lined with new houſes built in a handſome ſtyle, and, as the ground in that quarter of the city is a low flat, the preſent graſſy ſurface ought to be made the cellar floor, and the parlour floor lifted 10 or 12 feet above it. The road itſelf I would likewiſe propoſe to be raiſed for the firſt mile, on the Middleſex ſide, 10 or 12 feet, bounding it on the outſide by a brick wall of that height, and ornamenting it with a

double

double row of trees. It would thus become what the Boulevard is at Paris, a delightful walk for airing, raiſed as a terrace, having elegant houſes on one ſide, and a beautiful park on the other, about twice as large as St. James's park, to which the bounding brick wall of the road would ſerve as a haha fence. On the Middleſex ſide, this road might be continued in a ſtraight line with the bridge, nearly as far as Hoxton, croſſing the Whitechapel road cloſe to the London Hoſpital. On the Surry ſide it ought to advance in a ſtraight line but a ſhort way, when it ought to make an angle to fall in with the proper outline of the capital on that ſide of the river, which outline might paſs nearly to Newington Butts, and thence to Lambeth, where it would meet another bounding road ending at Milbank, and ſo nearly complete the circuit. This circuit would extend about 13 miles, including a ſpace more than double that of ancient Rome, when that city was at the height of its ſplendor and magnificence.

London of late is ſwoln to ſuch an enormity, and ſo many irregular plans of building are purſuing on the roads of approach to it, as call loudly for ſome parliamentary reſtraints. Thouſands, and ten thouſands, of thoſe who, without any call whatever, think they cannot breathe out of the ſight of the dome of St. Paul's, would find the air of England as pure 200 miles from it, and might eat their freſh butter on the ſpot, which is now brought to them near 200 miles by land carriage, to a needleſs enhancement of the price. The ſame may be ſaid of almoſt every other article of conſumption in a family. Having, therefore, fixed upon a proper bounding line for the capital, every diſcouragement ſhould be given to the multiplying of houſes for a certain number of miles without that bounding line; for, ſound views of policy, as well as of commerce, would lead to a diſperſion of habitations over the whole iſland, eſpecially upon our ſea-girt frontier, rather than to an unneceſſary and unmeaſurable concentration of buildings upon the banks of one river.

Having thus explained the leading or eſſential points, in regard to the form and conſtruction of the lock-bridge, and the advantages ariſing from it to the port of London, I ſhall not at preſent enter into a further detail. In pointing out the practicability and utility of the improvement, I have in a manner laid the foundation-ſtone of the new bridge.

I ſhall conclude with one obſervation more. The lock-bridge, it appears, would give to the capital the very great embelliſhment of having the Thames, as it flows through it, always full, that is, up to its own bounding ſhores, nearly as much as it now is at the high tides. But the Thames, from Lambeth to Blackfriars-bridge, is ſuſceptible of a magnificent embankment on both ſides of the river, with hardly any interference with private property, and I may add (as in the caſe of the lock-bridge) at no expenſe, that is, yielding a yearly revenue that would more than reimburſe the capital employed in executing it. Whoever conſiders the preſent unſightly irregularity of the banks of the Thames, as it flows through London, will moſt readily acknowledge, that not only elegance and magnificence, but commercial advantages, have been moſt ſhamefully ſacrificed to private intereſt, or moſt ſupinely left out of all conſideration. Mr. Groſley of Troyes in Champagne, whom I formerly knew in France, viſited London about thirty years ago, and, after a reſidence of ſix weeks, he publiſhed his remarks and obſervations in two octavo volumes, under the title of "Londres," which have been much read on the continent. One of his obſervations is to the following effect; "The Thames is a fine river, but the people of London turn the backs of their houſes to it, for fear leſt the ſight of the water ſhould tempt them to drown themſelves." His commendation of the river gives additional force to his ſneer at the neglect of all ornament and convenience upon its banks. This neglect would impreſs him the more from his acquaintance with the quays of Paris and Florence; for he likewiſe viſited Italy, and publiſhed an account of his travels there. But the view of the Thames itſelf, at London, without any reference to other cities or other rivers, ſuffices to prove the eaſy practicability of forming a magnificent embankment from Lambeth to Blackfriars bridge, which would give a million of cubic feet of additional warehouſe-room or cellar-room, and might tempt many, who now ſhun its muddy ſhores, to build elegant and ſumptuous houſes fronting the river in an uniform line along the new quays. When a bridge is built over a conſiderable river running through the middle of a great and populous city, it is a wonderful overſight not to give to ſuch a bridge ſide approaches as well as end approaches. This overſight, which has been committed at Weſtminſter bridge and Blackfriars bridge, may happily ſtill be eaſily remedied, and the narrowneſs of the Strand, in compariſon of the numbers of carriages that are daily paſſing through it, calls loudly for a new communication along the banks of the river between thoſe two bridges. Private rights, which at bottom are uſurpations, ought not to preclude public rights; and, if it would be deemed both unjuſt and impolitic to ſuffer Fleet-ſtreet or Holborn to be made private property, it would ſeem to be no leſs unjuſt and impolitic to ſuffer the banks of the Thames in London to be made private property. It would almoſt ſeem even beyond the power of an Act of Parliament to turn Fleet-ſtreet or Holborn into private property; yet, what ought as much to be public property as either Fleet-ſtreet or Holborn, has ſilently been appropriated by individuals, many of whom would be at a great loſs to ſhew any authority for ſuch appropriation. A moſt ſtrict ſcrutiny, therefore, ought to be made into all claims of private property on the banks of the Thames between the above-mentioned bridges; and, where ſuch claims are found to be legal, the poſſeſſor ſhould receive an equitable recompenſe, and the property be transferred to the public. The embankment I propoſe would, I think, yield a great part of this recompenſe out of itſelf; and, ſhould my propoſal of a new wet-dock, by means of a lock-bridge, meet with approbation, and be put into effect, I ſhall explain the principle and the ways and means of this new embankment, one of the greateſt deſideratums in reſpect to the improvement and embelliſhment of the capital.

On the whole, therefore, the propoſed lock-bridge might be made to be productive of three very eſſential advantages to London. It would add the advantage of a wet-dock, the largeſt and moſt convenient perhaps in the whole world, and would keep the ſurface of the river, at all times, nearly as high as it now is at high water; ſecondly, it would give to the capital a magnificent bounding road, with vacant ſpaces within it for ſpacious and new ſtreets, lined with neat or with elegant houſes; and, on the outſide, all round, having an ornamented park for the exerciſe of the inhabitants; and, thirdly, it would open a ſtreet of communication along each bank of the river, which ſtreet would at the ſame time ſerve as one continued wharf for merchandiſe, and more than double the warehouſe-room or cellar-room that London now poſſeſſes. And, to complete the whole, the revenue ariſing out of theſe great advantages would fully defray the expenſe of their execution.

For the execution of ſuch noble deſigns the ſuperintendence of an Ædilian Board would ſeem to be moſt proper. The Romans very early had a ſuperior Magiſtrate under the name of Ædil, whoſe employment was to direct and inſpect in whatever regarded the public buildings, and the neceſſary improvements of their city. We are yet got no farther than Commiſſioners of Pavements.

ANTIQUITIES.

Account of the Roman roads in Leiceſterſhire. From the Hiſtory and Antiquities of the County of Leiceſter. Vol. 1. *By* John Nichols, *F. S. A. Edinb. Perth.*

1. *Of the Watling-ſtreet.*—The Watling-ſtreet, in its courſe from Richborough to Wroxeter, after paſſing through Kent, Middleſex, Hertfordſhire, Bedfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, and Northamptonſhire, enters the county of Leiceſter at Dovebridge, (near which, but on the Northamptonſhire ſide, and in the pariſh of Lilburn, is the ſtation of Tripontium). This road is ſo ſtraight, ſo perfect, and ſo well known, that it would be ill employing one's time to deſcribe it more minutely. From the Avon, which it paſſes at Dovebridge, to the Anker near Manceter, the Watling-ſtreet ſerves as the ſouth-weſt boundary of the county from Warwickſhire; and at the diſtances marked in the Itinerary are found the two next ſtations on it, of Benonæ, High Croſs; and Manduesſedum, Manceter.

Theſe ſtations, as well as Ratæ and Verometum, are mentioned in the firſt, fourteenth, and eighteenth Itineraries of Richard; and in the ſecond, ſixth, and eighth of Antonine. A trifling variation in the ſpelling of a name, and a miſplacing of the figures which mark the diſtances, owing to the careleſſneſs and inaccuracy of the tranſcribers, is all the difference that can be found between theſe ſeparate Itineraries; but the preciſe ſpot of each ſtation is even at preſent ſufficiently pointed out by the foundations, urns, coins, and other remains of antiquity, had we not the additional confirmation of their reſpective diſtances correſponding ſo exactly with the miles of the Itineraries.

2. *Of the Foſs.*—The Foſs road is ſuppoſed to have proceeded from ſome ſtation on the ſea-coaſt of Lincolnſhire, probably between Grimſby and Saltby, croſs England in a South-weſterly direction to Moridunum, the great port of the Weſt; and indeed, in the ſummers of 1788 and 1789, with my learned friend Dr. Bennet, the preſent Biſhop of Cork, I traced it with little difficulty from Ludford, an undoubted ſtation at the head of the Bain, clearly to Lincoln, and thence into Devonſhire. From Lincoln, at the diſtances marked in the ſixth Itinerary of Antonine, are found ſtations ſo exactly anſwering to thoſe diſtances, that it appears unneceſſary to look for them any where elſe. At twelve miles from Lincoln is Brough (Crocolana); ſeven miles from thence, at the great paſſage of the Trent,

where the weſtern branch of the Ermine-ſtreet (which quitted the eaſtern in its way to Ancaſter, between the preſent 95th and 96th mile ſtones, in the great north road between Stamford and Newark) paſſed the river, not far diſtant from the preſent turnpike-gate at Thorpe, was Ad Pontem; ſeven miles farther was Margidunum, near Eaſt Bridgford; and at the diſtance of thirteen miles, after paſſing a tumulus near Willoughby on the borders of Nottinghamſhire, the road deſcends the hill to the ſtation Vernometum, which ſtood on the banks of a ſmall rivulet in a field well known by the name of Herrings or Blackfield.

The Foſs now entering Leiceſterſhire, I ſhall take the liberty of being more particular in my deſcription of it.

After quitting the ſtation of Vernometum, the Foſs makes a ſmall bend (as it frequently does at entering or leaving a ſtation), but ſoon regaining its former bearing, continues ſtraight to Sex or Segs hill, and, though now much defaced, is ſtill eaſily traced by its continuing almoſt always in the ſame direction, and from its being ſtill in many places high-ridged, and in ſome paved with large round ſtones.

At Sex hill is a conſiderable tumulus, and alſo the remains of an intrenchment, where the Foſs is interſected by another road, apparently Roman, coming from Paunton on the Ermine-ſtreet, in an E. N. Eaſterly direction, pointing towards Barrow upon Soar, and which, if continuing in the ſame bearing acroſs Leiceſterſhire, would have paſſed the Via Devana, north of Markfield, and fallen into the Watling-ſtreet, near Etocetum, or Wall, in Staffordſhire, at its junction with the Ryknield-street.

From Sex hill, the Foſs, in going over the commons and Thruſſington Woulds, keeps generally near the hedge, till it deſcends into the valley beyond Ratcliff. It leaves the great oblong tumulus of Shipley hill to the left, and, croſſing the Wreak and another ſmall rivulet near Syſton, paſſes by a vaſt tumulus at the place where the Melton Mowbray quits the Leiceſter road, and, going through Thurmaſton, proceeds directly to Ratæ or Leiceſter.

In Leiceſter it joins the Via Devana (of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter); and both continuing through the town together, leave it by the great gateway ſtill remaining (but which has, I know not for what trifling reaſon, been called the Temple of Janus); and, paſſing the meadow oppoſite to King Richard's bridge, where its original breadth is ſtill viſible, it ſuddenly turns to the left (on croſſing the ſecond branch of the Soar), over the meadows; and, gaining its old bearing, joins the Narborough turnpike, and continues with it as far as the fourth mile ſtone from Leiceſter. The Foſs here quits the turnpike, and, going over the fields, leaves the town and church of Narborough on the left; and is ſtill quite plain as it deſcends the laſt incloſure oppoſite the green lane by which the Foſs is continued to High Croſs.

Near Croft the farmers were breaking up in many places the ridge of the Roman road by carrying out their manure, when I paſſed it in 1788; and it was impoſſible not to obſerve ſtill parts of the ſtone, with which it had been paved, lying about on every ſide. Near Soar hill, where the road had been entirely neglected, and is covered with water, one could feel plainly the broken pavement as one rode over it. In a direct line, and without any variation, the Foſs continues from hence over fields to Benonæ, where it joins the Watling-ſtreet.

3. *Of the Via Devana.*—The Via Devana runs from Colcheſter (Camalodunum) in Eſſex to Cheſter (Deva Colonia).

This road was firſt taken notice of by the late Dr. Maſon, who, obſerving ſome parts of it quite perfect for many miles in Cambridgeſhire, hinted that, from its bearing, he ſuppoſed it was continued to Cheſter. He himſelf found it in Huntingdonſhire, Northamptonſhire, and, I believe, afterwards ſaw ſome traces of it in all the different counties from one ſide of the iſland quite to the other.

The preſent Biſhop of Cork and myſelf travelled the greater part of it in the year 1788 and 1789; and I ſhall now inform you more fully of that part of it which paſſes through your county, while at the ſame time I lay down a ſhort ſketch of its general route, as it is not mentioned in any of the Itineraries.

From Colcheſter (the undoubted Camalodunum) Dr. Maſon ſays, it came by Earls Colne to Hedingham; from thence by the river to Yeldham; then, croſſing the high lands by Whitley, proceeded by the Stour to Havirhill (probably a ſtation on it); then paſſing Withersfield, and going through Horſeheath park to the right of Lord Montford's late houſe, runs ſtraight and high-raiſed for ſeveral miles to Gogmagog hills, on deſcending which to Redcroſs (where it threw off a branch by Grancheſter to Sandy), it bears a little to the left, to avoid the fen; but, turning on the high ground, paſſes through Cambridge, and by the preſent turnpike to Godmancheſter (the commonly ſuppoſed Durolepons), where it joins the Ermine-ſtreet: it croſſes the Ouſe; and, going on the weſt ſide of Huntingdon by the gallows, is ſtill viſible for two or three miles to Alconbury; from whence it croſſes the remainder of the county to Lilford bridge; and is ſeen plain and high-raiſed on Rockingham foreſt (as it croſſes the road from Rockingham caſtle to Kettering), bearing to a tumulus on the brow of the hill near Cottingham.

From this tumulus is plainly ſeen a windmill (in preciſely the ſame bearing beyond Medbourn); it now deſcends the hill, and croſſing the Welland, enters Leiceſterſhire.

For three or four miles over the low grounds it is (as is generally the caſe in marſhy ſoils) obſcure; it then paſſes by Medbourn, an undoubted ſtation on it; and beyond the village is diſtinguiſhed by quickſet planted on it, to prevent people going out of the track of the common road. It then goes under the hill on which ſtands Slauſton-mill, and is plainly ſeen on another hill, which ſeparates the pariſhes of Cranoe and Glooſton, where, as well as at Medbourn, is a tumulus. At a little diſtance from hence it enters the incloſure, and is the common bridle-way to Leiceſter. It now in many places is high-raiſed; and ſo exceedingly remarkable, from its being compoſed of an artificial ſoil, as to make it impoſſible to miſtake it. In paſſing by Gartre buſh, a vicinal road appears to have croſſed it, as if coming from near Harborough, in the direction to the camp at Burrow hill. From hence it continues ſtraight, and without the leaſt variation, by Norton Hedges (near which places, on looking forwards, Markfield windmill on the foreſt is ſeen diſtinctly over the loweſt and middle ſpire of Leiceſter), between the two Strettons, cloſe to Stoughton Grange; and from thence, though now entirely deſtroyed, over the fields to the ſouth gate of Leiceſter.

It joins the Foſs, as I remarked before: and both of them continued together through the great gate way, or Janus's Temple, and croſſing the two branches of the Soar (the laſt near Richard's bridge), whilſt the Foſs bears off to the left. This turns up by a bottom to avoid a hill; and, recovering its old direction, leaves to the right the great lane called Anſtie's or Aſhby's lane; and, going ſtraight forwards eighty or ninety yards wide, pointing to a windmill, paſſes directly to Groby, where Lord Stamford's houſe ſtands upon it. From Groby it paſſes "over the hill," ſays Dr. Maſon, "leaving Markfield windmill to the ſouth-weſt about two furlongs, then by Aſhby de-la-Zouch to Burton." I thought, on riding over this country, that it appeared to go through Markfield, leaving the church a little to the right, and then up Stoney-lane; whether Long-lane was ever a part of it, I am uncertain; but it appears to be in its direction, as it points to the Ryknield-street, North of Burton.

Through the greater part of Staffordſhire it is traced with little difficulty, but more particularly from Draycot ſtraight to Lane Delph, and then by Wulſtanton church to the ſtation at Cheſterton, and thence to Nantwich and Cheſter.

As it may be a proper object of curioſity to ſome one to trace more particularly the Via Devana from Groby towards Burton, I ſhall take the liberty of giving the following hints; firſt, that, invariably on all the Roman roads which I have ſeen throughout England (and I have travelled moſt of them) tumuli or barrows are found on every eminence (unleſs they have been ſince deſtroyed) and generally the two ſucceſſive ones in ſight of each other, (as the direction probably by which the engineer originally laid out the road), as well as at all thoſe places where any vicinal road branched off from the great ſtreet, or paved way, to ſome dependent camp or inferior ſtation; ſecondly, that all Roman roads run invariably in a ſtraight line, except where they meet with ſome local impediment, ſuch as a ſteep mountain or a deep ravine, or where they bend out of their general direction to approach or leave a ſtation, or to throw off ſome vicinal road.

And that great caution muſt be uſed, leſt the perſon ſhould be miſled by roads having the ſame name with the one he is exploring, as generally all roads or lanes leading to ſuch general road are called by the name of the great road or ſtreet itſelf. Thus, at Leiceſter, the lane which leads to the Foſs is called the Foſs: Thus, at Cirenceſter, the great road which comes from Wincheſter by Wanborough, in the part near Cirenceſter (through which the Foſs itſelf paſſes), is called the Foſs road, though in a contrary direction from the general bearing of the Foſs. And the ſame road near Wincheſter is called the Ikenield-ſtreet, though in a quite contrary bearing to that great Britiſh way, becauſe it led to it. Many other inſtances may be given, becauſe ſuch miſtakes exiſt about every ſtation; but I ſhall only mention one more, which is that at Bath, (another great ſtation on our Foſs road) almoſt all the ſmaller ways or lanes leading to it are called by the general name of the great road to which they led, "The Foſs road."

Beſide what I have mentioned, I have heard there is a camp, probably Roman, at Ratby, N. W. of Leiceſter, and trenches at Saltby: and a teſſelated pavement, coins of Conſtantine, and urns, &c. have been found at Rodeley near Mountſorrel.

T. Leman, *Bath, Feb.* 21, 1792.

Letter to Lord Cromwell *from one of the Commiſſioners appointed to inquire into the State of the Monaſtic Houſes in the Reign of* Henry VIII.

[*From the ſame.*]

RIGHT Honourable ſir. After my humble recommendations, this ſhall be to advertiſe you, that I have received your moſt comfortable letters; for the which, in my right lowly wyſe, I render unto you moſt hearty thanks. Pleaſeth it your maſterſhip to be farther advertiſed, that we have ſurveyed the houſe and priory of Broke; the priory of Bradley; the abbey of Olveſton; the priory of Kirby Belers; the priory of Woulſtorp; and now be at the abbey of Garadon. And, ſir, foraſmuch as of late my fellows and I did write unto Mr. Chancellor of the augmentations in favour of the abbey of St. James, and the nunnery of Catesby in Northamptonſhire; which letter he ſhewed unto the king's highneſs in the favour of thoſe houſes; whereat the king's highneſs was diſpleaſed, as he ſaid to my ſervant Thomas Harper, ſaying, that it was like we had received rewards, which cauſed us to write as we did; which might put me in fear to write, notwithſtanding the ſure knowledge, I have had always in your indifference, giveth me boldneſs to write to you in the favour of the houſe of Woulſtorp; the governor whereof is a very good huſband for the houſe, and well-beloved of all the inhabitants thereunto adjoining; a right honeſt man, having eight religious perſons, being prieſts, of right good converſation, and living religiouſly, having ſincere qualities of virtue, as we have not found the like in no place; for, there is no one religious perſon there, but that he can and doth uſe either embrothering or writing books with very fair hand, making their own garnements, carving, painting, or graffying; the houſe without any ſlander or evil fame, and ſtanding in a waſte ground very ſolitary, keeping ſuch hoſpitality, that, except by ſingular good proviſion, it could not be maintained with half ſo much land more as they may ſpend; ſuch a number of the poor inhabitants nigh thereunto daily relieved, that we have not ſeen the like, having no more land than they have. God be ever my judge, as I do write unto you the truth, and none otherwiſe to my knowledge, which very pity alone cauſeth me to write! The premiſſes whereof conſidered, in moſt humble wife I beſeech you to be a mean unto the king's majeſty for the ſtanding of the ſaid Woulſtorp*, whereby his grace ſhall do a myche gracious and a meritorious act for the relief of his poor ſubjects there; and ye ſhall be ſure not only to have the continual prayers of thoſe religious perſons there, but alſo the hearty prayer of all the inhabitants within four or five miles about that houſe. And this, for lack of wytt, I am bold to write to you in the pleynes of my heart, as unto him that of all living creatures I have moſt aſſured and faithful truſt in. So knoweth our Lord God; who have you in his moſt merciful tuition! From Garadon, the xixth day of June. Your bounden bedeman at commandment,

GEORGE GYFFARD.

Anecdotes of the Government of England and Scotland, from the Year 1400 *to the Year* 1548.

[*From* Andrews' *Hiſtory of Great Britain*, Vol. I. Part 2.]

IN the beginning of the fifteenth century the power of each department of legiſlature became now more accurately defined, although no conſiderable alterations had been made in either.

The king's authority was moſt aſſuredly not in general deſpotic, ſince he could neither repeal nor change any law which had been made by conſent of his parliament. Yet that diſpenſing power which each monarch aſſumed, when it ſuited his purpoſe, threw far too great a weight into the ſcale of royalty. The ſovereign beſide retained the cruel right of giving in marriage the wards of the crown, although that prerogative (as well as that of purveyance) was exerciſed in a much more moderate degree than it had been of old.—*Forteſcue de Laudibus Legum Angliæ.*

He could likewiſe preſs for his ſervice not only ſoldiers and ſailors, but alſo muſicians, goldſmiths, embroiderers, and various ſorts of artificers.—*Ibid.*

The peers attended their duty in parliament at their own expenſe. The repreſentatives of the commons were always paid from the commencement of repreſentation. Toward the cloſe of the fourteenth century it was fixed at 4s. per diem for knights of ſhires, and half that ſum for each burgeſs †.

The ſheriffs' influence in returning members was extenſive and frequently abuſed. 'Sometimes 'they made no proper elections of 'knights, &c. ſometimes no return 'at all, and ſometimes they return-'ed ſuch as had never been elected.' *Pream. Stat.* 23 *H.* vi. *c.* 14.

For theſe and ſuch-like miſdemeanors he might be ſued by action at the aſſizes, and was liable to fine and impriſonment.

The qualification requiſite for knights of ſhires was 40l. per annum. It appears too that ſtrength of body and conſtitution was demanded, for the parliamentary writs about

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[*] "The priory was permitted to continue, by the king's letters patent, dated Jan. 30, 1537; but finally ſurrendered in 1539."

[†] We may reaſonably enough rate theſe ſums equal to ten times their value in modern times. Conſidering not only the weight of the ſilver but alſo the cheapneſs of proviſions and conveniencies in the fifteenth century.

about this period directed the electors to chooſe not only the wiſeſt but the ſtouteſt men (potentiores ad laborandum) that they might be able to endure the fatigue of the journey and of cloſe attendance.—*Prynne.*

Beſide their pay, the members of the houſe of commons had the privilege, for themſelves and their ſervants, of freedom from all arreſts. A neceſſary exemption, that they might be enabled to perform their duty. But this privilege (as well as their pay) attended on the members only during their actual ſervices, and quitted them at the end of each ſeſſion; allowing only for the few days which they might be obliged to employ in journeying to London and returning home.—*Ib.*

The convocations were regularly ſummoned with the lay-parliaments, and as regularly met. The prelates were ſtill directed to attend and 'conſult with the nobles.' They were alſo directed to order their dean and archdeacons to attend in perſon, each chapter to ſend one proctor, and the clergy of each dioceſe to ſend two proctors, 'to conſent to thoſe things which 'ſhould be ordained by the com'mon council of the kingdom.' As therefore they were only to 'conſent,' not to 'conſult,' the proctors could ſcarcely be reckoned a part of the commons. They however received wages, and partook of the privileges of parliament. The eccleſiaſtics ſtill continued to lay taxes on themſelves; but the conſent of the other branches of legiſlature was neceſſary to give force to their decree.—*Prynne.*

Parliaments were often called and quickly diſmiſſed. They had frequently only one ſeſſion, and once (in 1399) but a ſingle day[*].

No conſiderable alterations appeared in the Engliſh courts of law. The number of judges in the courts at Weſtminſter was by no means certain. Under Henry VI. there were at one time eight judges in the court of common-pleas. Each judge took a ſolemn oath that 'he would take no fee, penſion, gift, reward or bribe from any ſuitor, ſaving meat and drink, which ſhould be of no great value.' —*Forteſcue de Laudibus Legum Angliæ.*

The laws were ill executed throughout[†] the fifteenth century. Maintenance (an union for ſiniſter purpoſes) ſtill prevailed; the prieſts by their exemptions were ſet above the law; ſanctuaries abounded throughout the realm, and protected the vileſt criminal and the moſt diſhoneſt debtor; perjury throve, and afforded a living to many; while the high conſtable, under colour of exerciſing military law, was authorized to proceed in caſes of treaſon, 'ſummarily and 'without noiſe or form of trial;' and if he wiſhed to give an appearance of juſtice to his proceedings he could call in the aid of torture by fire or on the rack.

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[*] And in that one day depoſed one King (Richard the II.) and ſet up another.

[†] To Richard III. on whom hiſtory has caſt innumerable ſtains, England has conſiderable obligations as a legiſlator. Not to mention his cauſing each act of parliament to be written in Engliſh and to be printed, he was the firſt prince on the Engliſh throne who enabled the juſtices of the peace to take bail; and he cauſed to be enacted a law againſt raiſing money by 'Benevolence,' which, when pleaded by the citizens of London againſt cardinal Wolſey, could only be anſwered by an averment that 'Richard being an uſurper and a murderer of his nephews, the laws of ſo wicked a man ought not to be forced.—*Barrington on Statutes.*

He was (ſays a noble biographer) a good lawgiver, 'for the eaſe and ſolace of the common people.'—*Bacon's Henry VII.*

The account which the learned judge Hale gives of the lawyers, who pleaded in the fifteenth century does them little honour. He condemns the reports during the reigns of Henry IV. and V. as inferior to thoſe of the laſt twelve years of Edward III.; and he ſpeaks but coolly of thoſe which the reign of Henry VI. produces.—*Hiſt. of Common Law, apud Henry.*

Yet this deficiency of progreſſive improvement in the common law aroſe not from a want of application to the ſcience; ſince we read in a very reſpectable treatiſe that there were no fewer than 2000 ſtudents attending on the inns of chancery and of court, in the time of its writer.—*Forteſcue de Laudibus, &c.*

The court of chancery ſeems to date its riſe at the cloſe of the fourteenth century. It was highly obnoxious to the profeſſors of the common law, who, by their intereſt in the houſe of commons, procured a petition againſt it from the parliament to Edward IV. in 1474. The influence of the prelates (who were certain of guiding that court defeated this attempt, and its eſtabliſhment encountered no further difficulties.—*Cotton's Records.*

One obſervation there remains to make on the general ſtate of the Engliſh at this period. Civilization indeed had not hitherto made ſuch progreſs as entirely to aboliſh ſlavery. Yet few land-owners or renters were to be found who did not prefer the labour of freemen* to that of ſlaves. This circumſtance diminiſhed their number, and the perpetual civil conteſts enfranchiſed many by putting arms in their hands. Within a few years after the acceſſion of the Tudors, ſlaves were heard of no more.

A reflection made at the cloſe of the fifteenth century, by Philip de Commines, is the more remarkable as it is given voluntarily at the cloſe of the longeſt and moſt bloody civil war with which the Engliſh annals can be charged. 'In my opinion,' (ſays that judicious obſerver) 'of 'all the countries in Europe where 'I was ever acquainted, the government is no where ſo well managed, the people no where leſs 'obnoxious to violence and oppreſſion, nor their houſes leſs liable to 'the deſolations of war, than in 'England; for there the calamities 'fall only upon the authors.'

Scotland was not ſo happy. The unfortunate death of the Norwegian Margaret had involved that realm in a long and bloody conteſt with its powerful neighbour; and, although the gallant and free ſpirits of the Scots had preſerved the independence of their country, notwithſtanding their inferiority in numbers, wealth and diſcipline, it could not prevent the preponderance of a moſt odious and tyrannic ariſtocracy. Perpetual domeſtic war looſened every tie of conſtitutional government; and a Douglas*, a Creighton, or a Donald † of the iſles, by turns exerciſed ſuch deſpotiſm and inhumanity as no monarch in the fifteenth century would have dared to practiſe.

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* The value of freemen who would labour in agriculture was ſo well known, that ſtatutes were paſſed to prevent any perſon who had not twenty ſhillings a year (equal to ten modern pounds) from breeding up his children to any other occupation than that of huſbandry. Nor could any one, who had been employed in ſuch work until twelve years of age, be permitted to turn himſelf to any other vocation. *Public Acts.*

The condition of the ſlave in England was as completely wretched as the deſpot who owned him might pleaſe to make it. His goods were his maſter's, and, on that account, were free from taxation; and whatever injuries he might ſuſtain he had no power to ſue that maſter in any court of juſtice.—*Rym. Fœd. Prynne.*

The endeavours of the firſt and of the ſecond James were turned toward improving the juriſprudence of the north by engrafting on it the beſt parts of the Engliſh ſyſtem; but the ſuddenneſs of their deaths, and the weak reign of their ſucceſſor James III. prevented their people from receiving much benefit from ſuch laudable deſigns.

The parliament of Scotland, at this period, had nearly monopolized all judicial authority. Three committees were formed from the houſe (for there was only one) ſoon after the members met. The firſt, like the 'Triers' in England, examined approved or diſapproved of petitions to the ſenate; the ſecond conſtituted the higheſt court in all criminal proſecutions, as did the third in civil ones. And, as every lord of parliament who choſe it might claim his place in each of theſe committees, almoſt the whole adminiſtration of law, civil as well as military, reſided in the breaſt of the Scottiſh nobility.

There was another court, that of ſeſſion, of which the members and the duration were appointed by parliament.

The juſticiary (an officer diſcontinued in England as too potent) was ſtill nominally at the head of the Scottiſh law, and held courts which were ſtyled 'Juſticiaires,' as did the chamberlain 'Chamberlainaires;' from theſe courts there was allowed an appeal to a juriſdiction of great antiquity, ſtyled 'The Four Boroughs' Court.' This was formed of burgeſſes from Edinburgh and three other towns, who met at Haddington to judge on ſuch appeals.—*Pub. Acts.*

There was one abuſe, however, which rendered every court of juſtice nugatory. It had become a cuſtom for the Scottiſh monarchs to beſtow on their favourites not only eſtates, but powers and privileges equal to their own. Theſe were ſtyled 'Lords of regalities;' they formed courts around them, had mimic officers of ſtate, and tried, executed, or pardoned, the greateſt criminals.

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* 'Oppreſſion, raviſhing of women, theft, ſacrilege, and all other kinds of miſchief, were but a dalliance. So that it was thought leiſom in a depender on a Douglas to ſlay or murder, for ſo fearful was their name, and ſo terrible to every innocent man, that when a miſchievous limmer was apprehended, if he alleged that he murdered and ſlew at a Douglas' command, no man durſt preſent him to juſtice.' *Lindſay.*

† 'Donald (lord of the iſles) gathered a company of miſchievous, curſed limmers, and invaded the king in every airth, wherever he came, with great cruelty; neither ſparing old nor young; without regard to wives, old, feeble or decripped women; or young infants in the cradle, which would have moved a heart of ſtone to commiſeration. And burned villages, towns, and corns, &c.'—*Ibid.*

The good ſenſe of James II. prompted him to propoſe a remedy for this inordinate evil; but two admirable laws which he brought forward (the one againſt granting 'Regalities' without conſent of parliament, the other, to prohibit the beſtowing of hereditary dignities) were after his deceaſe neglected; and Scotland continued, two centuries longer, a prey to the jarring intereſts of turbulent, traitorous noblemen.

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The reigns of the ſeventh and of the eighth Henry brought to a period two ſtates, each totally inconſiſtent with good government and human felicity. That ariſtocracy which, at the ſame time that it kept the monarch in awe, oppreſſed the people and caught in an inſtant the fire of civil diſſenſion; and that bondage which rendered the labourer and his family liable to be transferred, like the oxen on the farm, according to his owner's caprice.

The power of the peers had been weakened by the deſtruction which the civil wars of the red and white roſe had brought on the ancient families. The ſeventh Henry ſhewed no inclination to repleniſh their phalanx. He even contrived, by the act againſt retainers, and by rendering the conveyance of landed property more eaſy, to leſſen the reſpectability of thoſe that remained. The numbers of the upper houſe were again diminiſhed by Henry VIII.; who, on the diſſolution of monaſtic inſtitutions, deprived twenty-ſix abbots and two priors of their votes in that branch of the legiſlative ſyſtem.

Whether or no the conduct of Henry VII. with reſpect to Ireland was juſt and prudent, thoſe who live in the eighteenth century are well qualified to judge. The great lines of his policy were theſe: By means of his governor, ſir Edward Poyning, he procured the parliament of that iſland to enact, firſt, 'That all *former* acts of the 'Engliſh parliament ſhould be binding in Ireland; and, 2d. That before 'any Iriſh parliament ſhould be 'holden, copies of the acts *propoſed* '*to be paſſed*, ſhould be ſent over to 'England for the approbation of 'the king and council.'

As to ſlavery, the good ſenſe of the nation, and its conviction that the willing exertion of a freeman was of more value than the forced labour of a Serf, had nearly emancipated the lower ranks of ſociety by the beginning of the ſixteenth century. Yet, a bill, meant at once to aboliſh this odious condition, which in 1526, was brought into the upper houſe, and was read three times in one day, had the ill fortune to be rejected; and the merit of this good work was left to reaſon, unaided by law*

That Henry VIII. took ſtill greater liberties than his father†, with the privileges and property of his ſubjects cannot be denied; and particularly during thoſe ſix years, when, diſpleaſed with the parſimony of his parliaments, he called none, but levied the neceſſary ſupplies by dint of prerogative and precedent. Shrinking with horror from the recollection of paſt miſeries, the Engliſh ſeem to have dreaded the renewal of a civil war, more than the worſt effects of deſpotiſm.' Yet, in 1526, on a moſt illegal attempt to raiſe one ſixth of the laity's goods, and one fourth of thoſe belonging to the clergy, the monarch found ſo ſtrong a ſpirit of oppoſition in the people, that he recalled his commiſſioners and dropped the project. Afterward, by managing the papal party and that of the reformation, by beſtowing rich monaſtic forfeitures on men of power, and by the alternate uſe of menaces and ſoothings, he became ſo completely maſter of his parliaments, that (as he found nothing he could propoſe was too abſurd * for their approbation) he convoked them willingly, and diſmiſſed them with reluctance.

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* No treatiſes relating to law or government were publiſhed during the reign of Henry VII. But a celebrated book, written by one Marrow, on the office of a 'Juſtice of the Peace,' is often referred to by later writers, ſuch as Fitzherbert, Lambarde, &c. and is ſaid ſtill to exiſt in MS.—*Reeves on Engliſh Law.*

† Yet Henry VII. had erected the deſpotic court of the ſtar chamber; had renewed the practice of exacting benevolences, begun by Edward IV., and had purſued the path of Richard III. in proſecuting, by 'Bill of Attainder,' thoſe whom otherwiſe he could not reach.

The peers and the commons were indeed ſo entirely careleſs, as to the lives and liberties of the people, and conſented to laws ſo perfectly contradictory to each other, that the obſervers of the one muſt inevitably fall under the cenſure of the other †.

Nor could ſafety be enſured by preſerving a prudent ſilence; ſince whoever refuſed to anſwer on oath reſpecting the points in queſtion, incurred the guilt of treaſon †.

When we add to this, the power of the ſtar-chamber ||, the inſolence of

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* As proofs of this axiom we need only recollect the ſtatute which allowed to the proclamation of Henry the authority of laws §; that which in 1529 abſolved him from paying his debts; or that moſt ludicrouſly-tyrannical act which denounced, that 'If the king or his ſucceſſors ſhould intend to marry any woman whom they took to be a pure and clean maid; if ſhe, not being ſo, did not declare the ſame to the king, it would be high treaſon; and all who knew it, and did not reveal it, were guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon.' 'It is then only a *widow* that the king muſt addreſs,' ſaid the ſcurrilous jeſters of the age; and it did chance that Henry choſe for his next new bride the relict of the lord Latimer.— *Public Acts. Burnet.*

† In 1537 an act of parliament declared it treaſon to aſſert the validity of Henry's marriage with Catharine of Arragon, or Anne Boleyn. Within ſeven years a ſecond ſtatute made it equally treaſonable to ſpeak ſlanderouſly of the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth the iſſue of the above-named ladies. As both theſe contradictory acts were exiſting in force at the ſame period, a man could not have anſwered the ſimple queſtion, 'Whether he thought thoſe princeſſes lawfully born?' without expoſing himſelf to the puniſhment of a traitor; and the ſame danger attended him if he ſtood mute.

‡ The ſtatute for the erection of this moſt deſpotic court, lord Bacon ſtyles 'a good law.' It was compoſed of twenty-ſix members, chiefly the ſame as the privy-council. Sir T. Smith, in his 'Commonwealth of England,' advances in its defence, that it was uſeful to govern thoſe who were too *ſtout* for the ordinary courſe of juſtice. It is ſaid to have been inſtituted to curb the riots of diſbanded ſoldiers.

§ Nine of the privy-council were to compoſe the court, which had power to puniſh offenders againſt ſuch proclamation.

who

of courtiers*, (ſtill harder to be borne than the deſpotiſm of ſovereigns) and the vile adminiſtration of both civil and criminal law, through the known perjury of juries†; we muſt wonder at the extreme reſpect paid by contemporary hiſtorians to the government of England, as adminiſtered under the race of Owen Tudor.

It ſeems not improper to cloſe theſe obſervations with the words of a late judicious writer: 'In every 'regulation of a juridical nature 'made in this reign we perceive 'a deciſive hand. The parliament ſeemed determined at once 'to reſolve all doubts, and to root 'out all difficulties, which, on former occaſions, they had been content to ſoften and palliate. Inſtead 'of continuing ſtill to aſcertain the 'boundary between the civil and 'ſpiritual juriſdiction by new de-

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who were too often turned looſe on the country without either pay or quarters.—*Barrington, &c.*

The fines of the ſtar-chamber were ſo ſevere and intereſting, that ſometimes places were taken for the auditors by three in the morning. The title of the court is ſuppoſed to be derived from Starrum, a barbarous word for a Jewiſh contract; as buſineſs with the Jews had probably been tranſacted there.—*Ibid.*

[*] In Strype's life of Stow we find, a garden-houſe belonging to an honeſt citizen of London, (which chanced to obſtruct the improvements of a powerful favourite, Thomas Cromwell) 'looſed from the foundation, borne on rollers, and replaced two and twenty feet within the garden,' without the owner's leave being required; nay, without his knowledge. The perſons employed, being aſked their authority for this extraordinary proceeding, made only this reply, 'That ſir Thomas Cromwell had commanded them to do it,' *and none durſt argue the matter.* The father of the antiquary Stow, (for it was he that was thus trampled upon) 'was fain to continue to pay his old rent, without any abatement, for his garden; though half of it was in this manner taken away.'

[†] To ſupport this harſh accuſation we have but too many proofs. 'Perjury,' (ſays a ſtatute 11 Henry VII. cap. 21.) 'is much and cuſtomarily within the city of London, among ſuch perſons as paſſen and been impannelled in iſſue,' &c. The preambles of many acts recited the frequent perjuries of jurors as common, though pernicious events.

In the 'Dance of Death,' tranſlated from the French by John Lydgate, among the characters introduced to adapt it to the Engliſh reader, is a juryman who has often been bribed to give a falſe verdict. This ſhews that the offence was not unuſual.

Carew, in his account of Cornwall, avers, that it was common for attornies to charge in their bills ſums 'pro amiciti âvice comitis;' 'for the ſheriff's good-will,' &c. in packing juries.

The jurors of the capital were peculiarly abandoned. In 1463, Stow records the puniſhment and public diſgrace of many jurors: he adds, that at the time of his writing (the reign of Elizabeth) their character continued the ſame. Fuller writes, that it is a common proverb, 'London juries hang half and ſave half.' Wolſey accuſed them of being capable of finding 'Abel guilty of the murder of Cain.' A ſtatute which puniſhes petty juries for falſe verdicts ordains that half the grand jury (when a foreigner ſhall be tried) ſhall be ſtrangers, and not Londoners; and laſtly, Ben Jonſon ſings, in his Magnetic Lady:

'And there is no London jury, but are led
In evidence, as far by common fame
As they are by preſent depoſition.'—*Barrington on Statutes, &c.*

'ſcriptions, proviſion was made by 'ſtatute for correcting ſeveral irregularities wholly of a clerical nature; and for an entire reform of 'the eccleſiaſtical law. Inſtead of 'endeavouring to repreſs the luxuriancy of uſes by freſh ſtatutes 'againſt the pernors* of profits, it 'was intended to deſtroy the thing 'itſelf. The grand object of barring entails, which was accompliſhed at laſt by a recovery, was 'now ſubſtantiated by a parliamentary proviſion in favour of that 'mode of conveyance; and the conſtruction which had been entertained, with difference of opinion, reſpecting the like effect of the ſtatute 'of fines in the laſt reign, was now 'expreſsly eſtabliſhed by the ſame 'authority. The deviſe of lands, 'which had hitherto been practiſed 'under cover of a uſe, and had been 'partially allowed by a late act, was 'now by expreſs ſtatute indulged 'to every one. The benefit of clergy, which had ſo long ſtood in the 'way of our criminal judicature, 'was now aboliſhed in the principal and moſt common felonies.

'All theſe were innovations on 'the ancient law, which gave it a 'new turn, and brought theſe 'points under conſideration in a 'variety of new appearances.

'To theſe may be added, the 'protection and eſtabliſhment of 'leaſes for years, execution againſt 'the effects of bankrupts, the limitation of actions, and the locality 'of trial in felonies.'—*Hiſt. of Engliſh Law.*

We muſt now attend to the juriſprudence of our ſiſter-nation, in which ſome advantage had certainly been gained to the cauſe of general ſecurity; although every obſtruction had occurred which ruinous foreign wars, and ſtill more deteſtable civil contentions, could cauſe.

About the beginning of the ſixteenth century the parliament appointed juſtices and ſheriffs in Roſs, Caithneſs, the Orkneys, and the Weſtern iſles, where none had been before, and appointed courts to be held from time to time in theſe very remote diſtricts †.

James V. who could ſometimes exert a juſt and proper ſpirit, ſailed in 1535 from Leith, and examined in perſon how far theſe wholeſome regulations had been put in practice. He ſeized and brought away ſome of the moſt turbulent chieftains, and inſpired the moſt ungovernable of his ſubjects with a decent reſpect for the laws‡.

The parliaments were frequently and regularly called, particularly by James IV. and V. Every thing which the nation could afford was granted by the houſe (for it was but ſingle, the ſcheme which James I. had planned of forming two chambers having unhappily miſcarried) and all poſſible care was taken by the houſe, that the king ſhould not alienate the demeſnes of the crown. In ſome inſtances, this branch of the legiſlature appears to have trenched upon the royal prerogative*, and even to have aſſumed the executive power.

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* Law term for 'Receivers.'

† There was need of this attention if the preamble to the act is to be credited, 'Through lack of juſtice-aires, juſtices and ſheriffs, by which the people are '*almoſt become wild.*'—*Public Acts James IV.*

‡ Juſtice was adminiſtered with great expedition, and too often with vindictive ſeverity. Originally the time of trial and execution was to be within 'three ſuns.' About the latter end of the ſeventeenth century the period was extended to *nine* days after ſentence; but, ſince a rapid and unjuſt execution in a petty Scottiſh town, in 1720, the execution has been ordered to be deferred for forty days on the ſouth, and ſixty on the north ſide of the Tay, that time may be allowed for an application to the king for mercy.—*Pennant.*

It is certain (as has been remarked by a well-informed hiſtorian) that this mixture of liberality and of caution in the Scottiſh repreſentatives, at the ſame time that it maintained their kings in decent magnificence by the revenues of the crown lands, 'prevented the 'ſubjects from being haraſſed by 'loans, benevolences, and other op'preſſive arts, which were ſo often 'employed by the princes of Europe 'their contemporaries.' Yet, as the government had very ſeldom ſufficient ſtrength to guard the unarmed members of ſociety from aſſaſſination and pillage, arrayed under the banners of a factious nobleman, it may be doubted, whether the extortion and deſpotiſm of a ſeventh or an eighth Henry might not be more tolerable than the domeſtic tyranny†, and murderous ravages committed by the ſatellites of a Douglas, a Hume, a Sinclair, or a Hamilton.

The manor that the Univerſitie of Oxford uſed in creating the Right Honourable Sr Chriſtopher Hatton, Kt. of the Honourable Order of the Garter, Lorde Chauncellor of England, Maiſter of Arte, and ſo Chauncellor of the ſaid Univerſitie 1588. *By* R. Bancroft.

UPON Thurſdaye, the 3d of October, in the afternoone, about two of the clocke, the Vice Chancellour, with divers of the Heads of Oxford, the Proctors, and other Regents, to the number of 24, came into Mr. Flower's lodging, within Ely Place, in Holbourne, my Lorde then walkyng in his gallerye. After they had there made them redie, the Vice Chancellor, in his ſcarlet gowne, with three Bedells before hym, cam forth, accompanied with 8 Doctors in ſcarlet gownes lykewiſe; the two Proctors in their regent-hoods, Mr. Caſe likewyſe in his regent-hoode, and divers other Graduates, ſome with Bachelers of Divinities hoods caſt over them as in tyme of diſputation, and ſome with Maſters of Arts hoods, worne after the uſual manor. Thus furniſhed, the Bedells, the Doctors, the Proctors, and the reſt of the Graduats paſſed through bothe the courts to the Biſhop's Hall, all of them bareheaded, my Lorde beholding them

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* As in 1503, when an act was paſſed for prohibiting the king from pardoning thoſe convicted of wilful and premeditated murder; but this appears to have been done at the monarch's own requeſt, and was liable to be reſcinded at his pleaſure.—*James IV. Act.* 97.

† It appears that each great man had courts, held by power delegated from the crown, with 'ſoc, ſac *, pit, and gallows, toill and hame, in-fang thief and out-fang thief;' he had power to 'hald courts for ſlauchter; and to doe juſtice upon ane man that is ſeiſed theirwith in hand havand, or on back bearand.'

* Pit for drowning ſome offenders, particularly women.

at his gallerie windowe. When they cam into the gallerye about 20 foote (my Ld being walkyng with Mr. Whoolley, and turned toward them at the farther end) they ſtood ſtyll: His Lordſhip, when he cam within 6 or 7 yards of them, putt off his hat, and took the Vice Chancellor, the Doctors, the Proctors, and Mr. Caſe, by the hands one after another in verye kynde ſorte, bidding them welcome. Then his Lordſhip turned back and placed hymſelfe in his chaire, where uſually he ſytteth, by the ſyde, about the myddeſt of the length of the gallerye, whereunto they all approaching, Mr. Caſe made an oration in Latine. The effect of it was, howe the Univerſitie of Oxford had choſyn his Lordſhip Mr of Arte; and in the ende thereof he deſyred my Lorde to gyve hym his hande, and preſented him to the Vice Chan. and the reſt, repreſenting the ſtate of the Univerſitie, as one woorthie for his wiſdome, honour, and other virtues, to receive that degree.

My Lord ſat all the while that Mr. Caſe did ſo preſent hym, and then the two Proctors, ſpeakyng both together, uſed theſe woords: "Dabis fidem te obſervaturum privilegia et conſuetudines Academiæ Oxonien." My Lorde made no anſwere hereunto, but his ſilence being taken for his conſent, the Vice Chancellor beganne his oration, wherein, firſt, in the ordenarye terms (his Lordſhip ſitting ſtyll in his chaire without any further ceremony) "Ego authoritate mihi conceſſa ab Academia Oxonien, &c." he admytted hym Maſter of Arte. Then he proceeded to ſignifie how the Univerſitie had choſen his Lordſhip for their Chauncellour, with the reaſons that moved them thereunto, wch. being verye well amplified, he ſignifyed that the Univerſitie had ſent their choice and election, comprehended in a publique inſtrument which he ſhewed in his hande, and gave it to the Orator to be redd. Here the Vice Chan. ſtayed the cours of his ſpeache, and the Orator redd the graunte and choice of his Lordſhip to that office, being written in parchment, and ſealed with the Univerſitie ſeal; wch. redd, he, kiſſing the ſame, gave it unto my Lord. Then the Vice Chan. proceeded with his oration, and declared howe the Univerſitie moſt humblie beſeeched his Lordſhipe to accept of their choice, ſignifying, that, in that poynte, he would not uſe manye woordes; for that the whole Univerſitie had joyntlie written a letter unto hym to that effect, which he having in his hand kiſſed and gave it to his Lordſhip deſiring him to redd it. Here my Lord opened the letter, and redd it to himſelf, and the Vice Chan. ſtayed agayne the courſe of his ſpeache.

The letter being redd, the Vice Chan. goeth forward, and declared that the office whereunto thei had choſen his Lordſp. being duly executed, comprehended in it ſome four eſpecial points, Faythfullneſs, Juſtice, Wyſedome, Authoritie, wch. he affirmed to be ſignifyed by four things there preſent (appointing to a ſtoole before covered with damaſke, whereupon did lye a bounche of keys, a book, two ſeals, and one of the Bedel's ſtaves).—The three firſt poynts being principall vertues, he ſayd, they aſſured themſelves to fynde them in his Lordſp. and therefore he gave hym, Firſt, The keys of all the treaſure, and evidences of the Univerſitie, upon the aſſurance of his fayth. Secondlie, The ſtatute book, in aſſurance of his juſtice. Thirdly, Their ſeales (one of which they uſe in paſſing of leaſes, one other uſed for matters of learning), in aſſurance of his wyſedome, alluding to the place in the Epiſtle, “Ad quintum “fratrem ſit annulus tuus non mi“niſter aliena voluntatis, ſed teſtis “tuæ.”

Then he turned hymſelf to his companie, as to the Univerſitie, ſignifying that ſyth they had found a man unto whom they had committed, for his fayth, the keys; for his juſtice, the ſtatutes; and for his wiſdome, the ſeals; now it was fit ſhe ſhould gyve hym authoritie, and therewithall he tooke up one of the Bedel's ſtaves, which laye upon a ſtoole before hym, and delivered it as virgam, or ſimbolum authoritatis. He ſayde, there was written about the rounde ball of it two woords which comprehended the effect of his charge, “Scientia mo“res;” whereupon he brieflie dilated howe his Lordſp. was to mayntaine learning, and puniſhe diſorders, and ſo delyvered the ſtaffe unto hym; wch. done, he drew towards an ende. He gave his Lordſp. great thanks for acceptance of the decree of office, and pronouncing hym the High Chancellor of Oxford he finiſhed his oration.

My Lord looked not for ſuch ſolemnitie, but ſeeing howe the caſe ſtoode, he framed himſelf to anſwere the effects of all that had been ſaid. His ſpeache was in Englyſhe, and he beganne with debaſeying hymſelfe, how he was unlerned, and nothing worthie of the great commendation or credit which they had mentioned and beſtowed upon hym; notwithſtanding he rendered moſt heartie thanks to the whole Univerſitie for their great good wyll and favour towards hym, and to everye one of them whoe were preſent for the great paynes and kyndneſs ſhewed by ſo learned and grave a diſcourſe of ſpeach, and promiſed, that what he wanted in reſpect of abilitie, he would ſupplie by the employment of all his authoritie to doe them good, and by his good will and favour towards them. He ſignified, that if there were any let herein, it ſhould proceede rather from ignorance of their ſtate then of any want in hym. Here he beganne to take already like a Chancellour upon hym, and ſaid he could not chooſe but with grieff declare upon them, that if reports were trewe, their Univerſitie was fallen very greatly through many great abuſes from the olde and honourable reputation which heretofore it hath had. His Lordſhip mentioned howe colledges made havocke, and decayed their ancient revenues, as though they imagined ther ſhould never any men of their deſerts ſucceed; then howe ther was great contempt amongſt them in the Bachelors of Divinity, of the Doctors, of the Maſters of Arte, in the Schollers of the Bachelors, and thereby (the abuſe being knowen) in the Commonwealth when they came abrode, almoſt all of them in general; howe in his tyme there was noe ſuch abuſe; howe everye man was knowen by his habite appropriated unto his degree, &c.; howe he underſtoode of manye other diſorders not for there to be mentioned: all which enormities, he proteſted, that ſyth they had layd that charge upon hym, he thought hymſelfe, in conſcience, bound to ſee redreſſed. He deſired them to let hym know from tyme to tyme what abuſes beganne to grow amongſt them, aſſuring them, that as he would be moſt careful to encourage, defende, and preferre the good and diligent Student, ſo he would be ſevere to the contrarye; hoping, that altho' therebye he ſhould offende ſome, yet the beſt ſorte would accepte his dealynge therein in verye good parte. He ſhewed that the quiet eſtate of the whole realme did greatlie depende upon the good government of the Univerſities. This was amplified to the ende his Lordſhip might conclude, that her Majeſtie having made hym a man of ſtate, whereby he found divers inconveniences of our Univerſities factions, and they now having choſen hym their Chauncellor, he might, with the better approbation, be careful for their good reformation.

In the ende he redily vered to the Vice Chauncellor, even in the ſame terms, the keys to his fayth, the booke for his inſtruction in the execution of juſtice, the ſeales to his diſcretion, and the ſtaffe as an enſign of his authoritie.

Then, foraſmuch as he had delyvered all back againe which he had receyved, ſaving the letters patent of his office, he deſired them that he might have a copie of their ſtatutes, and farther information from them hereafter upon a general conſultation to be had amongſt them, the Heads and Maſters, of ſuch imperfections, diſorders, and declynations as they ſhould fynde to have drawn them from their auntient, laudable and flouriſhing eſtate. And ſo, with manye thanks, and divers promiſes howe, notwithſtanding his great troubles by reaſon he was Lord Chauncellor, he would accommodate hymſelfe unto their affayres, he made an ende of his ſpeache unto them, and bid them all verye lovinglie farewell.

R. Bancroft.

Two Letters of King James *the Firſt.*

[*Copy of a Letter from his Majeſty to the Lords, read at the Board, November* 12, 1617, *touching the Abatement of his Majeſty's Houſehold Charge.*]

LETTER I.

My Lords,

NO worldly thing is ſo precious as time. Ye know what taſk I gave you to work upon during my abſence; and what time was limited unto you for the performance thereof. This ſame chancellor of Scotland was wont to tell me twenty-four years ago, that my houſe could not be kept upon epigrams: long diſcourſes and fair tales will never repair my eſtate. *Omnis virtus in actione conſiſtit.* Remember that I told you, the ſhoe muſt be made for the foot; and let that be the ſquare of all your proceedings in the buſineſs. Abate ſuperfluities in all things, and multitudes of unneceſſary officers, wherever they may be placed: but for the houſehold, wardrobe, and penſions, cut and carve as many as may agree with the poſſibility of my means. Exceed not your own rule of fifty thouſand pounds for the houſehold; if you can make it leſs, I will account it for good ſervice: and that you may ſee I will not ſpare mine own perſon, I have ſent with this bearer, a note of the ſuperfluous charges concerning my mouth, having had the happy opportunities of this meſſenger, in an errand ſo nearly concerning his place. In this, I expect no anſwer in word, or writing, but only the real performance, for a beginning to relieve me out of my miſeries. For now the ball is at your feet, and the world ſhall bear me witneſs, that I have put you fairly to it; and ſo praying God to bleſs your labours, I bid you heartily farewell.

Your own

JAMES R.

LETTER II.

My Lords,

I received from you yeſternight the blunteſt letter that, I think, ever king received from his council. Ye write that the green cloth will do nothing, and ye offer me no advice. Why are ye counſellors, if ye offer no counſel? An ordinary meſſenger might have brought me ſuch an anſwer. It is my pleaſure, that my charges be equally with my revenue; and it is juſt and neceſſary ſo to be. For this is a project muſt be made, and one of the main branches thereof is my houſe. This project is but to be offered unto you; and how it may be better laid than to agree with my honour and contentment, ye are to adviſe upon, and then have my conſent. If this cannot be performed without diminiſhing the number of tables, diminiſhed they muſt be; and if that cannot ſerve, two or three muſt be thruſt in one. If the green cloth will not make a project for this, ſome other muſt do it: if ye cannot find them out, I muſt only remember two things; the time muſt no more be loſt; and that there are twenty ways of abatement beſides the houſe,* if they be well looked into; and ſo farewell.

JAMES R.

Letter written by Sir John Leſsly *to Sir* Thomas Riddle *of Gateſhead, during the ſiege of Newcaſtle by the Scots, in the reign of* Charles I.

Sir THAMAS,

BETWEEN me and Gad it maks my heart bleed bleud to ſee ſic wark gae thro ſae trim a gairden as yours. I ha been twa times we my cuſin the general, and ſae ſall I ſax times mare afore the wark gae that gate. But[*] gin awe this be dune, Sir Thamas, ye maun mak the twanty punds thretty, and I maun hae the tagg'd tail trooper that ſtans in the ſtaw[†], and the wee trim gaeing thing[‡] that ſtands in the newk[§] of the hawe[||], chirping and chirming at the newn tide o' the day, and forty bows[¶] of bier to ſaw[**] the mons with awe.

And as I am a chevalier of fortin, and a lim of the houſe of Rothes, as the muckle[††] main kiſt in Edinburgh auld kirk can weel witneſs, for theſe aught hundred years and mair bygaine, nought ſhall ſkaith* your houſe within or without, to the validome of a twapenny cheekin.

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[*] Before.

[†] Stable.

[‡] A chime clock.

[§] Corner.

[||] Hall.

[¶] Bolls of barley.

[**] To ſtrike the bargain.

[††] The great cheſt of records in Edinburgh old church.

I am your humble ſervant,
JOHN LESSLY.

Major-general and captain over ſaxſcore and two men, and ſome mare, crowner of Cumberland, Northumberland, Marryland and Niddiſdale, the Merce, Tiviotdale and Fife, bailie of Kirkadie, governor of Brunt Eland and the Baſs, laird of Libberton Tilly and Whooley, ſiller-tacker of Sterling, conſtable of Leith, and Sir John Leſly, Knight, to the bute† of awe that.

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* Hurt or damage.

† Into the bargain.

MISCELLANEOUS

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

On the Nature and Conſtruction of the Sun and Fixed Stars. By William Herſchel, *LL. D. F. R. S.*

[*Read at the Royal Society, December* 18, 1794.]

From the Philoſophical Tranſactions for 1795, Part 1.

AMONG the celeſtial bodies the ſun is certainly the firſt which ſhould attract our notice. It is a fountain of light that illuminates the world! it is the cauſe of that heat which maintains the productive power of nature, and makes the earth a fit habitation for man! it is the central body of the planetary ſyſtem; and what renders a knowledge of its nature ſtill more intereſting to us is, that the number leſs ſtars which compoſe the univerſe, appear, by the ſtricteſt analogy, to be ſimilar bodies. Their innate light is ſo intenſe, that it reaches the eye of the obſerver from the remoteſt regions of ſpace, and forcibly claims his notice.

Now, if we are convinced that an inquiry into the nature and properties of the ſun is highly worthy of our notice, we may alſo with great ſatisfaction reflect on the conſiderable progreſs that has already been made in our knowledge of this eminent body. It would require a long detail to enumerate all the various diſcoveries which have been made on this ſubject; I ſhall, therefore, content myſelf with giving only the moſt capital of them.

Sir Iſaac Newton has ſhewn that the ſun, by its attractive power, retains the planets of our ſyſtem in their orbits. He has alſo pointed out the method whereby the quantity of matter it contains may be accurately determined. Dr. Bradley has aſſigned the velocity of the ſolar light with a degree of preciſion exceeding our utmoſt expectation. Galileo, Scheiner, Hevelius, Caſſini, and others, have aſcertained the rotation of the ſun upon its axis, and determined the poſition of its equator. By means of the tranſit of Venus over the diſc of the ſun, our mathematicians have calculated its diſtance from the earth; its real diameter and magnitude; the denſity of the matter of which it is compoſed; and the fall of heavy bodies on its ſurface.

From the particulars here enumerated, it is ſufficiently obvious, that we have already a very clear idea of the vaſt importance, and powerful influence of the ſun on its planetary ſyſtem. And if we add to this the beneficent effects we feel on this globe from the diffuſion of the ſolar rays; and conſider that, by well traced analogies, the ſame effects have been proved to take place on other planets of this ſyſtem; I ſhould not wonder if we were induced to think that nothing remained to be added in order to complete our knowledge: and yet it will not be difficult to ſhew that we are ſtill very ignorant, at leaſt with regard to the internal conſtruction of the ſun. The various conjectures, which have been formed on this ſubject, are evident marks of the uncertainty under which we have hitherto laboured.

The dark ſpots in the ſun, for inſtance, have been ſuppoſed to be ſolid bodies revolving very near its ſurface. They have been conjectured to be the ſmoke of volcanoes, or the ſcum floating upon an ocean of fluid matter. They have alſo been taken for clouds. They were explained to be opaque maſſes, ſwimming in the fluid matter of the ſun; dipping down occaſionally. It has been ſuppoſed that a fiery liquid ſurrounded the ſun, and that, by its ebbing and flowing, the higheſt parts of it were occaſionally uncovered, and appeared under the ſhape of dark ſpots; and that, by the return of this fiery liquid, they were again covered, and in that manner ſucceſſively aſſumed different phaſes. The ſun itſelf has been called a globe of fire, though perhaps metaphorically. The waſte it would undergo by a gradual conſumption, on the ſuppoſition of its being ignited, has been ingeniouſly calculated. And in the ſame point of view, its immenſe power of heating the bodies of ſuch comets as draw very near to it has been aſſigned.

The bright ſpots, or faculæ, have been called clouds of light, and luminous vapours. The light of the ſun itſelf has been ſuppoſed to be directly inviſible, and not to be perceived unleſs by reflection; though the proofs, which are brought in ſupport of that opinion, ſeem to me to amount to no more than, what is ſufficiently evident, that we cannot ſee when rays of light do not enter the eye.

But it is time to profit by the many valuable obſervations that we are now in poſſeſſion of. A liſt of ſucceſſive eminent aſtronomers may be named, from Galiléo down to the preſent time; who have furniſhed us with materials for examination.

In ſupporting the ideas I ſhall propoſe in this paper, with regard to the phyſical conſtruction of the ſun, I have availed myſelf of the labours of all theſe aſtronomers, but have been induced thereto only by my own actual obſervation of the ſolar phænomena; which, beſide verifying thoſe particulars that had been already obſerved, gave me ſuch views of the ſolar regions as led to the foundation of a very rational ſyſtem. For, having the advantage of former obſervations, my lateſt reviews of the body of the ſun were immediately directed to the moſt eſſential points; and the work was by this means facilitated, and contracted into a pretty narrow compaſs.

The following is a ſhort extract of my obſervations on the ſun, to which I have joined the conſequences I now believe myſelf entitled to draw from them. When all the reaſonings on the ſeveral phænomena are put together, and a few additional arguments, taken from analogy, which I ſhall alſo add, are properly conſidered, it will be found that a general concluſion may be made which ſeems to throw a conſiderable light upon our preſent ſubject.

In the year 1779, there was a ſpot on the ſun which was large enough to be ſeen with the naked eye. By a view of it with a ſeven-feet reflector, charged with a very high power, it appeared to be divided into two parts. The largeſt of the two, on the 19th of April, meaſured 1′ 8.″06 in diameter; which is equal, in length, to more than 31,000 miles. Both together muſt certainly have extended above 50,000.

The idea of its being occaſioned by a volcanic exploſion, violently driving away a fiery fluid, which on its return would gradually fill up the vacancy, and thus reſtore the ſun, in that place, to its former ſplendour, ought to be rejected on many accounts. To mention only one, the great extent of the ſpot is very unfavourable to that ſuppoſition. Indeed a much leſs violent and leſs pernicious cauſe may be aſſigned, to account for all the appearances of the ſpot. When we ſee a dark belt near the equator of the planet Jupiter, we do not recur to earthquakes and volcanoes for its origin. An atmoſphere, with its natural changes, will explain ſuch belts. Our ſpot in the ſun may be accounted for on the ſame principles. The earth is ſurrounded by an atmoſphere, compoſed of various elaſtic fluids. The ſun alſo has its atmoſphere, and if ſome of the fluids which enter into its compoſition ſhould be of a ſhining brilliancy, in the manner that will be explained hereafter, while others are merely tranſparent, any temporary cauſe which may remove the lucid fluid will permit us to ſee the body of the ſun through the tranſparent ones. If an obſerver were placed on the moon, he would ſee the ſolid body of our earth only in thoſe places where the tranſparent fluids of our atmoſphere would permit him. In others, the opaque vapours would reflect the light of the ſun, without permitting his view to penetrate to the ſurface of our globe. He would probably alſo find that our planet had occaſionally ſome ſhining fluids in its atmoſphere; as, not unlikely, ſome of our northern lights might not eſcape his notice, if they happened in the unenlightened part of the earth, and were ſeen by him in his long dark night. Nay, we have pretty good reaſon to believe, that probably all the planets emit light in ſome degree; for the illumination which remains on the moon in a total eclipſe cannot be entirely aſcribed to the light which may reach it by the refraction of the earth's atmoſphere. For inſtance, in the eclipſe of the moon, which happened October 22, 1790, the rays of the ſun refracted by the atmoſphere of the earth toward the moon, admitting the mean horizontal refraction to be 30′ 50.″8, would meet in a focus above 189,000 miles beyond the moon; ſo that conſequently there could be no illumination from rays refracted by our atmoſphere. It is, however, not improbable, that about the polar regions of the earth there may be refraction enough to bring ſome of the ſolar rays to a ſhorter focus. The diſtance of the moon at the time of the eclipſe would require a refraction of 54′ 6″ equal to its horizontal parallax at that time, to bring them to a focus ſo as to throw light on the moon.

The unenlightened part of the planet Venus has alſo been ſeen by different perſons, and not having a ſatellite, thoſe regions that are turned from the ſun cannot poſſibly ſhine by a borrowed light; ſo that this faint illumination muſt denote ſome phoſphoric quality of the atmoſphere of Venus.

In the inſtance of our large ſpot on the ſun, I concluded from appearances that I viewed the real ſolid body of the ſun itſelf, of which we rarely ſee more than its ſhining atmoſphere.

In the year 1783, I obſerved a fine large ſpot, and followed it up to the edge of the ſun's limb. Here I took notice that the ſpot was plainly depreſſed below the ſurface of the ſun; and that it had very broad ſhelving ſides. I alſo ſuſpected ſome part, at leaſt, of the ſhelving ſides to be elevated above the ſurface of the ſun; and obſerved that, contrary to what uſually happens, the margin of that ſide of the ſpot, which was fartheſt from the limb, was the broadeſt.

The luminous ſhelving ſides of a ſpot may be explained by a gentle and gradual removal of the ſhining fluid, which permits us to ſee the globe of the ſun. As to the uncommon appearance of the broadeſt margin being on that ſide of the ſpot which was fartheſt from the limb when the ſpot came near the edge of it, we may ſurmiſe that the ſun has inequalities on its ſurface, which may poſſibly be the cauſe of it. For, when mountainous countries are expoſed, if it ſhould chance that the higheſt parts of the landſcape are ſituated ſo as to be near that ſide of the margin, or penumbra of the ſpot, which is toward the limb, it may partly intercept our view of it, when the ſpot is ſeen very obliquely. This would require elevations at leaſt five or ſix hundred miles high; but conſidering the great attraction exerted by the ſun upon bodies at its ſurface, and the ſlow revolution it has upon its axis, we may readily admit inequalities to that amount. From the centrifugal force at the ſun's equator, and the weight of bodies at its ſurface, I compute that the power of throwing down a mountain by the exertion of the former, balanced by the ſuperior force of keeping it in its ſituation of the latter, is near ſix and a half times leſs on the ſun than on our equatorial regions: and as an elevation ſimilar to one of three miles on the earth would not be leſs than 334 miles on the ſun, there can be no doubt but that a mountain much higher would ſtand very firmly. The little denſity of the ſolar body ſeems alſo to be in favour of the height of its mountains; for, *cæteris paribus*, denſe bodies will ſooner come to their level than rare ones. The difference in the vaniſhing of the ſhelving ſide, inſtead of explaining it by mountains, may alſo, and perhaps more ſatisfactorily, be accounted for from the real difference of the extent, the arrangement, the height, and the intenſity of the ſhining fluid, added to the occaſional changes that may happen in theſe particulars, during the time in which the ſpot approaches to the edge of the diſc. However, by admitting large mountains on the ſurface of the ſun, we ſhall account for the different opinions of two eminent aſtronomers; one of whom believed the ſpots depreſſed below the ſun, while the other ſuppoſed them elevated above it. For it is not improbable that ſome of the ſolar mountains may be high enough occaſionally to project above the ſhining elaſtic fluid, when, by ſome agitation or other cauſe, it is not of the uſual height; and this opinion is much ſtrengthened by the return of ſome remarkable ſpots, which ſerved Caſſini to aſcertain the period of the ſun's rotation.

A very high country, or chain of mountains, may oftener become viſible, by the removal of the obſtructing fluid, than the lower regions, on account of its not being ſo deeply covered with it.

In the year 1791, I examined a large ſpot in the ſun, and found it evidently depreſſed below the level of the ſurface; about the dark part was a broad margin, or plane of conſiderable extent, leſs bright than the ſun, and alſo lower than its ſurface. This plane ſeemed to riſe, with ſhelving ſides up to the place where it joined the level of the ſurface.

In confirmation of theſe appearances, I carefully remarked that the diſc of the ſun was viſibly convex; and the reaſon of my attention to this particular, was my being already long acquainted with a certain optical deception, that takes place now and then when we view the moon; which is, that all the elevated ſpots on its ſurface will ſeem to be cavities, and all cavities will aſſume the ſhape of mountains. But then, at the ſame time, the moon, inſtead of having the convex appearance of a globe will ſeem to be a large concave portion of a hollow ſphere. As ſoon as, by the force of imagination, you drive away the fallacious appearance of a concave moon, you reſtore the mountains to their protuberance, and ſink the cavities again below the level of the ſurface. Now, when I ſaw the ſpot lower than the ſhining matter of the ſun, and an extended plane, alſo depreſſed, with ſhelving ſides riſing up to the level, I alſo found that the ſun was convex, and appeared in its natural globular ſtate. Hence I conclude that there could be no deception in thoſe appearances.

How very ill would this obſervation agree with the ideas of ſolid bodies bobbing up and down in a fiery liquid! With the ſmoke of volcanoes, or ſcum upon an ocean! And how eaſily it is explained upon our foregoing theory. The removal of the ſhining atmoſphere, which permits us to ſee the ſun, muſt naturally be attended with a gradual diminution on its borders; an inſtance of a ſimilar kind we have daily before us, when through the opening of a cloud we ſee the ſky, which generally is attended by a ſurrounding hazineſs of ſome ſhort extent; and ſeldom tranſits, from a perfect clearneſs, at once to the greateſt obſcurity.

Auguſt 26, 1792. I examined the ſun with ſeveral powers, from 90 to 500. It appears evidently that the black ſpots are the opaque ground, or body of the ſun; and that the luminous part is an atmoſphere, which, being interrupted or broken, gives us a tranſient glimpſe of the ſun itſelf. My ſeven-feet reflector, which is in high perfection,

tion, repreſents the ſpots, as it always uſed to do, much depreſſed below the ſurface of the luminous part.

September 2, 1792. I ſaw two ſpots in the ſun with the naked eye. In the teleſcope I found they were cluſters of ſpots, with many ſcattered ones beſide. Every one of them was certainly below the ſurface of the luminous diſc.

September 8, 1792. Having made a ſmall ſpeculum, merely brought to a perfect figure upon hones, without poliſh, I found, that by ſtifling a great part of the ſolar rays, my object ſpeculum would bear a greater aperture; and thus enabled me to ſee with more comfort, and leſs danger. The ſurface of the ſun was unequal; many parts of it being elevated, and others depreſſed. This is here to be underſtood of the ſhining ſurface only, as the real body of the ſun can probably be ſeldom ſeen, otherwiſe than in its black ſpots.

It may not be impoſſible, as light is a tranſparent fluid, that the ſun's real ſurface alſo may now and then be perceived; as we ſee the ſhape of the wick of a candle through its flame, or the contents of a furnace in the midſt of the brighteſt glare of it; but this, I ſhould ſuppoſe, will only happen where the lucid matter of the ſun is not very accumulated.

September 9, 1792. I found one of the dark ſpots in the ſun drawn pretty near the preceding edge. In its neighbourhood I ſaw a great number of elevated bright places, making various figures: I ſhall call them faculæ, with Hevelius; but without aſſigning to this term any other meaning than what it will hereafter appear ought to be given to it. I ſee theſe faculæ extended, on the preceding ſide, over about one ſixth-part of the ſun; but ſo far from reſembling torches, they appear to me like the ſhrivelled elevations upon a dried apple, extended in length, and moſt of them are joined together, making waves, or waving lines.

By ſome good views in the afternoon, I find that the reſt of the ſurface of the ſun does not contain any faculæ, except a few on the following, and equatorial part of the ſun. Toward the north and ſouth I ſee no faculæ; there is all over the ſun a great unevenneſs in the ſurface, which has the appearance of a mixture of ſmall points of an unequal light; but they are evidently an unevenneſs or roughneſs of high and low parts.

September 11, 1792. The faculæ, in the preceding part of the ſun, are much gone out of the diſc, and thoſe in the following are come on. A dark ſpot alſo is come on with them.

September 13, 1792. There are a great number of faculæ on the equatorial part of the ſun, toward the preceding and following parts. I cannot ſee any toward the poles; but a roughneſs is viſible every where.

September 16, 1792. The ſun contains many large faculæ, on the following ſide of its equator, and alſo ſeveral on the preceding ſide. I perceive none about the poles. They ſeem generally to accompany the ſpots, and probably, as the faculæ certainly are elevations, a great number of them may occaſion neighbouring depreſſions: that is to ſay, dark ſpots.

The faculæ being elevations, very ſatisfactorily explains the reaſon

ſon why they diſappear toward the middle of the ſun, and re-appear on the other margin; for, about the place where we loſe them, they begin to be edge-ways to our view; and if between the faculæ ſhould lie dark ſpots, they will moſt frequently break out in the middle of the ſun, becauſe they are no longer covered by the ſide views of theſe faculæ.

September 22, 1792. There are not many faculæ in the ſun, and but few ſpots; the whole diſc, however, is very much marked with roughneſs, like an orange. Some of the loweſt parts of the inequalities are blackiſh.

September 23, 1792. The following ſide of the ſun contains many faculæ, near the limb. They take up an arch of about 50 degrees. There are, likewiſe, ſome on the preceding ſide. The north and ſouth is rough as uſual; but differently diſpoſed. The faculæ are ridges of elevations above the rough ſurface.

February 23, 1794. By an experiment I have juſt now tried, I find it confirmed that the ſun cannot be ſo diſtinctly viewed with a ſmall aperture and faint darkening glaſſes, as with a large aperture and ſtronger ones; this latter is the method I always uſe.

One of the black ſpots on the preceding margin, which was greatly below the ſurface of the ſun, had, next to it, a protuberant lump of ſhining matter, a little brighter than the reſt of the ſun.

About all the ſpots, the ſhining matter ſeems to have been diſturbed; and is uneven, lumpy, and zigzagged in an irregular manner.

I call the ſpots black, not that they are entirely ſo, but merely to diſtinguiſh them; for there is not one of them, to-day, which is not partly, or entirely, covered over with whitiſh and unequally bright nebuloſity, or cloudineſs. This, in many of them, comes near to an extinction of the ſpot; and in others, ſeems to bring on a ſubdiviſion.

September 28, 1794. There is a dark ſpot in the ſun on the following ſide. It is certainly depreſſed below the ſhining atmoſphere, and has ſhelving ſides of ſhining matter, which riſe up higher than the general ſurface, and are brighteſt at the top. The preceding ſhelving ſide is rendered almoſt inviſible, by the overhanging of the preceding elevations; while the following is very well expoſed: the ſpot being apparently ſuch in figure as denotes a circular form, viewed in an oblique direction.

Near the following margin are many bright elevations, cloſe to viſible depreſſions. The depreſſed parts are leſs bright than the common ſurface.

The penumbra, as it is called, about this ſpot, is a conſiderable plane, of leſs brightneſs than the common ſurface, and ſeems to be as much depreſſed below that ſurface as the ſpot is below the plane.

Hence, if the brightneſs of the ſun is occaſioned by the lucid atmoſphere, the intenſity of the brightneſs muſt be leſs where it is depreſſed; for light, being tranſparent, muſt be the more intenſe the more it is deep.

October 12, 1794. The whole ſurface of the ſun is diverſified by inequality in the elevation of the ſhining atmoſphere. The loweſt parts are every where darkeſt; and every little pit has the appearance of a more or leſs dark ſpot.

'A dark ſpot, which is on the preceding ſide, is ſurrounded by very great inequalities in the elevation of the lucid atmoſphere; and its depreſſion below the ſame is bounded by an immediate rifing of very bright light.

October 13, 1794. The ſpot in the ſun I obſerved yeſterday is drawn ſo near the margin, that the elevated ſide of the following part of it hides all the black ground, and ſtill leaves the cavity viſible, ſo that the depreſſion of the black ſpots, and the elevation of the faculæ, are equally evident.

It will now be eaſy to bring the reſult of theſe obſervations into a very narrow compaſs. That the ſun has a very extenſive atmoſphere cannot be doubted; and that this atmoſphere conſiſts of various elaſtic fluids, that are more or leſs lucid and tranſparent, and of which the lucid one is that which furniſhes us with light, ſeems alſo to be fully eſtabliſhed by all the phænomena of its ſpots, of the faculæ, and of the lucid ſurface itſelf. There is no kind of variety in theſe appearances but what may be accounted for with the greateſt facility, from the continual agitation which we may eaſily conceive muſt take place in the regions of ſuch extenſive elaſtic fluids.

It will be neceſſary, however, to be a little more particular, as to the manner in which I ſuppoſe the lucid fluid of the ſun to be generated in its atmoſphere. An analogy that may be drawn from the generation of clouds in our own atmoſphere, ſeems to be a very proper one, and full of inſtruction. Our clouds are probably decompoſitions of ſome of the elaſtic fluids of the atmoſphere itſelf, when ſuch natural cauſes, as in this grand chemical laboratory are generally at work, act upon them; we may therefore admit that in the very extenſive atmoſphere of the ſun, from cauſes of the ſame nature, ſimilar phænomena will take place; but with this difference, that the continual and very extenſive decompoſitions of the elaſtic fluids of the ſun, are of a phoſphoric nature, and attended with lucid appearances, by giving out light.

If it ſhould be objected, that ſuch violent and unremitting decompoſitions would exhauſt the ſun, we may recur again to our analogy, which will furniſh us with the following reflections. The extent of our own atmoſphere, we ſee, is ſtill preſerved, notwithſtanding the copious decompoſitions of its fluids, in clouds and falling rain; in flaſhes of lightning, in meteors, and other luminous phænomena; becauſe there are freſh ſupplies of elaſtic vapours continually aſcending to make good the waſte occaſioned by thoſe decompoſitions. But it may be urged, that the caſe with the decompoſition of the elaſtic fluids in the ſolar atmoſphere would be very different, ſince light is emitted, and does not return to the ſun, as clouds do to the earth when they deſcend in ſhowers of rain. To which I anſwer, that in the decompoſition of phoſphoric fluids every other ingredient but light may alſo return to the body of the ſun. And that the emiſſion of light muſt waſte the ſun, is not a difficulty that can be oppoſed to our hypotheſis. For as it is an evident fact that the ſun does emit light, the ſame objection, if it could be one, would equally militate againſt every other aſſignable way to account for the phænomenon.

There are moreover conſiderations that may leſſen the preſſure of this alleged difficulty. We know the exceeding ſubtilty of light to be ſuch, that in ages of time its emanation from the ſun cannot very ſenſibly leſſen the ſize of this great body. To this may be added, that, very poſſibly, there may alſo be ways of reſtoration to compenſate for what is loſt by the emiſſion of light; though the manner in which this can be brought about ſhould not appear to us. Many of the operations of nature are carried on in her great laboratory, which we cannot comprehend; but now and then we ſee ſome of the tools with which ſhe is at work. We need not wonder that their conſtruction ſhould be ſo ſingular as to induce us to confeſs our ignorance of the method of employing them, but we may reſt aſſured that they are not a mere *luſus naturæ*. I allude to the great number of ſmall teleſcope comets that have been obſerved; and to the far greater number ſtill that are probably much too ſmall for being noticed by our moſt diligent ſearchers after them. Thoſe ſix, for inſtance, which my ſiſter has diſcovered, I can from examination affirm had not the least appearance of any ſolid nucleus, and ſeemed to be mere collections of vapours condenſed about a centre. Five more, that I have alſo obſerved, were nearly of the ſame nature. This throws a myſtery over their deſtination, which ſeems to place them in the allegorical view of tools, probably deſigned for ſome ſalutary purpoſes to be wrought by them; and, whether the reſtoration of what is loſt to the ſun by the emiſſion of light, the poſſibility of which we have been mentioning above, may not be one of theſe purpoſes, I ſhall not preſume to determine. The motion of the comet diſcovered by Mr. Meſſier, in June 1770, plainly indicated how much its orbit was liable to be changed, by the perturbations of the planets; from which, and the little agreement that can be found between the elements of the orbits of all the comets that have been obſerved, it appears clearly that they may be directed to carry their ſalutary influence to any part of the heavens.

My hypotheſis, however, as before obſerved, does not lay me under any obligation to explain how the ſun can ſuſtain the waſte of light, nor to ſhew that it will ſuſtain it for ever; and I ſhould alſo remark that, as in the analogy of generating clouds I merely allude to their production as owing to a decompoſition of ſome of the elaſtic fluids of our atmoſphere, that analogy, which firmly reſts upon the fact, will not be leſs to my purpoſe to whatever cauſe theſe clouds may owe their origin. It is the ſame with the lucid clouds, if I may ſo call them, of the ſun. They plainly exiſt, becauſe we ſee them; the manner of their being generated may remain an hypotheſis; and mine, till a better can be propoſed, may ſtand good; but whether it does or not, the conſequences I am going to draw from what has been ſaid will not be affected by it.

Before I proceed, I ſhall only point out, that according to the above theory, a dark ſpot in the ſun is a place in its atmoſphere which happens to be free from luminous decompoſitions; and that faculæ are, on the contrary, more copious mixtures of ſuch fluids as decompoſe each other. The penumbra which attends the ſpots, being generally depreſſed more or leſs to about half way between the ſolid body of the ſun and the upper part of thoſe regions in which luminous decompoſitions take place, muſt of courſe be fainter than other parts. No ſpot favourable for taking meaſures having lately been on the ſun, I can only judge, from former appearances, that the regions in which the luminous ſolar clouds are formed, adding thereto the elevation of the faculæ, cannot be leſs than 1,843, nor much more than 2,765 miles in depth.) It is true that in our atmoſphere the extent of the clouds is limited to a very narrow compaſs; but we ought rather to compare the ſolar ones to the luminous decompoſitions which take place in our *aurora borealis*, or luminous arches, which extend much farther than the cloudy regions. The denſity of the luminous ſolar clouds, though very great, may not be exceedingly more ſo than that of our *aurora borealis*. For, if we conſider what would be the brilliancy of a ſpace two or three thouſand miles deep, filled with ſuch corruſcations as we ſee now and then in our atmoſphere, their apparent intenſity, when viewed at the diſtance of the ſun, might not be much inferior to that of the lucid ſolar fluid.

From the luminous atmoſphere of the ſun I proceed to its opaque body, which, by calculation from the power it exerts upon the planets, we know to be of great ſolidity; and from the phænomena of the dark ſpots, many of which, probably on account of their high ſituations, have been repeatedly ſeen, and otherwiſe denote inequalities in their level, we ſurmiſe that its ſurface is diverſified with mountains and vallies.

What has been ſaid enables us to come to ſome very important concluſions, by remarking, that this way of conſidering the ſun and its atmoſphere, removes the great diſſimilarity we have hitherto been uſed to find between its condition and that of the reſt of the great bodies of the ſolar ſyſtem.

The ſun, viewed in this light, appears to be nothing elſe than a very eminent, large, and lucid planet, evidently the firſt, or in ſtrictneſs of ſpeaking, the only primary one of our ſyſtem; all others being truly ſecondary to it. Its ſimilarity to the other globes of the ſolar ſyſtem with regard to its ſolidity, its atmoſphere, and its diverſified ſurface; the rotation upon its axis, and the fall of heavy bodies, leads us on to ſuppoſe that it is moſt probably alſo inhabited, like the reſt of the planets, by beings whoſe organs are adapted to the peculiar circumſtances of that vaſt globe.

Whatever fanciful poets might ſay, in making the ſun the abode of bleſſed ſpirits, or angry moraliſts deviſe, in pointing it out as a fit place for the puniſhment of the wicked, it does not appear that they had any other foundation for their aſſertions than mere opinion and vague ſurmiſe; but now I think myſelf authorized, *upon aſtronomical principles*, to propoſe the ſun as an inhabitable world, and am perſuaded that the foregoing obſervations, with the concluſions I have drawn from them, are fully ſufficient to anſwer every objection that may be made againſt it.

It may, however, not be amiſs to remove a certain difficulty, which ariſes from the effect of the ſun's rays upon our globe. The heat which is here, at the diſtance of 95 millions of miles, produced by theſe rays, is ſo conſiderable, that it may be objected, that the ſurface of the globe of the ſun itſelf muſt be ſcorched up beyond all conception.

This may be very ſubſtantially anſwered by many proofs drawn from natural philoſophy, which ſhew that heat is produced by the ſun's rays only when they act upon a calorific medium; they are the cauſe of the production of heat, by uniting with the matter of fire, which is contained in the ſubſtances that are heated: as the colliſion of flint and ſteel will inflame a magazine of gunpowder, by putting all the latent fire it contains into action. But an inſtance or two of the manner in which the ſolar rays produce their effect, will bring this home to our moſt common experience.

On the tops of mountains of a ſufficient height, at an altitude where clouds can very ſeldom reach, to ſhelter them from the direct rays of the ſun, we always find regions of ice and ſnow. Now if the ſolar rays themſelves conveyed all the heat we find on this globe, it ought to be hotteſt where their courſe is leaſt interrupted. Again our aëronauts all confirm the coldneſs of the upper regions of the atmoſphere; and ſince, therefore, even on our earth the heat of any ſituation depends upon the aptneſs of the medium to yield to the impreſſion of the ſolar rays, we have only to admit, that on the ſun itſelf, the elaſtic fluids compoſing its atmoſphere, and the matter on its ſurface, are of ſuch a nature as not to be capable of any exceſſive affection from its own rays; and, indeed, this ſeems to be proved by the copious emiſſion of them; for if the elaſtic fluids of the atmoſphere, or the matter contained on the ſurface of the ſun, were of ſuch a nature as to admit of an eaſy, chemical combination with its rays, their emiſſion would be much impeded.

Another well known fact is, that the ſolar focus of the largeſt lens, thrown into the air, will occaſion no ſenſible heat in the place where it has been kept for a conſiderable time, although its power of exciting combuſtion, when proper bodies are expoſed, ſhould be ſufficient to fuſe the moſt refractory ſubſtances.*

It will not be neceſſary to mention other objections, as I can think of none that may be made, but what a proper conſideration of the foregoing obſervations will eaſily remove: ſuch as may be urged from the diſſimilarity between the luminous atmoſphere of the ſun and that of our globe will be touched upon hereafter, when I conſider the objections that may be aſſigned againſt the moon's being an inhabitable ſatellite.

I ſhall now endeavour, by analogical reaſonings, to ſupport the ideas I have ſuggeſted concerning the conſtruction and purpoſes of the ſun; in order to which, it will be neceſſary to begin with ſuch arguments as the nature of the caſe will admit, to ſhew that our moon is probably inhabited. This ſatellite is of all the heavenly bodies the neareſt, and therefore moſt within the reach of our teleſcopes. Accordingly we find, by repeated inſpection, that we can with perfect confidence give the following account of it.

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* The ſubject of light and heat has been very ably diſcuſſed by M. de Luc, in his excellent work, Idées ſur la Météorologie, Tome I. part 2, chap. 2, ſection 2, De la Nature du Feu; and Tome II. part 3, chap. 6, ſection 2 Des Rapports, de la Lumière avec la Chaleur dans l'Atmoſphère.

It is a ſecondary planet, of a conſiderable ſize; the ſurface of which is diverſified, like that of the earth, by mountains and vallies. Its ſituation, with reſpect to the ſun, is much like that of the earth; and, by a rotation on its axis, it enjoys an agreeable variety of ſeaſons, and of day and night. To the moon, our globe will appear to be a very capital ſatellite; undergoing the ſame regular changes of illumination as the moon does to the earth. The ſun, the planets, and the ſtarry conſtellations of the heavens, will riſe and ſet there as they do here; and heavy bodies will fall on the moon as they do on the earth. There ſeems only to be wanting, in order to complete the analogy, that it ſhould be inhabited like the earth.

To this it may be objected, that we perceive no large ſeas in the moon; that its atmoſphere (the exiſtence of which has even been doubted by many) is extremely rare, and unfit for the purpoſes of animal life; that its climates, its ſeaſons, and the length of its days, totally differ from ours; that without denſe clouds (which the moon has not) there can be no rain; perhaps no rivers, no lakes. In ſhort, that, notwithſtanding the ſimilarity which has been pointed out, there ſeems to be a decided difference in the two planets we have compared.

My anſwer to this will be, that that very difference which is now objected, will rather ſtrengthen the force of my argument than leſſen its value: we find, even upon our globe, that there is the moſt ſtriking difference in the ſituation of the creatures that live upon it. While man walks upon the ground, the birds fly in the air, and fiſhes ſwim in water; we can certainly not object to the conveniences afforded by the moon, if thoſe that are to inhabit its regions are fitted to their conditions as well as we on this globe are to ours. An abſolute, or total ſameneſs, ſeems rather to denote imperfections, ſuch as nature never expoſes to our view, and, on this account, I believe the analogies that have been mentioned fully ſufficient to eſtabliſh the high probability of the moon's being inhabited like the earth.

To proceed, we will now ſuppoſe an inhabitant of the moon, who has not properly conſidered ſuch analogical reaſonings as might induce him to ſurmiſe that our earth is inhabited, were to give it as his opinion that the uſe of that great body, which he ſees in his neighbourhood, is to carry about his little globe, that it may be properly expoſed to the light of the ſun, ſo as to enjoy an agreeable and uſeful variety of illumination, as well as to give it light by reflection from the ſun, when direct daylight cannot be had. Suppoſe alſo that the inhabitants of the ſatellites of Jupiter, Saturn, and the Georgian planet, were to look upon the primary ones, to which they belong, as mere attractive centres, to keep together their orbits, to direct their revolution round the ſun, and to ſupply them with reflected light in the abſence of direct illumination: Ought we not to condemn their ignorance,

norance, as proceeding from want of attention and proper reflection? It is very true that the earth, and thoſe other planets that have ſatellites about them, perform all the offices that have been named, for the inhabitants of theſe little globes: but to us, who live upon one of theſe planets, their reaſonings cannot but appear very defective; when we ſee what a magnificent dwelling-place the earth affords to numberleſs intelligent beings.

Theſe conſiderations ought to make the inhabitants of the planets wiſer than we have ſuppoſed thoſe of their ſatellites to be. We ſurely ought not, like them, to ſay 'the ſun (that immenſe globe, whoſe body would much more than fill the whole orbit of the moon) is merely an attractive centre to us.' From experience we can affirm, that the performance of the moſt ſalutary offices to inferior planets, is not inconſiſtent with the dignity of ſuperior purpoſes; and, in conſequence of ſuch analogical reaſonings, aſſiſted by teleſcopic views, which plainly favour the ſame opinion, we need not heſitate to admit that the ſun is richly ſtored with inhabitants.

This way of conſidering the ſun is of the utmoſt importance in its conſequences. That ſtars are ſuns can hardly admit of a doubt. Their immenſe diſtance would perfectly exclude them from our view, if the light they ſend us were not of the ſolar kind. Beſides, the analogy may be traced much farther. The ſun turns on its axis. So does the ſtar Algol. So do the ſtars called β Lyræ, δ Cephei, η Antinoi, ο Ceti, and many more; moſt probably all. From what other cauſe can we ſo probably account for their periodical changes? Again, our ſun has ſpots on its ſurface. So has the ſtar Algol; and ſo have the ſtars already named; and probably every ſtar in the heavens. On our ſun theſe ſpots are changeable. So they are on the ſtar ο Ceti; as evidently appears from the irregularity of its changeable luſtre, which is often broken in upon by accidental changes, while the general period continues unaltered. The ſame little deviations have been obſerved in other periodical ſtars, and ought to be aſcribed to the ſame cauſe. But if ſtars are ſuns, and ſuns are inhabitable, we ſee at once what an extenſive field for animation opens itſelf to our view.

It is true, that analogy may induce us to conclude, that ſince ſtars appear to be ſuns, and ſuns, according to the common opinion, are bodies that ſerve to enlighten, warm, and ſuſtain a ſyſtem of planets, we may have an idea of numberleſs globes that ſerve for the habitation of living creatures. But if theſe ſuns themſelves are primary planets, we may ſee ſome thouſands of them with our own eyes; and millions by the help of teleſcopes; when, at the ſame time, the ſame analogical reaſoning ſtill remains in full force, with regard to the planets which theſe ſuns may ſupport.

In this place I may, however, take notice, that, from other conſiderations, the idea of ſuns or ſtars being merely the ſupporters of ſyſtems of planets, is not abſolutely to be admitted as a general one. Among the great number of very compreſſed cluſters of ſtars I have given in my catalogues, there are ſome which open a different view of the heavens to us. The ſtars in them are ſo very cloſe together, that, notwithſtanding the great diſtance at which we may ſuppoſe the cluſter itſelf to be, it will hardly be poſſible to aſſign any ſufficient mutual diſtance to the ſtars compoſing the cluſter, to leave room for crowding in thoſe planets, for whoſe ſupport theſe ſtars have been, or might be, ſuppoſed to exiſt. It ſhould ſeem, therefore, highly probable that they exiſt for themſelves; and are, in fact, only very capital, lucid, primary planets, connected together in one great ſyſtem of mutual ſupport.

As in this argument I do not proceed upon conjectures, but have actual obſervations in view, I ſhall mention an inſtance in the cluſters, No. 26, 28, and 35, VI. claſs, of my catalogue of nebulæ, and cluſters of ſtars. (See Phil. Tranſ. Vol. LXXIX. Part II. page 251.) The ſtars in them are ſo crowded, that I cannot conjecture them to be at a greater apparent diſtance from each other than five ſeconds; even after a proper allowance for ſuch ſtars, as on a ſuppoſition of a globular form of the cluſter, will interfere with one another, has been made. Now, if we would leave as much room between each of theſe ſtars as there is between the ſun and Sirius, we muſt place theſe cluſters 42104 times as far from us as that ſtar is from the ſun. But in order to bring down the luſtre of Sirius to that of an equal ſtar placed at ſuch a diſtance, I ought to reduce the aperture of my twenty-feet teleſcope to leſs than the two-and-twenty hundredth part of an inch; when certainly I could no longer expect to ſee any ſtar at all.

The ſame remark may be made, with regard to the number of very cloſe double ſtars; whoſe apparent diameters being alike, and not very ſmall, do not indicate any very great mutual diſtance. From which, however, muſt be deducted all thoſe where the different diſtances may be compenſated by the real difference in their reſpective magnitudes.

To what has been ſaid may be added, that in ſome parts of the milky way, where yet the ſtars are not very ſmall, they are ſo crowded, that in the year 1792, Auguſt 22, I found by the gauges that, in forty-one minutes of time, no leſs than 258 thouſand of them had paſſed through the field of view of my teleſcope.

It ſeems, therefore, upon the whole not improbable that, in many caſes, ſtars are united in ſuch cloſe ſyſtems as not to leave much room for the orbits of planets, or comets; and that conſequently, upon this account alſo, many ſtars, unleſs we would make them mere uſeleſs brilliant points, may themſelves be lucid planets, perhaps unattended by ſatellites.

POSTSCRIPT.

The following obſervations, which were made with an improved apparatus, and under the moſt favourable circumſtances, ſhould be added to thoſe which have been given. They are deciſive with regard to one of the conditions of the lucid matter of the ſun.

November 26, 1794. Eight ſpots in the ſun, and ſeveral ſubdiviſions of them, are all equally depreſſed.

The ſun is mottled every where.

The mottled appearance of the ſun is owing to an inequality in the level of the ſurface.

The ſun is equally mottled at its poles and at its equator; but the mottled appearances may be ſeen better about the middle of the diſc than toward the circumference, on account of the ſun's ſpherical form.

The unevenneſs ariſing from the elevation and depreſſion of the mottled appearance on the ſurface of the ſun, ſeems, in many places, to amount to as much, or to nearly as much as the depreſſion of the penumbræ of the ſpots below the upper part of the ſhining ſubſtance; without including faculæ, which are protuberant.

The lucid ſubſtance of the ſun is neither a liquid, nor an elaſtic fluid; as is evident from its not inſtantly filling up the cavities of the ſpots, and of the unevenneſs of the mottled parts. It exiſts, therefore, in the manner of lucid clouds ſwimming in the tranſparent atmoſphere of the ſun; or rather, of luminous decompoſitions taking place within that atmoſphere.

Origin of Funding.

[*From the Hiſtory of France, from the Acceſſion of* Henry III. *to the death of* Lewis XIV. Vol. I. *By* R. W. Wraxall, *Eſq.*]

THE ſyſtem and practice of funding, unknown to the nations of antiquity, and by which a factitious circulation is produced, owes its firſt creation to the Genoeſe. As early as the year 1407, near three centuries before ſimilar national eſtabliſhments were formed in France and England, aroſe the celebrated “Society or Bank of “St. George,” at Genoa. It is an object of the moſt liberal curioſity, to trace the outlines of its origin and progreſs, not only as it was, in ſome degree, the model of all thoſe which have ſucceſſively ariſen in Europe; but as it powerfully evinces the extenſive commerce and credit of the Republic at that early period, and when theſe advantages were excluſively confined to the Italian ſtates. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Genoeſe, from the expence attending their wars, and from other cauſes, having contracted a conſiderable public debt, mortgaged the revenues to the perſons who had thus advanced money to the ſtate. In 1407, the individuals were formed into a corporate body, and eight adminiſtrators, or directors, were appointed to regulate its concerns. The creditors themſelves choſe theſe; who were not only declared independent of the government, but poſſeſſed a power of determining finally all matters relative to their conſtituents. The Doge and the Supreme Council of State, when they entered on the adminiſtration, took an oath never to interfere with, nor violate the privileges of the Bank. It became neceſſary, in 1444, to add eight new directors, who conſtituted a ſeparate and diſtinct board from thoſe originally appointed; and a council was afterwards added, compoſed of one hundred proprietors, veſted with unlimited powers.

The fluctuations in the value of the ſtock appear to have been very conſiderable, and to have always borne an exact proportion to the proſperity or misfortunes of the commonwealth. In the firſt year after the inſtitution of the Bank, the troubles, which were excited by the Guelf and Ghibelline factions, greatly reduced its value;

but, on the election of a Doge, acceptable to both parties, in 1415, and the reſtoration of a temporary calm, the ſtock, or ſhares, roſe forty-four per cent. Previous to the capture of Conſtantinople, by Mahomet the Second, the Republic reſigned to the Bank, the Iſland of Corſica, as a ſecurity for their property; and when, in the year 1453, that conqueror made himſelf maſter of Pera, the ſhock given to their commerce and credit was ſo great, as to induce them to make over to the body of creditors, the city of Caffa, and every other colony or poſſeſſion in the Black Sea. The calamities, foreign and domeſtic, were ſuch at this period, that the ſhares fell ſixty-ſeven per cent. before the year 1464. But when Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, became ſovereign of Genoa, the wiſdom and vigour of his government ſoon revived its credit. Such was the confidence excited by theſe qualities, that the Bank of Saint George voluntarily reſigned to him, in 1465, the ſovereignty of Corſica; he, notwithſtanding, declined its acceptance, and immediately reſtored it to that body.

Under his ſon Galeazzo, Caffa was loſt, the Genoeſe commerce ſuffered ſevere depredations, and the ſtate was again rent by civil war and commotion: but, in 1488, Louis Sforza having made himſelf maſter of the Republic, credit revived under his adminiſtration, and the ſhares in the Bank roſe proportionably in value. It is matter of equal admiration and attention, that, during all the revolutions, conſpiracies, and political convulſions, with which Genoa was affected, no prince ever attempted to violate the privileges enjoyed by the Bank, or to invade the public credit, inſeparably connected with that inſtitution. In 1508, when Louis the Twelfth, King of France, entered Genoa as a conqueror, cauſed the records and archives of the commonwealth to be burnt, and conſtructed a citadel at the expence of the vanquiſhed citizens; he cauſed a ſolemn declaration to be regiſtered, importing, that the ſociety of St. George ſhould remain in the poſſeſſion of all its ancient rights and prerogatives. To this inviolability was owing its permanent credit, which, though continually ſhaken, as conſtantly revived.

After the middle of the fifteenth century, ſome of the moſt eſſential and important functions of the ſovereign power were devolved on, and executed by the Bank; nor is it eaſy in many caſes to diſcriminate its acts and authority, from thoſe of the ſtate itſelf. In 1484, that ſociety received the city of Sarzana in depoſit, and immediately ſent a garriſon thither. When Corſica revolted, in 1497, they diſpatched forces to reduce the iſland to ſubjection, and named the general, to whom the expedition was entruſted. At the peace of Cateau, in 1559, Henry the Second, King of France, reſtored his Corſican conqueſts, not to the Republic, but to the ſociety of St. George. In like manner, when the inſurrection began anew in that iſland, in 1563, the ſame Company proſecuted the war to its concluſion; and the oath of ſubmiſſion, taken by the rebel chiefs, when they laid down their arms and returned to their allegiance, in 1568, was tendered by, and received in the name of the Bank. It continued long afterwards in the enjoyment and poſſeſſion of all theſe powers.

To increaſe the ſingularity of the inſtitution, its adminiſtration was as permanent and unchangeable as that of the Republic was agitated, mutable, and fluctuating. No alterations ever took place in its mode of regulation and government. Two ſovereign and independent powers were ſeen within the walls of the ſame city, without their producing any ſort of diſcord or ſhock. It has, however, been matter of inquiry and diſcuſſion, whether, notwithſtanding the advantages which Genoa derived from ſo vaſt a ſource of public credit, the eſtabliſhment did not accelerate the decline of the ſtate. This queſtion is one, which depending upon principles of finance, it is difficult to reſolve; but the facility which the Bank lent to many operations of commerce, and the ſecurity which it held out to thoſe who had veſted in it their property, unqueſtionably tended to give a conſideration to the Republic, after the loſs of her colonies and diminution of her trade. The preſent digreſſion will not, perhaps, appear long or unintereſting, when it is conſidered that almoſt all the nations of Europe have ſince imitated the model exhibited to them by the Genoeſe; and that the grandeur of theſe ſtates is inſeparably connected with the maintenance of an artificial circulation, and of the faith pledged to the public creditors.

Dialogue in the Shades, between Swift, *a* Bookſeller, *and* Mercury.

[*By the late Mr.* J. H. Beattie.]

Bookſeller,

TO enjoy *in future* the company of a gentleman whoſe *conſequential* character *in the literary line* I have long *made up my mind upon*, is a pleaſure which I *ſet great ſtore by*, though obtained by the loſs of my exiſtence.

Swift.—Pray, friend, where did you learn your Engliſh?

Bookſeller.—I was born and bred in London, and of ſuch *marked* regularity im my *line of conduct*, that no man could charge me with a ſingle act of *inciviſm*, or any thing that *went* to the *diſorganization* of the ſociety of which I was a member. I ſerved an apprenticeſhip to a *tip-top* bookſeller, and have often heard the moſt learned authors diſcuſs points of literature. I have ſeen them, ſir, for hours, *on their legs*, and *going into a variety of matter*. The deuce is in it, if I do not ſpeak Engliſh of the very neweſt and beſt pattern.

Swift.—In what part of the town did your learned authors find kennels and dunghills to wade into the way you mention? Fleetditch, I am told, is now very decent; and has not half that variety of filthy matter, dead cats and dogs, drowned puppies, and ſtinking ſprats *, which it formerly had. But firſt of all, friend, what was your laſt employment in the other world?

Bookſeller.—*In place of negativing* your queſtions as *inimical*, though I own that at *this firſt bluſh of the buſineſs* they appear ſo, I ſhall be happy, *on the inſtant*, to *meet your ideas*, and *narrate* what you *deſiderate*, not doubting of being *well heard*.

Swift.—Sir, I am not deaf now, as I was in the other world; I ſhall hear you well enough, if you ſpeak diſtinctly. I aſk, what trade you followed?

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* See Swift's deſcription of a city ſhower.

Bookſeller.—You mean, I ſuppoſe, in what *profeſſional line* I was bred. I hinted already that my employment was to *bring forward* to the view of the public *at large* the *ideas* of the learned; in other words, I was in the typographical and *bookſelling lines;* and am *free to ſay,* that in both *lines* my *line of conduct* was *indicative* of *exactitude* to a *degree.* I *netted,* ſir, although my *expenditures* were not ſmall, ſo conſiderable a ſum, that, on the *demiſe* of my wife, who *reſigned her exiſtence* about a year ago, I *ſported ſables* in my own *gig and pair.* I *had in contemplation* a ſeat *in the commons*; but—

Swift.—So; you were a bookſeller. In my time, however, the idea of a learned man could have been comprehended by the *large public,* or the *public at large* (how did you call it, pray?) without the help of an interpreter. But perhaps I did not take your meaning.

Bookſeller.—Dear ſir, what *unfounded ideas* you *bring forward!* You take me up *on a ground* entirely different from that on which I intended to *meet you.* I have formerly *ſet ſtore by you*; having heard you *held forth* as one who had ſecured the *marked* approbation of many. You ſeem inclined to *maltreat* me, but have ſaid nothing that *militates* againſt me as a *profeſſional* man, or *goes* to *ſubſtantiate* any charge *inimical* to my character. And ſince you are pleaſed to be *provocative,* I am *bold to ſay,* that ſome of our beſt critics *ſcout* and *reprobate* your yahoos with the moſt *marked* energy; complain, that they *feel* ſqueamiſh when they think of them; and *have the idea* that deſcriptions of that *deſcription* can be agreeable to readers of *no deſcription.* I have heard one author, whoſe name has long been *inregiſtrated* in the anuals of literature, affirm that they are *diſguſting to civilization.* A juſtice of peace of my acquaintance *committed himſelf*—

Swift.—The deuce he did! The laws, as well as language of England, muſt be greatly changed of late years. Go on, ſir, perhaps I may at laſt underſtand you.

Bookſeller.—I ſay, the juſtice *committed himſelf,* that he would prove your diction as well as imagery to be low and vulgar; that it has nothing of the *ton* in it, no long ſonorous phraſeologies, no appearance of your being *converſative* in ancient or foreign language; nothing, in a word, but what the common people may underſtand, as well as the moſt learned men in the kingdom.

Swift.—Was there ever ſuch a fellow! Hark you, ſir, do you know whom you ſpeak to, or what you are ſpeaking?

Bookſeller.—Moſt *decidedly,* ſir; but *fellow me no fellows,* if you pleaſe. Your writings, however great their *publicity* may once have been, *have had their day*; they are now a *bore,* ſir, a mere *bore,* I *took more money* laſt winter by the *Sorrows of Werter,* than I have *taken* by a ſeven years ſale of the lucubrations of Swift.

Swift.—*Werter!* What is that?

Bookſeller.—Have you never heard of Werter: What an illiterate out-of the way world is this! You can have no *faſhion* among you: nothing *clever* or *ſentimental,* nothing that *implicates reciprocity* of the finer feelings. Why, ſir, Werter is one of the moſt *eventual* and *impreſſive* of all our *novel* novels; the demand there is for it *out-bounds* your comprehenſion. You ſmile; but what I ſay is a *truiſm*. If you would *be agreeable* to hear, I would give you a *ſtatement* of ſome particulars. Werter is a true hero, and in his *line of conduct*, as a perſon of the higheſt honour and faſhion, moſt *correct*; though a German by birth, he muſt have kept the beſt company in France; and ſo extraordinary a ſcholar, that he actually carried a Homer, a Greek Homer, ſir, in his pocket. But misfortune *ingurgitated* him in the very loweſt ebb of diſtreſs. His affections were *captured* by a neighbouring gentleman's lady, with whom he wiſhed to have a *ſentimental arrangement*, a little *flirtation*—(you underſtand me) an *affair of gallantry*, I mean; and whoſe cruelty *fractured* the good young man's heart, and made him *temerariouſly* put a termination to his *exiſtence*.

Swift.—(to Mercury *entering)* You come in good time, Mercury. Our friend Horace ſays you were famous in your day for eloquence; perhaps you may be able to interpret ſome of this learned perſon's gibberiſh. He was ſpeaking of one Werter.

Mercury.—I overheard all that paſſed, ſo you need not recapitulate. Thoſe ſame Sorrows of Werter I have ſeen. Werter tried to corrupt his neighbour's wife, and not wholly without ſucceſs; but, finding the lady not quite ſo forward as he wiſhed, he left her in a rage, blew out his brains with a piſtol, and (if we may believe ſome men of rhyme, who have been whimpering on the occaſion) went incontinently to heaven.

Swift.—Is it poſſible that ſo ſilly a tale can be popular?

Mercury.—It is poſſible, for it is true; or, as this gentleman would perhaps ſay, is a *truiſm*.

Swift.—I am glad I have got out of that vile world. It was in my time ſo bad, that I fooliſhly thought it could not be worſe; but now it muſt have renounced both common honeſty and common ſenſe. But whence comes it that I underſtand ſo little of this man's Engliſh?

Mercury.—Would you have Engliſhmen of the preſent age ſpeak the language of queen Anne's reign?

Swift.—Certainly. Why did Addiſon, and I, and ſome others, take ſo much pains to improve and fix the Engliſh tongue? Should we have done that, think you, if we had imagined that, in ſo ſhort a time, it would be ſo miſerably altered and debaſed? But who are they who thus take it upon them to disfigure the language, and by ſo doing to diſcredit the literature of England? Not, ſurely, the moſt reſpectable part of the community. Men of true learning and good judgment are anxious to preſerve the purity of language. Thoſe barbarous idioms I take to be the manufacture of illiterate and affected perſons, who miſtake grimace for elegance, and aſſume the appearance of learning becauſe they know nothing of its reality.

Mercury.—You are a pretty good gueſſer, my old friend. But you muſt know there is now, in the world you left, a moſt vehement rage of innovation in language, government, religion, and every thing elſe. That a thing is new, is now a ſufficient recommendation, however inconvenient it may be, however unnatural and unſeemly; nay the more unnatural it is, the better chance it has of coming into faſhion. On the Britiſh ſtage, with infinite applauſe, young and beautiful actreſſes perform ſometimes the parts of highwaymen; and ſome ſinging actors ſquall in an affected voice reſembling, and intended to imitate, that of women: the moſt humorous dramatic pieces are frittered away into ſongs; and I ſhould not be ſurpriſed to hear, that henceforth Miranda and Juliet are to be perſonated by grim-viſaged grenadiers ſeven feet high, and Falſtaff by a ſlender miſs juſt entered her teens; that Hotſpur and Henry of Monmouth are to fight to the tune of Lilliburlero; and that Hamlet and Cato will ſing their reſpective ſoliloquies in a dance accompanied with a Scotch bagpipe. Similar remarks I could make on other public exhibitions. The pulp—

Swift.—We will, if you pleaſe, defer thoſe to another opportunity. In the meantime I wiſh to hear more particulars of the degeneracy of the Engliſh tongue, and of the principles on which it ſeems to have been conducted. It is a ſubject, you know, which engaged my attention not a little, while I was on the earth.

Mercury.—Would you have me give you the arrangement and natural hiſtory of chaos? However, though I cannot pretend to enter minutely into ſo complex a buſineſs, I ſhall offer a few directions, which would enable you, if you were ſo diſpoſed, to make Engliſh *of the neweſt and beſt pattern* as well nearly as this learned bookſeller.—My firſt rule is a very comprehenſive one: ‘Avoid ſhort words as much as poſſible, however ſignificant and well-ſounding, eſpecially if they be of Engliſh or Saxon original, and univerſally underſtood; and, in order to raiſe admiration of your learning, uſe, in their ſtead, longer words derived from the Greek, Latin, or French. Inſtead of life, new, wiſh for, take, plunge, &c. you muſt ſay *exiſtence, novel, deſiderate, capture, ingurgitate,* &c. as,—a fever put an end to his *exiſtence*——

Swift.—But that would mean—annihilated him both body and ſoul.

Mercury.—True; but language is not now thought the worſe for being ambiguous; and ambiguity of manner is not in leſs requeſt than ambiguity of phraſe: it is conſidered as a proof of conſummate urbanity, when a writer, even a writer of hiſtory, and of ancient hiſtory too, ſo diſguiſes himſelf, that his reader cannot find out whether he be in jeſt or earneſt. Beſides, I need not tell you, that by many genteel people death and annihilation are ſuppoſed to be the ſame thing.

Swift.—Proceed, if you pleaſe.

Mercury. — Inſtead of a new faſhion, you would do well to ſay—a *novel* faſhion; for this looks like French, and this by the common people will not be underſtood. For the ſame reaſon, and to ſhew your ſkill in the Latin tongue, ſay, not—I wiſh to be quiet, but—I *deſiderate* quietneſs, or rather *quietude*: and you muſt on no account ſpeak of taking the enemy's ſhips, towns, guns, or baggage; it muſt be *capturing*. About twenty years ago, when this word was imported, I heard a ſurly Engliſh ghoſt remark, that ſince his countrymen had learned to talk of *capturing* ſhips, they ſeemed to have loſt the art of taking them; but Rodney and Hood have ſince proved that he was miſtaken.

Swift.—You mentioned *plunge* as an unfaſhionable verb.

Mercury.—*Ingurgitate* is more genteel; becauſe it is long, uncommon, and ſonorous, and to thoſe who have no Latin utterly unintelligible. He was *ingurgitated in the loweſt ebb of diſtreſs* is fine language.

Swift.—*Ebb,* that muſt mean *abatement* of diſtreſs.

Mercury.—Formerly it might have been ſo; but you may now ſee *loweſt ebb* uſed for *greateſt depth*, and it is thought elegant, becauſe new. I know not whether I mentioned *ſort* and *kind* as unfaſhionable nouns; they are quite vulgar: *deſcription* being longer, and of Latin original, is thought much better than either, whatever harſhneſs or confuſion it may occaſion. Our friend the bookſeller gave a good example, when he ſaid, of your deſcription of the yahoos, that deſcriptions of that *deſcription* can be agreeable to readers of no *deſcription.* But of this part of the ſubject we have had enough. Proceed we now, therefore, to rule the ſecond, which is this: 'Always, when you can, prefer figurative to proper expreſſion, and be not nice in the choice of your figures, nor give yourſelf much trouble about their conſiſtency.'

Swift.—That is juſt the contrary of what I uſed to recommend. A few examples, if you pleaſe.

Mercury.—Inſtead of—He ſpoke an hour on various topics, you muſt ſay—*He was an hour upon his legs, and went into a variety of matter:* an idiom which is now very common, and much admired; becauſe it is *figurative, verboſe,* and *ambiguous:* three qualities of ſtyle, which are now, among faſhionable writers and ſpeechers, indiſpenſable. Inſtead of—He undervalues his enemies—ſay, *He ſets no ſtore by his enemies,* or rather *he ſets no ſtore by thoſe who are inimical to him.* *Inimical* is a great favourite, though they who uſe it are not yet agreed about the pronunciation of it. It came in at the ſame time with the verb *capture*, and from the ſame quarter. Unfriendly and hoſtile muſt both give place to *inimical*; the former, becauſe it is mere Engliſh, the latter, becauſe, though of Latin original, it is univerſally underſtood. Inſtead of—At firſt view, you muſt ſay—*At the firſt bluſh of the buſineſs.* *Hold out* is a figurative phraſe of very general uſe: every imaginable conception of the human mind is now ſuppoſed to have hands and arms for holding out ſomething. Letters from Spain *hold out* an *inimical* appearance. This plan or idea *holds out* great advantages; diſtreſs of mind is *held out* by phyſicians as the cauſe of his bad health. But I ſee you grow impatient, and I ſhall go on to my third rule, of which I gave a hint already. 'Avoid conciſeneſs, and uſe as many words as poſſible.' When you ſpeak of a man's conduct, you muſt always call it, *his line of conduct*; and inſtead of an authentic narrative—you muſt ſay, a narrative *marked with authenticity.* Indeed the words *line, meet, marked, feel, go,* and ſome others, may be uſed on all occaſions, whether they have meaning or not; as—He was received with *marked* applauſe, *marked*

marked inſult, *marked* contempt, *marked* admiration: *meet* your wiſhes, *meet* your arguments, *meet* your ſupport, *meet* your ideas, *meet* your feelings, *meet*, you on any ground, &c. Then as to *line*—every thing is now a *line*. You muſt not ſay, he is in the army, but, he is in the *military line*, or in the *army line*; nor, he is bred to buſineſs, but, he is bred in a *profeſſional line*. So, inſtead of, he is a hair-dreſſer, clergyman, printer, perfumer, merchant, fiſherman, &c. you will be laughed at if you do not ſay, he is in the *hair-dreſſing line, in the clerical line, in the printing line, in the perfumery line, in the mercantile line, in the fiſhing line*, &c. *Feel* has become ſo faſhionable, that your old Engliſh ſubſtantive verbs *am* and *be* are in danger of being forgotten. Inſtead of—I am anxious, I am afraid, I am diſappointed, I am warm, I am ſick, he is bold, they are aſhamed, the room is damp, the day is cold, &c. you muſt ſay, I *feel* anxious, I *feel* afraid, I *feel* diſappointed, I *feel* warm, I *feel* ſick, he *feels* bold, they *feel* aſhamed, the room *feels* damp, the day *feels* cold, &c. his arguments *went to* prove, &c. Accounts from Spain *go to* ſay that, &c. This, becauſe more verboſe, is thought more elegant than—Accounts from Spain ſay—his arguments proved, &c.

Swift.—Thoſe people ſeem to be put to hard-ſhifts to make their books and ſpeeches long and enigmatical. But ſurely ſuch affectation cannot be univerſal.

Mercury.—It is not. In the Britiſh ſenate, and in ſome Britiſh pulpits, you might hear ſtrains of eloquence that would do honour to Demoſthenes, and tranſcend the abilities of Tillotſon and biſhop Taylor. You formerly admired Bolingbroke as a ſpeaker, but were you to hear Mr. P——.

Swift.—Bolingbroke was a ſhallow fellow, though I own he impoſed on Pope and me; but on a better, wiſer, and more learned man than either of us, I mean Arbuthnot, he did not impoſe: the doctor underſtood him well. Bolingbroke's oſtentation kept his ignorance out of ſight, and becauſe he was poſitive, we thought him penetrating. He could turn a ſentence ſo as to make it ſound well; but it was all *words, words*, as Hamlet ſays. For my part, you know I never valued thoſe modulated periods, as I think your critics call them; brevity, ſimplicity, and proper words in proper places, form, in my opinion, the perfection of eloquence. But I interrupt you.

Mercury.—I mentioned the neceſſity which an Engliſh writer, who aims at popularity, is now under, of uſing long words: I ought to have added, that it is alſo thought genteel ſometimes to ſhorten ordinary expreſſions. For *reformation* every body now ſays *reform*; this being French, and the other vile old Engliſh: inſtead of—for the future, it is faſhionable to ſay *in future;* and beautiful (or ugly) *to a degree*, inſtead of—to a great degree. The laſt example has alſo the advantage of being elegant on account of its ambiguity: as the following very faſhionable phraſes have, of being not merely ambiguous, but unintelligible: he *ſported ſable, ſcouted the idea, netted a cool thouſand*, has not *made up his mind*, &c.

Swift.—Theſe indeed are ſuch jargon, that I can make nothing of them. But I ſuppoſe they hardly deſerve interpretation.

Mercury.—In Elyſium they do not deſerve it: but in Great Britain you would be ſtared at as a prodigy of ignorance and ruſticity, if you ſhould ſeem ignorant of their meaning. I know not whether I told you of a rule, which in the fabrication of this new dialect is much attended to: 'Affect uncommon terminations as much as poſſible.' Inſtead of reference, preference, commitment, approbation, &c. ſay *referral, preferral, committal, approval,* &c. and the *transferral* of property, inſtead of the transferring of property. But above all, to ſhow your great learning, affect terminations of a Greek form, as *—iſm* and *—iſt*; as *truiſm* for truth, *agriculturiſt* for huſbandman. Since boxing became a fine art——

Swift.—Boxing is a black-guard art: who made it *fine*, pray? There were ſaid to be only four fine arts; and one of them, *fiddling*: I could never prevail on myſelf to honour that with approbation. I acknowledge only three, poetry, painting, and architecture.

Mercury.—There are many fine arts now: dancing, tumbling, wagering, gaming, legerdemain, horſe-racing, face-painting in both ſexes, cock-fighting, are all fine arts, and hair-dreſſing is a very fine art. But, as I was ſaying, ſince boxing became a fine art, it is quite vulgar to call a profeſſor of it a *boxer*. Some learned innovator, having heard of the Latin *Pugil*, thought of introducing it; but *pugil* was too diminutive a name for a thing of ſuch magnitude; and therefore, clapping to it part of a Greek termination, he made it *pugiliſt*; which being inſtantly adopted by the *dilettanti* (or admirers) of boxing and new words, gave riſe to the adjectives *pugiliſtic* and *pugiliſtical*, as in this example: 'We hear *it is in contemplation* to *run up* a *novel* and *ſuperb* pavilion at Newmarket for *pugiliſtical* exhibitions.' *Pugiliſticiſm* and *pugiliſticity* have not yet appeared, but are every hour expected, and I will venture to inſure them a favourable reception.

Swift.—Nay, good Mercury, I am afraid you are now going too far, and at your old trade of putting tricks upon travellers. However, I thank you for your information, though you have made me ſick of the ſubject. I ſee my friend Addiſon coming this way; it will require an hour even of his converſation to wear out the diſagreeable impreſſions left in my mind by this abominable detail of vulgarity, pedantry, and barbariſm.

Letter from David Hume *to Dr.* Adam Smith, *on the publication of the Theory of Moral Sentiments.*

[*From the account of the Life and Writings of Dr.* Smith, *prefixed by Mr.* Dugald Stewart *to Dr.* Smith's "*Eſſays on Philoſophical Subjects.*"]

I GIVE you thanks for the agreeable preſent of your Theory. Wedderburn and I made preſents of our copies to ſuch of our acquaintances as we thought good judges, and proper to ſpread the reputation of the book. I ſent one to the Duke of Argyle, to Lord Lyttleton, Horace Walpole, Soame Jenyns, and Burke, an Iriſh gentleman, who wrote lately a very pretty treatiſe on the Sublime. Millar deſired my permiſſion to ſend one in your name to Dr.

Warburton. I have delayed writing to you till I could tell you ſomething of the ſucceſs of the book, and could prognoſticate with ſome probability, whether it ſhould be finally damned to oblivion, or ſhould be regiſtered in the temple of immortality. Though it has been publiſhed only a few weeks, I think there appear already ſuch ſtrong ſymptoms, that I can almoſt venture to foretell its fate. It is in ſhort this——But I have been interrupted in my letter by a fooliſh impertinent viſit of one who has lately come from Scotland. He tells me that the Univerſity of Glaſgow intend to declare Ronet's office vacant, upon his going abroad with Lord Hope. I queſtion not but you will have our friend Ferguſon in your eye, in caſe another project for procuring him a place in the Univerſity of Edinburgh ſhould fail. Ferguſon has very much poliſhed and improved his Treatiſe on Refinement, and with ſome amendments it will make an admirable book, and diſcovers an elegant and a ſingular genius. The Epigoniad, I hope, will do; but it is ſomewhat up-hill work. As I doubt not but you conſult the Reviews ſometimes at preſent, you will ſee in the Critical Review a letter upon that poem; and I deſire you to employ your conjectures in finding out the author. Let me ſee a ſample of your ſkill in knowing hands by your gueſſing at the perſon. I am afraid of Lord Kames's Law Tracts. A man might as well think of making a fine ſauce by a mixture of wormwood and aloes, as an agreeable compoſition by joining metaphyſics and Scotch law. However, the book, I believe, has merit, though few people will take the pains of diving into it. But to return to your book, and its ſucceſs in this town, I muſt tell you——A plague of interruptions! I ordered myſelf to be denied; and yet here is one that has broke in upon me again. He is a man of letters, and we have had a good deal of literary converſation. You told me that you was curious of literary anecdotes, and therefore I ſhall inform you of a few that have come to my knowledge. I believe I have mentioned to you already Helvetius's book de l'Eſprit. It is worth your reading, not for its philoſophy, which I do not highly value, but for its agreeable compoſition. I had a letter from him a few days ago, wherein he tells me that my name was much oftener in the manuſcript, but that the Cenſor of books at Paris obliged him to ſtrike it out. Voltaire has lately publiſhed a ſmall work called Candide, ou l'Optimiſme. I ſhall give you a detail of it——But what is all this to my book? you ſay. My dear Mr. Smith, have patience: Compoſe yourſelf to tranquillity: Show yourſelf a philoſopher in practice as well as profeſſion: Think on the emptineſs and raſhneſs, and futility of the common judgments of men: How little they are regulated by reaſon in any ſubject, much more in philoſophical ſubjects, which ſo far exceed the comprehenſion of the vulgar.

——Non ſi quid turbida Roma,
Elevet, accedas; examenve improbum in illa
Caſtiges trutina: nec te quæſiveris extra.

A wiſe man's kingdom is his own breaſt; or, if he looks farther, it will only be to the judgement of a ſelect few, who are free from prejudices, and capable of examining his work. Nothing indeed can be a ſtronger preſumption of falſehood than the approbation of the multitude; and Phocion, you know, always ſuſpected himſelf of ſome blunder, when he was attended with the applauſes of the populace.

Suppoſing, therefore, that you have duly prepared yourſelf for the worſt by all theſe reflections, I proceed to tell you the melancholy news, that your book has been very unfortunate; for the public ſeem diſpoſed to applaud it extremely. It was looked for by the fooliſh people with ſome impatience; and the mob of literati are already beginning to be very loud in its praiſes. Three biſhops called yeſterday at Millar's ſhop in order to buy copies, and to aſk queſtions about the author. The biſhop of Peterborough ſaid he had paſſed the evening in a company where he heard it extolled above all the books in the world. The Duke of Argyle is more deciſive than he uſes to be in its favour. I ſuppoſe he either conſiders it an exotic, or thinks the author will be ſerviceable to him in the Glaſgow elections. Lord Lyttleton ſays, that Robertſon and Smith, and Bower, are the glories of Engliſh literature. Oſwald proteſts he does not know whether he has reaped more inſtruction or entertainment from it. But you may eaſily judge what reliance can be put on his judgment, who has been engaged all his life in public buſineſs, and who never ſees any faults in his friends. Millar exults and brags that two-thirds of the edition are already ſold, and that he is now ſure of ſucceſs. You ſee what a ſon of the earth that is, to value books only by the profit they bring him. In that view, I believe it may prove a good book.

Charles Townſhend, who paſſes for the clevereſt fellow in England, is ſo taken with the performance, that he ſaid to Oſwald he would put the Duke of Buccleugh under the author's care, and would make it worth his while to accept of that charge. As ſoon as I heard this, I called on him twice, with a view of talking with him about the matter, and of convincing him of the propriety of ſending that young nobleman to Glaſgow: for I could not hope, that he could offer you any terms which would tempt you to renounce your profeſſorſhip; but I miſſed him. Mr. Townſhend paſſes for being a little uncertain in his reſolutions; ſo perhaps you need not build much on this ſally.

In recompence for ſo many mortifying things, which nothing but truth could have extorted from me, and which I could eaſily have multiplied to a greater number, I doubt not but you are ſo good a Chriſtian as to return good for evil; and to flatter my vanity by telling me, that all the godly in Scotland abuſe me for my account of John Knox and the reformation. I ſuppoſe you are glad to ſee my paper end, and that I am obliged to conclude with,

Your humble Servant,
DAVID HUME.

The Duke of Alva at a breakfaſt in the Caſtle of Rudolſtadt, in the year 1547.

[*From Varieties of Literature.*]

TURNING over an ancient chronicle of the ſixteenth century, under the title of "Res in Eccleſiâ et politicâ chriſtianâ geſta ab anno 1500, ad ann. 1600, autore T. Soffing, theolog. doct. Rudelſt, 1676," I found the following anecdote, which, for more than one reaſon, deſerves to be ſnatched from oblivion. In a piece under the name of "Mauſolea manibus Metzelii poſita á Tr. Melch. Dedekindo 1738," I find it confirmed; and for this the reader is referred to Spangenberg's "Mirror of Nobility," Vol. I. book xiii. p. 445.

A German lady, deſcended of a family long renowned for valiant feats of arms, and which had already given an emperor to Germany, on a particular occaſion made the formidable Duke of Alva tremble by her bold and reſolute conduct. As the emperor Charles the Fifth on his return, in the year 1547, from the battle of Muhlberg, to his camp in Suabia, paſſed through Thuringia, Catharina, Counteſs Dowager of Schwartzburgh, born Princeſs of Henneberg, obtained of him a letter of ſafeguard, that her ſubjects might have nothing to ſuffer from the Spaniſh army on its march through her territories. In return for which, ſhe bound herſelf to allow the Spaniſh troops that were tranſported to Rudolſtadt on the Saalbrucke, to ſupply themſelves with bread, beer, and other proviſions, at a reaſonable price, in that place. At the ſame time ſhe took the precaution to have the bridge which ſtood cloſe to the town demoliſhed in all haſte, and reconſtructed over the river at a conſiderable diſtance, that the too great proximity of the city might be no temptation to her rapacious gueſts. The inhabitants too, of all the places through which the army had to paſs, were informed that they might ſend the chief of their valuables to the caſtle of Rudolſtadt.

Mean time, the Spaniſh general, attended by prince Henry of Brunſwick and his ſons, approached the city, and invited themſelves, by a meſſenger whom they diſpatched before, to take their morning's repaſt with the Counteſs of Schwartzburgh. So modeſt a requeſt, made at the head of an army, was not to be rejected. The anſwer returned was, that they ſhould be kindly ſupplied with what the houſe afforded; that his excellency might come, and be aſſured of a welcome reception. However, ſhe did not neglect, at the ſame time, to remind the Spaniſh general of the ſafeguard, and to urge home to him the conſcientious obſervance of it.

A friendly reception, and a well furniſhed table, welcomed the arrival of the duke at the caſtle. He was obliged to confeſs, that the Thuringian ladies had an excellent notion of cookery, and did honour to the laws of hoſpitality. But ſcarcely had they taken their ſeats, when a meſſenger out of breath called the Counteſs from the hall. His tidings informed her, that the Spaniſh ſoldiers had uſed violence in ſome villages on the way, and had driven off the cattle belonging to the peaſants. Catharina was a true mother to her people; whatever the pooreſt of her ſubjects unjuſtly ſuffered wounded her to the very quick. Full of indignation at this breach of faith, yet not forſaken by her preſence of mind, ſhe ordered her whole retinue to arm themſelves immediately in private,

vate, and to bolt and bar all the gates of the caſtle, which done, ſhe returned to the hall, and rejoined the princes, who were ſtill at table. Here ſhe complained to them, in the moſt moving terms, of the uſage ſhe had met with, and how badly the imperial word was kept. They told her, laughing, that this was the cuſtom in war; and that ſuch trifling diſorders of ſoldiers in marching through a place were not to be minded. "That we ſhall preſently "ſee," replied ſhe, ſtoutly: "My "poor ſubjects muſt have their "own again, or, by God! (raiſing "her voice in a threatening tone) "princes' blood for oxen's blood!" With this emphatical declaration ſhe quitted the room, which, in a few moments, was filled with armed men, who ſword in hand, yet with great reverence, planting themſelves behind the chairs of the princes, took place of the waiters. On the entrance of theſe fierce-looking fellows, duke Alva directly changed colour; and they all gazed at one another in ſilence and affright. Cut off from the army, ſurrounded by a reſolute body of men, what had they to do, but to ſummon up their patience, and to appeaſe the offended lady on the beſt terms they could? Henry of Brunſwick was the firſt that collected his ſpirits, and ſmothered his feelings by burſting into a loud fit of laughter; thus ſeizing the moſt reaſonable way of coming off, by turning all that had paſſed into a ſubject of mirth, concluding with a pompous panegyrick on the patriotic concern, and the determined intrepidity ſhe had ſhown. He entreated her to make herſelf eaſy, and took it upon himſelf to bring the Duke of Alva to conſent to whatever ſhould be found reaſonable; which he immediately effected, by inducing the latter to diſpatch on the ſpot, an order to the army to reſtore the cattle, without delay, to the perſons from whom they had been ſtolen. On the return of the courier with a certificate that all damages were made good, the counteſs of Schwartzburg politely thanked her gueſts for the honour they had done her caſtle; and they, in return, very courteouſly took their leave.

It was this tranſaction, no doubt, that procured for Catharina Counteſs of Schwartzburg the ſurname of the Heroic. She is likewiſe highly extolled for the active fortitude ſhe diſplayed in promoting the Reformation throughout her dominions, which had already been introduced by her huſband earl Henry XXXVII.; as well as for her reſolute perſeverance in putting down the monks, and improving the inſtruction of the ſchools. Numbers of proteſtant preachers, who had ſuſtained perſecution on account of religion, fled to her for protection and ſupport, which ſhe granted in the fulleſt extent. Among theſe was a certain Caſper Aguila, pariſh prieſt at Saalfeldt, who in his younger years had attended the Emperor's army to the Netherlands in quality of Chaplain; and becauſe he there refuſed to baptize a cannon ball was faſtened to the mouth of a mortar by the licentious ſoldiers, to be ſhot into the air; a fate which he happily avoided only by the accident of the powder not catching fire. He was now, for the ſecond time, in imminent danger of his life, and a price of 5000 florins was ſet upon his head, becauſe

cauſe the Emperor was enraged againſt him for having contumaciouſly attacked his *Interim* from the pulpit. Catharina had him privately brought to her caſtle, on the petition of the people of Saalfeldt, where ſhe kept him many months concealed, and cauſed him to be attended with the greateſt aſſiduity, till the ſtorm was blown over, and he could venture to appear in public. She died, univerſally honoured and lamented, in the 58th year of her age, and the 20th of her reign. The church of Rudolſtadt is in poſſeſſion of her bones.

Whimſical Thoughts.

[*From the Gentleman's Magazine.*]

Hic nugis, gryphis, ambagibuſque meis condonare poſcimus. INSCR. VETUS.

1. SUPERSTITION is uſually ſaid to be owing to the prejudices of education—more properly ſpeaking, to the want of it.

2. Methodiſts and Jacobins, who liſten with *open mouths* to a nonſenſical declaimer, are admirably diſpoſed to *ſwallow* contradictions and abſurdities.

3. *Flame* is metaphorically applied to *women*, and *ſpark* to men. Whence comes this diſtinction?—The female heart, it is ſuppoſed, is more inflammable.

4. A man newly married, if he has half the courage of Cæſar, paſſes the Rubicon the firſt night he enters the province of matrimony.

5. A houſe "left at ſixes and ſevens" is a houſe left to the care of ſix or ſeven ſervants.

6. Vermin, which attack the human body, are uſeful monitors. They ſtimulate idle drones, and dirty drabs, to pay ſome regard to the virtue of cleanlineſs.

7. The word *raviſh* ſignifies to commit a *rape*, and to *charm* or *pleaſe* exceſſively—a miſchievous coincidence!

8. Merchant-ſhips are generally called by female names. An excellent ſcheme! It pleaſes the ſailors. They go *on-board* with alacrity; and, if there happens to be occaſion, they find ſome conſolation in *going down* with the Polly, the Betſy, the Peggy, or the Nancy.

9. The *outs*, or oppoſitioniſts, are like dogs barking in the ſtreets, which, to uſe the words of an ancient author, "run here and there "for meat, and grudge, if they be "not ſatisfied."

10. *Hammer-cloth.* When coaches and chariots were firſt introduced, our frugal anceſtors uſed to load the carriage with proviſions for the family, when they came to London. The *hamper*, covered with a *cloth*, was a convenient repoſitory, and a ſeat for the coachman. This was afterwards converted into a *box*. *Hammer-cloth* is therefore, very probably, a corruption of *hamper-cloth*.

11. "Experience makes fools wiſe." This is a falſe proverb. Fools go on in their old trammels. They have neither ſenſe to ſee, nor docility to rectify, their abſurdities.

12. A certain popular poet, who has frequently inſulted ſome of the moſt reſpectable characters by his malignant lampoons, ſeems to have been inſtigated by this viſionary admonition, formerly addreſſed to a name-ſake—"Riſe, Peter, kill and eat."

13. A ſtanch Catholic generally finds ſome expedient for gratifying his inclination, in ſpite of eccleſiaſtical cenſures. I have heard of one who had the temerity to marry in Lent, but quieted his conſcience by happily recollecting, that the lady's name was *Herring*.

The celebrated Buſbequius mentions a contrivance, equally ingenious and ſatisfactory, in a Turk:

"I ſaw an old man at Conſtantinople, who, after he had taken a cup of wine in his hand to drink, uſed firſt to make a hideous noiſe. I aſked his friends, why he did ſo. They anſwered me, that, by this outcry, he did, as it were, warn his ſoul to retire into ſome ſecret corner of his body, or elſe wholly to emigrate, and paſs out of it, that ſhe might not be guilty of that ſin, which he was about to commit, or be defiled with the wine which he was to guzzle down." Buſb. Trav. p. 13.

GREGORY WILDGOOSE.

Ludicrous Claſſification of worthleſs Phyſicians.

[*From Dr.* Beddoes' *Edition of the Elements of Medicine. By* John Brown, *M. D.*]

LECT. 2. D. *Mere Collectors of fees, regardleſs of medical ſcience, given to artifice and intrigue, each ſpecies after its own manner.*

LECT. 3. *The Bullying* DOCTOR. D.

——Inexorabilis, acer,

looks big, ſtruts, ſwaggers, ſwears.

Obſ. Surgeons, in our times, more frequently bear theſe marks. According to a moſt acute contemporary author, the famous RADCLIFFE was a complete ſpecimen of the bullying D. "With ſmall ſkill in phyſic, and hardly any learning, he got into practice by vile arts.—He would neglect a nobleman that gave exorbitant fees;" and to heighten the inſult by contraſt, "at the ſame time carefully attend a ſervant or mean perſon for nothing.—He was ſurly and moroſe; treated his patients like dogs—extended his inſolence even to the royal family—ſcorned to conſult with his betters on what emergency ſoever; looked down with contempt on the moſt deſerving of his profeſſion, and never would confer with any phyſician who would not pay homage to his ſuperior genius, creep to his humour, and never approach him but with the ſlaviſh obſequiouſneſs of a court flatterer."

The *Bacchanalian* DOCTOR. D. given to ſottiſhneſs, if not to drunkenneſs—generally ſomewhat of the bully.

4. *The Solemn* DOCTOR D. with garb, voice, geſtures, and equipage, contrived to overawe weak imaginations, and hide the futility of his art.

Obſ. 1. D. of this remarkable ſpecies firſt practiſed phyſic with pomp: they invented or borrowed from other profeſſions thoſe barbarous habiliments, of which ridicule has lately ſtripped phyſicians. In times, when a large wig, or a flowing gown, could more effectually command reſpect, than ſound morality, ſubſtantial juſtice, or uſeful ſkill, the ſtratagem ſucceeded to admiration.

Obſ. 2. D. of this ſpecies, when a pretext offers, ſpeak oſtentatiouſly of their experience—never ſuſpecting any of their hearers may know that there are underſtandings which multiplicity of appearances ſerves but to confound.

5. *The Club-hunting* Doctor. D. frequenting the crowded haunts of men; puſhing himſelf forward, faluting all he knows, and all who will know him; talking much and loud.

Obſ. In England, D. of this ſpecies have of late been ſeen in paroxyſms of frantic loyalty, and of *civiſme* in France.

6. *The Burr* Doctor. D. faſtening himſelf upon you as tenaciouſly as the heads of the noiſome weed (Centaurea calcitrapa,) from which the trivial name of the ſp. is taken, fix upon your cloaths.

Obſ. Nothing in art, but the juggler's addreſs, in making you take what card he pleaſes out of a pack, equals the dexterity with which D. of this ſp. force themſelves upon patients.

7. *The Wheedling* Doctor. D. with an everlaſting ſmile upon his countenance, frequent at the polite end of large cities, and at places of faſhionable reſort.

Var. *a. The Adonis wheedling* D. D. with an handſome face, joined to the wily addreſs, characteriſtic of the ſp.—flouriſhes at watering places; ſometimes joins to his profeſſion the trade of a fortune hunter; and, if he ſucceeds, “ gives phyſic to the dogs.”

Obſ. 1. D. of this ſp. when moſt moderate, preſcribe for every rich patient two draughts a day, and one night draught beſides pills and powders. Hence needleſsly to ſwallow nauſeous drenches, may be numbered among the curſes of wealth.

Obſ. 2. The *Adonis* D. has ſooner or later a patient of note, ill of a fever or ſome diſeaſe, that uſually terminates favourably; in caſe of recovery the female buſy-bodies of the place exert their ſpirit of cabal in behalf of the wonder-working youth, and his fortune is made.

8. The *Caſe-coining* Doctor. D. publiſhing forged or falſified caſes.

Obſ. “ A very fertile ſource of “ falſe facts has been opened for “ ſome time paſt. This is, in ſome “ young phyſicians, the vanity of “ being the authors of obſervations “ which are often too haſtily made, “ *and ſometimes, perhaps, were en-* “ *tirely dreſſed in the cloſet.* We “ dare not at preſent be more par- “ ticular; but the next age will diſ- “ cern many inſtances of, perhaps, “ direct falſhoods, and certainly the “ many miſtakes in fact, produced “ in the preſent age, concerning “ the virtues and powers of medi- “ cines.” Cullen. Mater. Med. I. 153.

A-kin to this flagitious abuſe is the practice of purchaſing falſe atteſtations, on oath, for advertiſements; and what is ſtill worſe in effect, though not in intention; a cuſtom beginning to prevail among perſons of diſtinction—who cannot be ſuppoſed capable of diſcriminating diſeaſes, or deciding on the efficacy of drugs—but who, nevertheleſs, permit Quacks to uſe their names in teſtimony of cures, which they ſuppoſe themſelves to have witneſſed.

9. *The good-ſort-of-man* Doctor. D. a good ſort of man, armed, by ſome miſtake, with a diploma.

Var. *a. The* goſſiping *good-ſort-of-man.* D. fetches and carries ſcandal.

Obſ. Varieties numerous as the hues of the Chamæleon.

10. *The Sectarian* Doctor. D. dwelling among his own people at firſt; and by them often puſhed on to ſpread devaſtation among the reſt of mankind.

Obſ. Varieties manifold; each diſtinguiſhable by the livery of its ſect—one is too curious to be omitted.

Var. *a.* *The* inſpired *Sect.* Doctor. D. believing himſelf to be inſpired with the knowledge of diſeaſes and remedies.

In civilized countries not much more frequent than witches.—Among rude tribes, as among the Tartar hordes, a kindred variety is univerſally found. See Gmelin's Travels. But theſe ſeem rather to pretend to inſpiration, than really to believe that their deity ſerves them in the capacity of prompter: and they conjoin the characters of prieſt and conjurer with that of phyſician. I have not been able to aſcertain whether our variety receives the afflatus, except in its medical capacity; and the miracles it has wrought in this are not ſo perfectly authenticated, as to ſilence cavillers.

POETRY.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR 1795.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, *Eſq. Poet Laureat.*

I.

AGAIN the ſwift revolving hours
Bring January's frozen car;
Still Diſcord on the nations low'rs,
Still reigns the iron pow'r of war.
Huſh'd be awhile the tumult's ſtorm;
Awhile let Concord's milder form
Glide gently o'er each ſmiling plain,
While as they weave the myrtle wreath
The ſportive Loves and Graces breathe
The hymeneal ſtrain.

II.

From Parent-Elbe's high-trophy'd ſhore,
Whence our illuſtrious chiefs of yore
Brought that bleſt code of laws their ſons revere,
And bade the glorious fabric flouriſh here,
The royal virgin comes——Ye gales
Auſpicious, fill the ſwelling ſails;
And, while ye gently curl the azure deep,
Let ev'ry ruder blaſt in ſilence ſleep;
For not from Afric's golden ſands,
Or either India's glowing lands,
Have e'er the favouring Naiads brought
A prize to us ſo dear, a bark ſo richly fraught.

III.

Bright maid, to thy expecting eyes
When Albion's cliffs congenial riſe,
No foreign forms thy looks ſhall meet,
Thine ear no foreign accents greet:

Here ſhall thy breaſt united tranſports prove
Of kindred fondneſs and connubial love.
O that amid the nuptial flowers we twine,
Our hands the olive's ſober leaves might join,
Thy preſence teach the ſtorm of war to ceaſe,
Diſarm the battle's rage, and charm the world to peace.

IV.

Yet if the ſtern vindictive foe,
Inſulting, aim the hoſtile blow,
Britain, in martial terrors dight,
Lifts high the avenging ſword, and courts the fight.
On every ſide behold her ſwains
Crowd eager from her fertile plains!
With breaſts undaunted, lo! they ſtand
Firm bulwarks of their native land,
And proud her floating caſtles round,
The guardians of her happy coaſt,
Bid their terrific thunder ſound
Diſmay to Gallia's ſcatter'd hoſt,
While ſtill Britannia's navies reign
Triumphant o'er the ſubject main.

ODE *for* *His* MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY, 1795.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, *Eſq. Poet Laureat.*

I.

NOT from the trumpet's brazen throat
Be now the martial meaſure blown,
Mild concord breathes a ſofter note,
To greet a triumph all her own;
Wafted on Pleaſure's downy wings,
A dearer joy than conqueſt brings
Now ſoothes the royal parent's breaſt;
By roſy wreaths of Hymen bound,
A Nation's fervent vows are crown'd,
A much-loved ſon is bleſt.

II.

While crouds, on this returning morn
Their willing homage pay,
And ſhouts of heart-felt gladneſs born
O'ercome the Muſe's lay,
Amid the Pæan's choral ſound,
While dying faction's ſhrieks are drown'd,

O Sovereign of a people's choice,
Hear, in that people's general voice,
The nobleſt praiſe that waits a throne;
Their ſureſt guard, thy patriot zeal!—
Thy public care their ſtrength—they feel
Thy happineſs their own.

III.

O royal youth! a king's, a parent's pride,
A nation's future hope!—again the tongue
That join'd the choir, what time by Iſis ſide
Her tuneful ſons thy birth auſpicious ſung,
Now hails, fulfill'd by Hymen's hallow'd flame:
The warmeſt wiſh Affection's voice could frame;
For ſay, can Fame, can Fortune know
Such genuine raptures to beſtow,
As from the ſmiles of wedded love ariſe,
When heavenly virtue beams from bluſhing Beauty's eyes*

IV.

Ne'er may the rapid hours that wing
O'er Time's unbounded field their ceaſeleſs flight,
To grateful Britain's monarch bring
A tribute of leſs pure delight—
Ne'er may the ſong of duty ſoothe his ear
With ſtrains of weaker joy, or tranſports leſs ſincere.

To the Reverend JOHN IRELAND*.

Imitation of Horace, Lib. ii. Ode 16.

[*From the* MÆVIAD. *By* W. GIFFORD, *Eſq.*]

WHEN howling winds, and low'ring ſkies,
The light, untimber'd bark ſurpriſe
Near Orkney's boiſterous ſeas;
The trembling crew forget to ſwear,
And bend the knees, unuſ'd to prayer,
To aſk a little eaſe.

For eaſe the Turk, ferocious prays,
For eaſe the barbarous Ruſſe—for eaſe,

---

* Now Vicar of Croydon in Surry, and Author of *Diſcourſes on the Rejection the Goſpel by the Ancient Jews and Greeks.*

Which P—k could ne'er obtain;
Which Bedford lack'd amidſt his ſtore,
And liberal Clive, with mines of ore,
Oft bade for—but in vain.

For not the liveried troop that wait
Around the manſions of the great,
Can keep, my friend, aloof,
Fear, that attacks the mind by fits,
And Care, that like a raven flits
Around the lordly roof.

"O well is he" to whom kind Heaven,
A decent competence has given!
Rich in the bleſſing ſent;
He graſps not anxiouſly at more,
Dreads not to uſe his little ſtore,
And fattens on content.

"O well is he!" for life is loſt,
Amidſt a whirl of paſſions toſt;
Then why, dear Jack, ſhould man,
Magnanimous ephemera! ſtretch
His views beyond the narrow reach
Of his contracted ſpan!

Why ſhould he from his country run,
In hopes, beneath a foreign ſun,
Serener hours to find?
Was never man in this wild chaſe,
Who chang'd his nature with his place,
And left himſelf behind.

For, wing'd with all the lightning's ſpeed,
Care climbs the bark, Care mounts the ſteed,
An inmate of the breaſt:
Nor Barca's heat, nor Zembla's cold,
Can drive from that pernicious hold,
The too-tenacious gueſt.

They, whom no anxious thoughts annoy,
Grateful, the *preſent* hour enjoy,
Nor ſeek the *next* to know;
To lighten every ill they ſtrive,
Nor, ere misfortune's hand arrive,
Anticipate the blow.

Some

Something muſt ever be amiſs—
Man has HIS JOYS; but perfect bliſs
  Lives only in the brain:
We cannot all have all we want;
And Chance, unaſk'd, to THIS may grant
  What THAT has begg'd in vain.

WOLF ruſh'd on death in manhood's bloom,
PAULET crept ſlowly to the tomb;
  Here breath, *there* fame was given:
And that wiſe Power who weighs our lives,
By *contras*, and by *pros*, contrives
  To keep the balance even.

To THEE ſhe gave two piercing eyes,
A body—juſt of Tydeus' ſize:
  A judgment ſound and clear;
A mind with various ſcience fraught,
A liberal ſoul, a threadbare coat,
  And forty pounds a year.

To ME one eye not over good,
Two ſides, that, to their coſt have ſtood
  A ten year's hectic cough;
Aches, ſtitches, all the numerous ills
That ſwell the deviliſh doctor's bills,
  And ſweep poor mortals off.

A coat more bare than thine, a ſoul
That ſpurns the crowd's malign controul;
  A fix'd contempt of wrong:
Spirits above Affliction's pow'r,
And ſkill to charm the lonely hour
  With no inglorious ſong.

EULOGIUM, *by the* GENIUS *of the* EAST, *on Sir* WILLIAM JONES.

[*From Mr.* MAURICE'S ELEGIAC *and* HISTORICAL POEM, *ſacred to the Memory and Virtues of the Honourable Sir* WILLIAM JONES.]

TO chaſe the tenfold gloom, my Jones, was thine,
  To cheer the Brahmin, and to burſt his chains;
To ſearch for latent gems the Sanſcreet mine,
  And wake the fervour of her ancient ſtrains.

For, oh! what pen ſhall paint with half thy fire,
  The power of muſic on the impaſſion'd ſoul,

When the great maſters wak'd the Indian lyre,
And bade the burning ſong electric[*] roll?

The myſtic veil, that wraps the hallow'd ſhrines
Of India's deities, 'twas thine to rend;
With brighter fires each radiant altar ſhines,
To Nature's awful God thoſe fires aſcend.

Sound the deep conch; dread Veeſhnu's power proclaim,
And heap with fragrant woods the blazing urn;
I ſee ſublime Devotion's nobleſt flame
'Midſt Superſtition's glowing embers burn!

'Twas thine, with daring wing, and eagle eye,
To pierce antiquity's profoundeſt[†] gloom;
To ſearch the dazzling records of the ſky,
And bid the ſtars the ſacred page[‡] illume.

Nor did the inſtructive orbs of heaven, alone,
Abſorb thy ſoul 'mid yon ethereal fields;
To thee the vegetable world was known,
And all the blooming tribes the garden yields;

From the tall cedar on the mountain's brow,
Which the fierce tropic ſtorm in vain aſſails,
Down to the humbleſt ſhrubs that beauteous blow,
And ſcent the air of Aſia's fragrant vales.

But talents—fancy—ardent, bold, ſublime—
Unbounded ſcience—form'd thy meaneſt fame;
Beyond the graſp of Death, the bound of Time,
On wings of fire Religion wafts thy name.

And long as ſtars ſhall ſhine, or planets roll,
To kindred virtue ſhall that name be dear;
Still ſhall thy genius charm the aſpiring ſoul,
And diſtant ages kindle at thy bier.

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[*] The impreſſive title of one of the moſt ancient Sanſcreet treatiſes on muſic is, "The Sea of paſſions." See our author's animated account of the Indian muſic in the Aſiatic Reſearches, vol. ii. p. 55.

[†] See the two profound Diſſertations on the Indian Chronology, in Aſiatic Reſearches, vol. ii. p. 111, and 389.

[‡] Conſult various aſtronomical paſſages, in the treatiſes above mentioned, and the Diſcourſe on the Lunar Year of the Hindus, in the ſame publication, vol. iii. p. 249. They are all made ſubſervient to the cauſe of the national theology, and the illuſtration of the grand truths delivered in the ſacred writings.

MARCH *of the* GUARDS *to* GREENWICH, *Feb.* 25*th*, 1793.

[*From the Firſt Volume of An* ACCURATE *and* IMPARTIAL NARRATIVE *of the* WAR, *by an* OFFICER *of the* GUARDS.]

OF my ſupper, ſo lately in Devonſhire trick'd,
Torn away from my friends, and my pullet half pick'd;
Scarce ſuffer'd to bid them a parting adieu *!
By the help of four horſes to London I flew,
And haſten'd to join the brigade in the Park,
Aſſembling tow'rds Greenwich to march, and embark.
Had you witneſs'd the ſcene, you'd have thought, I am ſure,
Of Hogarth's, this march was a caricature.
Prim'd with Whitbread's entire, and their boſom-friend gin,
By driblets our men join'd their ſquads, to fall in;
As John Bull to be idle ſoon finds a pretence,
Not Gordon himſelf gather'd crowds ſo immenſe.
In Parliament-ſtreet ſcarce a window was down,
And the mob ruſh'd in throngs from all parts of the town.
All ſmoothly went on in the front of our line,
But the rear, Gods! what pencil has pow'r to define?
Not a ſingle pot-alehouſe eſcap'd an aſſault,
And our men to the dregs drain'd each barrel of malt.
Supported between two battalion-men here,
Hiſſing hot from the bung reel'd a tall grenadier.
Two damſels attending, his armour to bear,
As drunk as the ſtaggering hero, were there;
His croſs-belts and pouch the fair Phillida bore,
While his cap Amaryllis triumphantly wore!
Our march interrupted by whiſkeys and gigs,
Mad drivers, mad oxen, and obſtinate pigs;
Men boxing, dogs barking, and women in tears,
Harſh concert that threaten'd the drums of our ears.
Midſt a buſtle, dear Richard, beyond all compare,
At length we arriv'd at the Hoſpital-ſquare;
Carts following, to pick up thoſe ſtragglers they found,
Who, unable to move, had repos'd on the ground.
Our ſovereign, God bleſs him! belov'd and rever'd,
Benignantly ſmiling, amongſt us appear'd.

---

* When his majeſty was reluctantly prevailed upon to give his conſent, that a detachment of the foot guards ſhould be employed for the defence of Holland, the orders for the embarkation of the three firſt battalions, were ſo ſuddenly iſſued, that many officers, who had been employed on the recruiting ſervice in the country, with difficulty reached London in time to march with the brigade to Greenwich, on the 25th of February, and others were obliged to follow the tranſports in packets and bye-boats to Helvoetſluys.

Around him *, thoſe patterns of excellence ſhone,
Thoſe jewels, that luſtre reflect on his throne.
A grenadier drunk from the centre rank reel'd,
And hiccuping, up to his majeſty wheel'd,
'Never mind all theſe Jacobins, G—e, reſt in quiet,
We'll quell them, my hearty! as quick as a riot.'
The king was delighted, and laughed out aloud;
While the fellow was hail'd by three cheers from the crowd.
The tranſports in readineſs waiting in ſight,
Ev'ry ſoldier † was promptly embark'd before night.
Off Greenwich, till morning, at anchor we lay,
Then a breeze ſpringing up, we were ſoon under weigh ‡,
And toſs'd by rude waves for three nights at the Nore,
All grumbling, and all too impatient for ſhore.
Then ſignals were made, and each ſhip hoiſted ſail §:
With a gathering ſky, and riſing briſk gale.
As our veſſel was ſteadily gliding along,
I ſtole to the ſtern from the noiſy gay throng;
And as the lov'd Iſland eſcap'd from my view,
I ſigh'd to thy cliffs, faireſt Albion, adieu!
Adieu, that ſad word brought with force to my mind,
The many dear friends I was leaving behind.

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* The affability and condeſcenſion which at all times ſo peculiarly diſtinguiſh the royal family of Great Britain, were never more conſpicuouſly diſplayed than on this occaſion; and as the battalions paſſed them in review, every ſoldier's countenance became exhilarated. The queen and princeſſes, who were at Sir Hugh Palliſer's during the embarkation, waved their handkerchiefs as the boats put off from ſhore; and in return, after repeated hearty huzzas, the men ſtruck up a roaring chorus of God ſave the King; in which they were joined by the royal group: this circumſtance was frequently talked over in the ſoldier's tent, and not forgotten in the field of battle.

† Only one accident happened during the embarkation. A private broke his leg in aſcending the ſide of one of the tranſports; and ſuch had been the hurry of the preparations, that not a ſingle medicine cheſt was found on board any one of the veſſels; it was therefore long before the leaſt aſſiſtance could poſſibly be given to the poor fellow. "Somewhere there was a fault."

‡ Tueſday morning, about 11 o'clock, Feb. 26.

§ Thurſday evening, Feb. 28.

MARTILMASSE DAYE.*

[*From the Cabinet*, Vol. II.]

IT is the day of Martilmaſſe,
Cuppes of ale ſhould freelie paſſe:
What though Wynter has begunne
To puſh downe the ſummer ſunne,
To our fire we can betake,
And enjoie the cracklinge brake,
Never heedinge winter's face
On the day of Martilmaſſe.

We can tell what we have ſeene
While the hedge ſweete-breere was greene;
Who did hide i' th' barley-mow,
Waitinge for her love I trowe;
Whoſe apron longer ſtringes did lacke,
As the envious girles do clacke;
Such like things do come to paſſe
Ere the day of Martilmaſſe.

Some do the citie now frequent,
Where coſtlie ſhews and merriment
Do weare the vaporiſh ev'ninge out
With interlude and revellinge rout;
Such as did pleaſure Englandes Queene,
When here her royal grace was ſeene,
Yet will they not this day let paſſe,
The merrie day of Martilmaſſe.

Nel hath left her wool at home,
The Flanderkin hath ſtayed his loom,
No beame doth ſwinge, nor wheel go round,
Upon Gurguntums walled ground;
Where now no anchorite doth dwell,
To riſe and pray at Lenards bell:
Martyn hath kicked at Balaams aſs,
So merrie be old Martilmaſſe.

When the dailie ſportes be done,
Round the market croſſe they runne,
Prentis laddes, and gallant blades,
Dancinge with their gameſome maids,

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* Said to be taken from a MS. found in repairing the Old Prince's Head in Norwich.

Till the beadel ſtoute and ſowre,
Shakes his bell and calls the houre;
Then farewell ladde and farewell laſſe,
To' th' merry night of Martilmaſſe.

Martilmaſſe ſhall come againe,
Spite of winde and ſnowe and raine;
But many a ſtrange thing muſt be done,
Many a cauſe be loſt and won,
Many a tool muſt leave his pelfe,
Many a worldlinge cheat himſelfe,
And many a marvel come to paſſe
Before return of Martilmaſſe.

ALLEN BROOKE, OF WINDERMERE.

[*From the ſame.*]

SAY, have you in the valley ſeen
A gentle youth of penſive mien?
And have you mark'd his pallid cheek,
That does his ſecret ſorrow ſpeak?
Perhaps you'd wiſh his name to hear—
'Tis Allen Brooke, of Windermere.

But, ah! the cauſe that prompts his ſigh,
That dims with tears his ſparkling eye;
That bids his youthful cheek turn pale,
And ſorrow's hue o'er health's prevail;
That cauſe from me you muſt not hear—
Aſk Allen Brooke, of Windermere.

Yet needleſs were his words to prove
This ſorrow ſprings from hopeleſs love;
Go to the youth—Of Jeſſy ſpeak,
Then mark the crimſon on his cheek;
That bluſh will make the ſecret clear
Of Allen Brooke, of Windermere.

And, oh! believe his Jeſſy's breaſt
Is ſtill with anſw'ring cares oppreſs'd;
But know, a father's ſtern command
Withholds from him my willing hand:
All but a father's frown I'd bear
For Allen Brooke, of Windermere.

Then, gentle ſtranger, ſeek the youth,
And tell him of his Jeſſy's truth;
Say that you ſaw my alter'd cheek,
My faithful boſom's anguiſh ſpeak;
Say that till death, I'll hold moſt dear
My Allen Brooke, of Windermere.

The VIRGIN'S FIRST LOVE.

[*From the ſame,* Vol. III.]

YES—ſweet's the delight, when our bluſhes impart,
The youthful affection that glows in the heart;
When Prudence and Duty and Reaſon approve
The timid delight of the virgin's firſt love.

But if the fond virgin be deſtin'd to feel
A paſſion ſhe muſt in her boſom conceal,
Leſt a parent in anger the flame diſapprove;
Where's then the delight of the virgin's firſt love?

If ſtolen the glance by which love is confeſs'd,
If the ſigh, when half heav'd, be with terror ſuppreſs'd,
If the whiſper of paſſion ſuſpicion muſt move;
Where's then the delight of the virgin's firſt love?

Or, if her fond boſom with tenderneſs ſighs
For a lover who ceaſes her fondneſs to prize;
Forgetting the vows, with which warmly he ſtrove
To gain the ſoft charm of the virgin's firſt love;

If, tempted by intereſt, he venture to ſhun
The gentle affection his tenderneſs won,
With another thro' paſſion's ſoft mazes to rove,
Where's then the delight of the virgin's firſt love?

See her eye, when the tale of his falſhood ſhe hears,
Now beaming with ſcorn, and now gliſtening with tears,
How great is the anguiſh ſhe's deſtin'd to prove!
Farewel the delight of the virgin's firſt love.

No more ſoft emotion ſhall glow on her cheek,
But paleneſs her boſom's fond agony ſpeak;
And dimm'd by affliction, that eye ſhall now prove,
Which ſpoke the ſoft warmth of the virgin's firſt love.

And ſee, ſad companion of mental diſtreſs,
Diſeaſe ſteals upon her in Health's flatt'ring dreſs!
Sure! the bluſh on that cheek every fear muſt remove:
Ah! no, 'tis th' effect of the virgin's firſt love.

Still brighter 's the colour that glows in her cheek;
Her eye boaſts a luſtre no language can ſpeak,
Oh! vain are the hopes theſe appearances move;
Fond parent! they ſpring from the virgin's firſt love.

And now, quite unconſcious that fate hovers near,
On her face ſee the ſmile of contentment appear:
No ſtruggle, no groan, his dread ſummons to prove;
Death ends the fond dream of the virgin's firſt love.

Ye nymphs! ere your boſoms with tenderneſs heave,
Let your choice from a parent glad ſanction receive,
Leſt wrong-plac'd affection's keen ſorrows you prove
And Hymen ne'er ſmile on the virgin's firſt love.

But chiefly be ſure, that the fond favour'd youth
Is wholly your own, and devoted to truth;
Leſt the anguiſh of ſlighted affection you prove,
And death end the dream of the virgin's firſt love.

SONNETS.

[*From* POEMS *by* EDWARD HAMLEY, *Fellow of New College.*]

THOU rural ſource of Medway's ſilent ſtream,
By evening's ſober light I range along
Thy rocky banks; when now the louder ſong
Of day is huſh'd, and Heſper's tranquil beam
Calls forth the ſorrowing night-bird's tender theme
Of love and cruel loſs. Here not the throng
Of noiſy trade does yet thy paſtures wrong;
And ſtill they ſuit the lonely poet's dream:
Grateful to them, whoſe unambitious ſoul,
Far too refin'd for loud, tumultuous joys,
Thoſe empty pleaſures of the vulgar great,
But aſks for days, that calm and ſilent roll
Like thee; while no rude guſt of grief annoys
Their ſimple courſe, a low, but happy ſtate.

IMITATION OF PETRARCH. *Sonnet* 10.

O FRIEND! when ſmiling ſkies and Zephyrs call,
Forbear in towns the blooming hour to loſe;
Nor Nature's pure and ſimple charms refuſe
For coſtly banquets or the midnight ball.
Yet here no ſtately towers, no ſtoried hall,
But twilight groves, where roaming bards may muſe,
Fair ſunny hills, and fields of various hues,
And ſtreams, that down the ſloping valley fall,
From Earth to Heaven the ſoaring ſpirit raiſe:
And the ſweet love-lorn bird that all night long
In ſhadowy thickets pours the plaintive ſtrain,
Melts the warm ſoul to paſſion with her ſong:
Yet poor theſe charms, and dim the ſmiling days,
While far my friend's enlivening looks remain.

Extract from the "IMPERIAL EPISTLE *from* KIEN-LONG *to* GEORGE III."

"THROUGH Europe's bounds, 'tis her devoted age,
Fires from within and central thunders rage.
On Gallia's ſhores I mark the unhallow'd pow'r,
Her godleſs regents feel the madd'ning hour,
Dread architects of ruin and of crime,
In revolution's permanence ſublime,
And cruel nonſenſe! o'er th' aſtoniſh'd world
The flag of dire equality unfurl'd,
Drizzling with blood of millions ſtreams in air,
The ſcroll, FRATERNAL FREEDOM, DEATH, DESPAIR!
They paſs: nor Rhine nor Rubicon they know:
Torrents may roar or tranquil ſtreams may flow,
In unappall'd protruſion on they burſt,
All nations curſing, by all nations curſt.
Lo! Belgium yields to unreſiſted fate;
Within her miniſters of terror wait:
Nature with rod petrific ſmites the land,
And binds the floods in adamantine band,
Till Gallia's chief in right of William ſways,
And Freedom, once with life-drops bought, obeys.
See where diſmember'd trembling Spain reſigns
Golconda's radiance and Potoſi's mines:
The pillars of the eternal city bow,
And the tiara from the pontiff's brow

Drops to the duſt: no more in Peter's fane
The conſiſtorial brotherhood ſhall reign:
Yet ſee; the turban nods by factions torn;
A length'ning, ſad, and ſullen ſound is borne
Around Sophia's hallow'd conſcious walls,
Muttering the doom denounc'd: her creſcent falls:
Still view in weſtern climes Death's paleſt horſe
With peſtilence and ſlaughter marks his courſe,
While duſky tribes, with more than maniac rage,
Rending their brazen bonds, in war engage;
For France ſtill burns to make with dire intent
Hell and this world one realm, one Continent!
"Yet once attend, great Brunſwick; nor in vain
Hear thy imperial brother's cloſing ſtrain.
Thee from thy people may no thought divide,
The ſtateſman's raſhneſs, or reformer's pride;
Reaſon and her fond viſions ſtill diſtruſt;
What, but experience, makes a kingdom juſt?
Fix'd on her ancient baſe let England reſt;
And public danger arm the public breaſt;
On Britiſh ſenſe depend. On foreign fame
To proud Verſailles the fatal ſtranger came,
New laws, new policy, new truth to tell,
And by new maxims the vaſt fabric fell.
Oh, ſhould thy nation ſlight her juſt alarms,
Nor Gallic truths dread more than Gallic arms,
Thy diadem muſt fade; the Tyrian die
Sink in the ſcarlet of democracy;
All dignities of brighter times will fail;
No Wiſdom o'er her midnight lamp grow pale,
But Knowledge, Fancy, Genius, all retire,
And faint and death-ſtruck Learning will expire:
Look round the land, there nothing ſhall be found
But ſwords to guard and ploughs to till the ground.
Though now awhile beneath the afflictive rod
Supernal power may bid thy Albion nod,
Humbled in due proſtration may ſhe bend,
And her far-fam'd beneficence extend:
Then, all her ancient energies erect,
Strength from herſelf and from her God expect,
And on her rocky ramparts bold, alone
Maintain her laws, and vindicate thy throne."

To the Right Honourable RICHARD GRENVILLE TEMPLE,
Lord Viſcount COBHAM.

INVITATION TO SOUTH LODGE*.

From "Tyrrhena Regum Progenies," &c.

[*From* SEWARD'S ANECDOTES, VOL. III.]

FROM Norman princes ſprung, their virtue's heir,
Cobham, for thee my vaults incloſe
Tokai's ſmooth caſk unpierc'd. Here purer air,
Breathing ſweet pink and balmy roſe,

Shall meet thy wiſh'd approach. Haſte then away,
Nor round and round for ever rove
The magic Ranelagh, or nightly ſtray
In gay Spring-Gardens glittering grove.

Forſake the town's huge maſs, ſtretch'd long and wide,
Pall'd with profuſion's ſickening joys;
Spurn the vain capital's inſipid pride,
Smoke, riches, politics, and noiſe.

Change points the blunted ſenſe of ſumptuous pleaſure;
And neat repaſts in ſylvan ſhed,
Where Nature's ſimple boon is all the treaſure,
Care's brow with ſmiles have often ſpread.

Now flames Andromeda's effulgent Sire,
Now rages Procion's kindled ray,
Now madd'ning Leo darts his ſtellar fire,
Fierce Suns revolve the parching day.

The ſhepherd now moves faint with languid flock
To riv'let freſh and bow'ry grove,
To cool retirements of high-arching rock;
O'er the mute ſtream no zephyrs move.

Yet weighing ſubſidies and England's weal,
You ſtill in anxious thought call forth
Dark ills, which Gaul and Pruſſia deep conceal,
Or fierce may burſt from towering North.

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* A ſeat of Mr. Pitt's on Enfield Chaſe.

All-ſeeing Wiſdom, kind to mortals, hides
Time's future births in gloomy night;
Too-buſy care! with pity, Heaven derides,
Man's fond, officious, feeble might.

Uſe then aright the preſent. Things to be,
Uncertain flow, like Thames; now peaceful borne
In even bed, ſoft-gliding down to ſea;
Now mould'ring ſhores, and oaks uptorn,

Herds, cottages, together ſwept away,
Headlong he rolls; the pendent woods
And bellowing cliffs proclaim the dire diſmay,
When the fierce torrents rouſe the tranquil floods.

They, maſters of themſelves, they happy live,
Whoſe hearts at eaſe can ſay ſecure,
"This day roſe not in vain; let Heav'n next give
"Or clouded ſkies, or ſunſhine pure."

Yet never what ſwift Time behind has caſt,
Shall back return. No pow'r the thing
That was bid not have been; for ever paſt,
It flies on unrelenting wing.

Fortune, who joys perverſe in mortal woe,
Still frolicking with cruel play,
Now may on me her giddy ſmile beſtow,
Now wanton to another ſtray.

If conſtant, I careſs her, if ſhe flies
On fickle plumes, farewel her charms!
All dower I wave (ſave what good fame ſupplies),
And wrap my ſoul in Freedom's arms.

'Tis not for me to ſhrink with mean Deſpair,
Favour's proud ſhip ſhould whirlwinds toſs;
Nor venal idols ſooth with bart'ring prayer,
To ſhield from wreck opprobrious droſs.

'Midſt all the tumults of the warring ſphere,
My light-charged bark may haply glide;
Some gale may waft, ſome conſcious thought ſhall cheer,
And the ſmall freight unanxious glide.

WILLIAM PITT."
1750.

Extract from " MATILDA, *or the* DYING PENITENT; *A poetical Epiſtle,*
By GEORGE RICHARDS, *M. A. Fellow of Oriel College.*"

HOW bleſs'd the hours the ſpotleſs maiden knows!
To her the ſtream of life unruffled flows;
Domeſtic ſweets her blameleſs day beguile;
She wakes on every face the willing ſmile;
Sweet on her ear paternal bleſſings ſound;
Her artleſs mirth at morning meal goes round:
Stranger to guile, unbroken yet by woe,
Nor taught that ſorrow is our lot below,
She fondly hangs on Hope's enchanting themes,
And ſoothes her fancy with romantic dreams.
Ah, happy days! remember'd with a tear,
In abſence, in affliction, doubly dear;
Back to your charms how oft my fancy flew,
Each pictur'd ſcene ruſh'd glowing on the view,
Dear was the ſpot with peaceful foreſts ſpread,
Where lonely mountains lift their ſhadowy head,
Where glide the waters through ſequeſter'd plains,
And ſolitude in awful grandeur reigns.
How oft I wiſh'd with peace a ſtranger gueſt,
With ſolemn calm, and melancholy reſt,
To roam, to muſe along your gloomy glades,
To ſoothe my ſpirits in embowering ſhades,
On banks of ſolitary ſtreams to ſtray,
Veil'd by the peaceful gloom of parting day,
Or touch the harp, beneath the darkſome pine,
To ſome poor mourner's ſorrowings, ſad as mine.
Thou venerable pile, to pity dear,
Friend to diſtreſs, when not a friend is near,
O had I reſted in thy quiet cells!
There Peace hath fix'd her ſeat, there Virtue dwells.
Oh hark! 'tis Mercy lifts her voice, and calls:
" Come, hopeleſs wanderers, to theſe tranquil walls;
" Where'er ye roam, by dark deſpondence preſs'd,
" Here is your home at laſt; O come, and reſt;
" Here guilt is known no more; here ſorrows ceaſe;
" Come, children of Deſpair, and be at peace."
Like ſofteſt muſic to the liſtening ear,
Flow the celeſtial ſounds; the hopeleſs hear;
They come; they melt in penitence; they pray;
They hear of Heaven, and tread the glorious way.
Red o'er their cheeks repentant bluſhes glow,
And warm the tears of deep contrition flow:
Meek Modeſty her angel grace reſumes,
And Joy's returning light the face illumes:

Bright Hope diffuſes her celeſtial rays,
And Faith the gleam of opening Heaven diſplays:
Deſcending ſpirits lend their guiding care,
Prompt every ſigh, and breathe in every prayer.
When ſacred ſongs the riſing boſom fire,
And glowing fervours all the ſoul inſpire,
Hymns of delight are harp'd by ſaints above,
And God himſelf approves the work of love.
Ah ſacred pile! thy joys for others ſhine:
Severer toils and heavier fates are mine.
I pour in ſolitary gloom the ſigh;
I weep unſeen, unviſited I die.
No holy prieſt my dying vow receives;
No whiſper'd hope my ſadden'd heart relieves;
Forlorn I die; and to the ſilent air,
Heave my laſt groan, and breathe my parting prayer.
Ah whence that plaint? does no conſoling power
Upbear thy ſpirit in this awful hour?
Like the falſe world, does Hope deſert thy breaſt?
Has dark Deſpondence all thy ſoul oppreſs'd?
Ah no! to happier worlds, to brighter ſkies,
The fainting, trembling, ſtruggling ſpirit flies:
There all is quiet, there the afflicted reſt,
And there at length the penitent is bleſs'd.
Farewel, thou world, whoſe dreary round contains
Weak fleeting joys and ever-during pains;
Farewel Remorſe, Regret, Diſmay, Deſpair;
Farewel the human face, and human care.
I go, I go; my ſoul is on the wing:
Bear, bear me, angels, to your heavenly King;
Where ſtreaming joys from viewleſs glory flow,
And purer forms with circling radiance glow.
Though guilt hath ſullied my immortal mind,
Obſcur'd my nature, and diſgrac'd my kind,
Yet is not all the glorious work debas'd;
The Maker's image is not quite effac'd.
Thou high Almighty Power! to whom alone
The muſing heart and ſilent thought are known,
From a ſad world to Thee my flight I bend,
My God! my Father! Comforter! and Friend!
May my hard wrongs, repentance, tortures, fears,
My agonizing groans, my bitter tears,
Thy riſing anger charm, thy mercy ſway,
Atone my guilt, and waſh my ſtains away:
Parent of good, repoſe at length beſtow,
And grant that mercy, Man denies below.

‘ODE ON A COLLEGE FEAST-DAY.

[*From Academical Contributions of Original and Tranſlated Poetry.*]

‘HARK! heard you not thoſe footſteps dread,
That ſhook the hall with thundering tread?
With eager haſte
The fellows paſt;
Each, intent on direful work,
High lifts the trenchant knife, and points the deadly fork.

‘But lo! the portals ope; and, pacing forth
With ſteps, alas! too ſlow,
The College Gyps, of high illuſtrious worth,
With all the diſhes in long order go.
In the midſt, a form divine,
Appears the famed ſirloin;
And lo! with plumbs and ſteaming glory crown'd,
A mighty pudding ſpreads its fragrance all around.
Heard ye the din of dinner bray;
Knife to fork, and fork to knife!
Unnumber'd heroes, in the glorious ſtrife,
Thro' fiſh, fleſh, pies, and puddings cut their deſtin'd way.

‘See! beneath the glittering blade,
Gored with many a gaping wound,
Low the fam'd ſirloin is laid,
And ſinks in many a gulf profound.
‘Ariſe! ariſe! ye ſons of glory!
Pies and puddings are before ye.
See! the ghoſts of hungry bellies
Point to yonder ſtand of jellies;
While ſuch dainties are beſide ye,
Snatch the goods the cooks provide ye,
Mighty rulers of the ſtate,
Snatch, before it is too late;
For, ſwift as thought, the puddings, jellies, pies,
Contract their giant bulk, and ſhrink to pigmy ſize.

‘From the table now retreating,
All around the fire they meet,
And with wine the ſons of eating
Crown at length the gorgeous treat.
Triumphant Plenty's roſy graces
Wanton in their jolly faces,
And in each countenance ſerene
Mirth and cheerfulneſs are ſeen.

Fill high the ſparkling glaſs,
And drink the accuſtomed toaſt!
Drink deep, ye valiant hoſt,
And let the bottle paſs.
Begin the jovial ſtrain!
Fill, fill the myſtic bowl!
And drink, and drink, and drink again,
For drinking fires the ſoul.
But ſoon, too ſoon, with one accord they nod;
Each on his ſeat begins to reel,
All conquering Bacchus' power they feel,
And pour libations to the roſy god.
At length with dinner and with wine oppreſt,
Down to the floor they ſink, and ſnore themſelves to reſt. B.

ADDRESS, *ſpoken by Mrs.* Siddons, *at her Benefit, and written by* Sam. Rogers, *Eſq. Author of The* Pleasures *of* Memory.

YES, 'tis the pulſe of life! my fears were vain!
I wake, I breathe, and am myſelf again;
Still in this nether world! no ſeraph yet!
Nor walks my ſpirit when the ſun is ſet,
With troubled ſtep to haunt the fatal board,
Where I died laſt—by poiſon or the ſword;
And blanch each honeſt cheek with deeds of night,
Done here ſo oft by dim and doubtful light.

—To drop all metaphor, that little bell
Call'd back reality and broke the ſpell.
No heroine claims your tears with tragic tone;
A very woman—ſcarce reſtrains her own!
Can ſhe, with fiction, charm the cheated mind,
When to be grateful is the part aſſign'd?
Ah, no! ſhe ſcorns the trappings of her art;
No theme but truth, no prompter but the heart.

But, ladies, ſay, muſt I alone unmaſk,
Is here no other actreſs? let me aſk.
Believe me, thoſe who beſt the heart diſſect,
Know every woman ſtudies ſtage-effect:
She moulds her manners to the parts ſhe fills,
As inſtinct teaches, or as humour wills;
And, as the grave or gay her talent calls,
Acts in the drama till the curtain falls.

First, how her little breaſt with triumph ſwells,
When the red coral rings its ſilver bells!
To play in pantomime is then the rage
Along the carpet's many colour'd ſtage;
Or liſp her merry thoughts with loud endeavour,
Now here, now there,—in noiſe and miſchief ever!

A ſchool girl next, ſhe curls her hair in papers,
And mimics father's gout and mother's vapours;
Diſcards her doll, bribes Betty for romances;
Playful at church, and ſerious when ſhe dances;
Tramples alike on cuſtoms and on toes,
And whiſpers all ſhe hears to all ſhe knows;
Terror of caps and wigs and ſober notions!
A romp! that longeſt of perpetual motions!
—Till tam'd and tortur'd into foreign graces,
She ſports her lovely face at public places;
And with blue, laughing eyes, behind her fan,
Firſt acts her part with that great actor, Man.

Too ſoon a flirt, approach her and ſhe flies,
Frowns when purſu'd, and, when intreated, ſighs!
Plays with unhappy men as cats with mice;
Till fading beauty hints the late advice.
Her prudence dictates what her pride diſdain'd,
And now ſhe ſues to ſlaves herſelf had chain'd.

Then comes that good old character a wife,
With all the dear, diſtracting cares of life;
A thouſand cards a-day at doors to leave,
And in return a thouſand cards receive.
Rouge high, play deep, to lead the ton aſpire,
With nightly blaze ſet Portland-place on fire;
Snatch half a glimpſe at Concert, Opera, Ball,
A Meteor trac'd by none, tho' ſeen by all;
And when her ſhatter'd nerves forbid to roam,
In very ſpleen—rehearſe the girl at home.

Laſt the grey dowager, in ancient flounces,
With ſnuff and ſpectacles the age denounces;
Boaſts how the Sires of this degenerate Iſle
Knelt for a look and duel'd for a ſmile;
The ſcourge and ridicule of Goth and Vandal,
Her tea ſhe ſweetens, as ſhe ſips, with ſcandal;
With modern belles eternal warfare wages,
Like her own birds that clamour from their cages;
And ſhuffles round to bear her tale to all,
Like ſome old ruin, "nodding to its fall."

Thus woman makes her entrance and her exit,
Then moſt an actreſs when ſhe leaſt ſuſpects it.
Each leſſon loſt, each poor pretence forgot;
Yet nature oft peeps out and mars the plot;
Full oft, with energy that ſcorns control,
At once lights up the features of the ſoul;
Unlocks each thought chain'd down by coward art,
And to full day the latent paſſions ſtart!

But ſhe, whoſe firſt beſt wiſh is your applauſe,
Herſelf exemplifies the truth ſhe draws.
Born on the ſtage—thro' every ſhifting ſcene,
Obſcure or bright, tempeſtuous or ſerene,
Still has your ſmile her trembling ſpirit fir'd!
And can ſhe act, with thoughts like theſe inſpir'd?
Thus from her mind all artifice ſhe flings,
All ſkill, all practice, now unmeaning things;
To you, uncheck'd, each genuine feeling flows,
For all that life endears—to you ſhe owes.

" ODE TO A SPIDER.

[*From Eſſays, Tales, and Poems. By* T. S. NORGATE.]

" TENANT of the haunted tow'r!
While ſome to Philomela's plaintive note
Or the gay warbling of the linnet's throat
Their tuneful ſonnets pour;
An humbler taſk be left to me—
One ſimple ſong to welcome thee!
" Say—wilt thou weave thy trembling woof
In yon ſnug corner of my roof?
Or doſt thou fear leſt ſome nefarious elf
Deſtroy thy little cottage—or thyſelf?
Ah, no! I'll watch thee with a tender care,
And feed thee with a lib'ral fare;
Smile thy lonely hours away,
And gladden thy neglected day;
At night too, when from labour free,
I'll move my chair and chat with thee!
Or thou ſhalt crawl thy merrieſt pace
To come and ſpin before my face;
Then if I ſee thee tired, and linger,
Thou ſhalt ride back upon my finger;
At night too, thou ſhalt reſt upon my bed;
To keep the little flies off from my head.

But mark—thou ſhalt not hurt a ſingle ſoul—
For why ſhould theſe poor harmleſs creatures die?
Why haſt thou no compaſſion on a fly?
Then let their life, like thine, uninjur'd roll!

" Friend of my poverty! welcome to my board,
Here ſhare the food my ſimple meals afford.
While man forſakes his brother in diſtreſs,
To court the vain magnificence of dreſs;
Turns from the cottage to the palace door,
Fawns to the rich, and proudly ſpurns the poor;
Neglected inſect! thou art pleas'd to dwell
In ſome lone crevice of the captive's cell;
To lift the unavailing ſigh,
And drink the tear from Mis'ry's eye;
In ſolemn ſympathy, to hear
The hollow murmurs of Deſpair;
Thou ſhun'ſt the gay and gaudy crowd,
The ſplendid manſion of the proud,
To cheer the wight, whoſe humbler lot
Hath doom'd him—tenant of a cot.

" Then live with me—nor ſhalt thou fear
The hand of 'hard unkindneſs' here;
No fairy band ſhall here reſort,
To fright thee with their midnight ſport;
No ſullen ghoſt with angry creſt
Shall rob thee of thy wonted reſt;
But in the winter's deadly ſtorm
I'll light my little fire to keep thee warm;
Often my loved Eliza too
Shall come and aſk you how you do;
Thus we'll ſpin the hours along,
Thou thy web, and I my ſong."

THE PURSUIT OF HEALTH.

[*From* MISCELLANIES. *By the Rev.* W. BELOE.]

ONE April morn, reclin'd in bed,
Juſt at the hour when dreams are true,
A fairy form approach'd my head,
Smiling beneath her mantle blue.

'Fie, fie,' ſhe cried, 'why ſleep ſo long,
When ſhe, the nymph you dearly love,

Now roves the vernal flowers among,
And waits for you in yonder grove?

'Hark! you may hear her cherub voice:
The voice of Health is ſweet and clear;
Yes, you may hear the birds rejoice
In ſymphony her arbour near.'

I roſe, and haſten'd to the grove,
With eager ſteps and anxious mind;
I roſe the elfin's truth to prove,
And hop'd the promis'd nymph to find.

My fairy took me by the hand,
And cheerfully we ſtepp'd along;
She ſtopp'd but on the new-plough'd land,
To hear the ruſſet woodlark's ſong.

We reach'd the grove—I look'd around,
My fairy was no longer near;
But of her voice I knew the ſound,
As thus ſhe whiſper'd in my ear:

'The Nymph, fair Health, you came to find
Within theſe precincts loves to dwell;
Her breath now fills the balmy wind;
This path will lead you to her cell.'

I bended to the primroſe low,
And aſk'd, if health might there reſide?
'She left me,' ſaid the flower, 'but now,
For yonder violet's purple pride.'

I queſtion'd next the violet queen,
Where buxom health was to be found?
She told me, that ſhe late was ſeen
With cowſlips toying on the ground.

Then thrice I kiſs'd the cowſlips, pale,
And in their dew-drops bath'd my face;
I told them all my tender tale,
And begg'd their aid coy health to trace.

'From us,' exclaim'd a lowly flower,
'The nymph has many a day been gone;
But now ſhe reſts within the bower
Where yonder hawthorn blooms alone.'

Quick to that bower I ran, I flew,
And yet no Nymph I there could find;
But freſh the breeze of morning blew,
And Spring was gay, and Flora kind.

If I return'd ſedate and ſlow,
What if the Nymph I could not ſee?
The bluſh that paſs'd along my brow
Was proof of her divinity.

And ſtill her votary to prove,
And ſtill her dulcet ſmiles to ſhare,
I'll tread the fields, I'll haunt the grove,
With untir'd ſteps and fondeſt care.

O ſprite belov'd! vouchſafe to give
A boon, a precious boon to me;
Within thy influence let me live,
And ſometimes too thy beauties ſee.

So ſhall the Muſe, in nobler verſe,
And ſtrength renew'd, exulting ſing;
Thy praiſe, thy charms, thy power rehearſe,
And ſweep, with bolder hand, the ſtring.

THE WISH.

[*From* POEMS *by* ROBERT LOVELL, *and* ROBERT SOUTHEY.]

THE Muſe who ſtruck to moral ſtrains the lyre,
Now turns to court a viſionary theme,
To frame the wiſh which flattering hopes inſpire,
When Fancy revels in her golden dream.

I aſk no lone retreat, no ſhady grove;
Nor grove nor bower can boaſt a charm for me;
I muſe on Juſtice, Liberty, and Love;
And, need I, Orſon! tell my wiſh to thee?

I bend, great Juſtice! at thine awful throne,
Eternal arbiter of good and ill:
The ſons of ſoul ſhall make thy laws their own,
And form their dictates by thy ſov'reign will.

But oft perverted is thy high beheſt,
And oft I'm doom'd Oppreſſion's rod to ſee;
To ſee wealth triumph, and the poor oppreſt,
And, need I, Orſon! tell my wiſh to thee?

How bounds the ſoul at Freedom's ſacred call!
How ſhrinks from Slavery's heart-appalling train!
But ſtill her victims Avarice will inthral;
Afric's ſad ſons ſtill wear the accurſed chain.

Still, power deſpotic, with ambition join'd,
Would cruſh the ſoul determin'd to be free;
I ſee debas'd man's dignity of mind,
And, need I, Orſon! tell my wiſh to thee?

Were Juſtice follow'd, then would man be good,
Were Freedom guarded, then would man be bleſt;
No generous impulſe of the ſoul ſubdu'd,
But love, unfraught with anguiſh, fill the breaſt.

I felt the magic of Lucinda's eye,
I thought her charms were of no mean degree;
Lucinda's name inſpir'd the ſecret ſigh,
And, need I, Orſon! tell my wiſh to thee?

One only wiſh remain'd! oh! might I find,
Amid this ſcene of danger and of ſtrife,
Some kindred ſpirit, ſome congenial mind,
To cheer my journey through the vale of life.

Indulgent Heaven vouchſaf'd the boon to ſend,
A youth I found, and juſt and mild was he;
My heart ſprang mutual to embrace its friend,
And need I, Orſon! name that friend to thee?

ROBERT LOVELL.

SONNET, *from the Italian of* LORENZO *de* MEDICI.

[*From The Life of* LORENZO *de* MEDICI. *By* W. ROSCOE, *Eſq.*]

SEEK he who will in grandeur to be bleſt,
Place in proud halls and ſplendid courts his joy;
For pleaſure, or for gold, his arts employ,
Whilſt all his hours unnumber'd cares moleſt—

A little field in native flowerets dreſt,
A rivulet in ſoft murmurs gliding by,
A bird, whoſe love-ſick ſong ſalutes the ſky,
With ſweeter magic lull my cares to reſt.
And ſhadowy woods, and rocks, and towering hills,
And caves obſcure, and Nature's free-born train,
And ſome lone Nymph that timorous ſpeeds along,
Each in my mind ſome gentle thought inſtils,
Of thoſe bright eyes which abſence ſhrouds in vain;
Oh gentle thoughts! ſoon loſt the city cares among.

LINES, *from the Italian of* LORENZO *de* MEDICI,

[*From the ſame.*]

DEAR are thoſe bonds my willing heart that bind,
Form'd of three cords, in myſtic union twin'd;
The firſt by Beauty's roſy fingers wove,
The next by Pity, and the third by Love.
—The hour that gave this wondrous texture birth,
Saw, in ſweet union, heaven, and air, and earth;
Serene and ſoft, all Ether breath'd delight,
The ſun diffus'd a mild and temper'd light;
New leaves the trees, ſweet flowers adorn'd the mead,
A ſparkling river guſh'd along the glade.
Repos'd on Jove's own breaſt, his favourite child,
The Cyprian queen, beheld the ſcene, and ſmil'd;
Then with both hands, from her ambroſial head,
And amorous breaſt, a ſhower of roſes ſhed;
The heavenly ſhower decending ſoft and ſlow,
Pour'd all its fragrance on my fair below,
Whilſt all benign the ruler of the ſpheres,
To ſounds celeſtial open'd mortal ears.

SONNETS.

[*From* MONTALBERT, *a Novel. By Mrs.* C. SMITH.]

THE night flood rakes upon the ſtony ſhore,
Along the rugged cliffs, and chalky caves,
Mourns the hoarſe ocean, ſeeming to deplore
All that lies buried in his reſtleſs waves.

Mined by corroſive tides, the hollow rock
  Falls prone, and ruſhing from its turfy height,
Shakes the broad beach, with long reſounding ſhock,
  Loud thundering on the ear of ſullen night.
Above the deſolate and ſtormy deep
  Gleams the wan moon by floating miſts oppreſs'd;
Yet here, while youth, and health, and labour ſleep,
  Alone I wander;—calm, untroubled reſt,
  Nature's ſoft nurſe, deſerts the ſigh-ſwollen breaſt,
And flies the wretch who only "wakes to weep!"

SWIFT fleet the billowy clouds along the ſky,
  Earth ſeems to ſhudder at the ſtorm aghaſt;
While only beings as forlorn as I
  Court the chill horrors of the howling blaſt.
Even round yon crumbling walls, in ſearch of food,
  The ravenous owl foregoes his evening flight;
And, in his cave, within the deepeſt wood,
  The fox eludes the tempeſt of the night.
But, to my heart, congenial is the gloom
  Which hides me from a world I wiſh to ſhun;
That ſcene where ruin ſaps the mouldering tomb,
  Suits with the ſadneſs of a wretch undone;
Nor is the darkeſt ſhade, the keeneſt air,
Black as my fate, or cold as my deſpair.

Extract from "PRIVATE LIFE," *a Moral Rhapſody, by* HENRY MOORE.

WHEN the ſun, ſunk beneath his watery bed,
  Yet gilds with dying gleams the mountain head,
And yet the clouds retain a crimſon glow,
That faintly bluſhes on the lake below,
While ſober Cynthia lifts her ſolemn beam,
With luſtre quivering on the ſparkling ſtream,
And with a radiant band of ſilver light
Inwreathes the jetty treſſes of the night;
Then Contemplation, ſweet ecſtatic maid!
I ſeek thy mild, thy care-compoſing aid,
Amid the moſs-clad walls and rooſleſs aiſle
Of yon lone abbey's venerable pile,
Whoſe towers, by Time's relentleſs hand o'erthrown,
Lie low with ivy and with thorn o'ergrown.
There Superſtition, Ignorance's child,
Once dream'd her dreams, and ſaw her viſions wild,

Her

Her aves mutter'd and her beads retold,
And bow'd to ſilver ſaints and ſhrines of gold,
With holy dread the darkſome cloiſters trod,
And offer'd living victims to her God.
There by the glimmering lamp, the pale-ey'd maid
Sobb'd as ſhe ſung, and trembled as ſhe pray'd;
Severe religion, paſſion unrepreſs'd,
Like meeting currents ſtruggling in her breaſt:
In youth's enlivening warmth, in beauty's bloom,
Betray'd to ceaſeleſs ſolitude and gloom,
She bade the world adieu—oh, vows, how vain!
While ſtubborn Nature ſtill maintain'd her reign.
Still fond affection heav'd the hopeleſs ſigh,
And tears too tender gliſten'd in her eye.
No more are heard the vocal walls along,
The deep-ton'd organ or the matin ſong,
Nor midnight bell, whoſe ſlow and ſolemn toll
Sent a chill horror thro' the ſhuddering ſoul;
All ſilent now—ſave when thro' ruins hoar,
And hollow-ſounding cells, the rude winds roar;
Save the lone owl that hoots her dirges ſhrill,
And the hoarſe muſic of the murmuring rill.
  There moping Melancholy loves to come,
And ſadly pore upon the time-worn tomb;
Brooding on grief, ſhe ſits in trance profound,
Nor Superſtition yet has left the ground;
Strange ſhapes, 'tis ſaid, the village maid affright,
And doleful ſounds are heard at dead of night;
Pale ghoſts amid the nodding piles are ſeen,
Flit o'er the walls and gleam athwart the green;
There hags, 'tis thought, their works of horror ply,
And the ſwain trembles, as he haſtens by.
  Among the mouldring aiſles I muſing go,
Wandering with ſolitary ſteps and ſlow;
Far from the ſenſeleſs clamours of the crowd,
Far from the inſulting ſplendour of the proud;
No ſmile of friendſhip feign'd, no gilded care,
No lip of ſcorn, no laugh of folly there:
The ſolemn ſcenes around, and ſilent hour,
Calm the wild paſſions with myſterious power,
Mild awe diffuſing, and the heart impreſs
With a ſoft, ſad, but pleaſing penſiveneſs;
Sublimely painting to the mental eye
The wreck of time, and man's mortality.
At once the world's deluſive ſpell is o'er,
Her glittering vanities can charm no more:

Far nobler themes invite, enlarg'd, refin'd,
That ſuit th' immortal dignity of mind;
Powerful the ſtubborn paſſions to control,
And give new ſtrength and energy to Soul.
Above all ſublunary ſcenes I riſe,
With ardent hope, high-ſoaring to the ſkies;
With Conſcience now, my guardian genius talk;
And meet my GOD along the lonely walk;
To the firſt beauty bid my thoughts aſpire,
And from his glories catch a kindred fire.

From the Greek of LEONIDAS *of* TARENTUM.

[*From Poetical Tranſlations.* *By* GILBERT WAKEFIELD, *B. A.*]

AH! dear hapleſs boy, art thou gone?
  Sole ſupport of my languiſhing years!
Haſt thou left thy fond mother alone
  To wear out life's evening in tears?

To forſake me thus old and forlorn,
  Ere thy youth had attain'd its gay bloom!
Thy ſun was ſcarce riſen at morn,
  When it ſet in the night of the tomb.

Alas! the freſh beam of the day
  Happy mortals with thankfulneſs ſee;
But I ſicken, O Sun! at thy ray:
  It brings ſadneſs and wailing to me!

Oh! might the dear child but return!
  From deſpair his loſt mother to ſave!
Or might I but ſhare in his urn!
  Might I flee in his arms to the grave!

Account of Books, for 1795.

The Hiſtory of Great Britain, connected with the Chronology of Europe: with notes, &c. containing anecdotes of the times, lives of the learned, and ſpecimens of their works. By James Pettit Andrews, *F. A. S. 4to. Two parts.*

THE plan of writing hiſtory, which, in the work before us, has been adopted, enlarged and improved by Mr. Andrews, was firſt brought into uſe by the literati of France. The way was led by the preſident Henault, whoſe elegant and luminous work received from Voltaire a more than ordinary ſhare of praiſe. The hiſtory of Spain was executed, under his inſpection, from a ſketch drawn up by himſelf. Germany found a hiſtorian in the laborious and accurate Pfeffel, the northern kingdoms in Lacombe, and Italy in the voluminous St. Marc, the latter of whom was, however, prevented, by death, from completing his deſign. Other writers, of leſs note than thoſe we have mentioned, employed their pens on the annals of the other European ſtates.

In England, Mr. Andrews is, we believe, the firſt writer who has given to the public a hiſtory on the plan of the preſident Henault. Mr. Andrews, however, is not a mere imitator. He has greatly enlarged and improved the plan of his illuſtrious predeceſſor, by connecting the chronology of Europe with the hiſtory of Great Britain, and thus preſenting to the reader, at one view, the contemporary events of various nations. This is accompliſhed by printing on one page the Engliſh annals, and on the correſponding page thoſe of other countries.

The deſign of the author will be beſt explained in his own words. "The hiſtory of England," ſays he, "is meant to be conciſely told, yet not ſo briefly, as to have any material circumſtances omitted.

"The correſponding page of general chronology is extended, on the ſame ſyſtem, to comprehend the annals of every European ſtate, and only wanders into the other quarters of the globe, when tempted by circumſtances cloſely connected with the intereſt of Europe; ſuch as the cruſades, the conteſt between the eaſtern empire and the Turks, or the diſcovery and colonization of America.

"The notes are intended to contain events of an inferior claſs; which, although not foreign to the text, are yet not neceſſary to be intruded on thoſe who read only for ſolid information. To each book, except to the firſt, are added two appendixes. The one tells ſuch incidents as could not properly be thrown into the notes; relates the life of every diſtinguiſhed Britiſh writer, includes a ſpecimen of his works, if poetical; and thus becomes a chronicle of Britiſh literature. The other preſents an analyſis of the times, and their manners, under the reſpective heads of Religion, Government, &c. &c. The table of royal deſcent placed before each book to which it relates, will, it is preſumed, be both of uſe and amuſement."

The period comprehended in the volumes of Mr. Andrews extends from the landing of Julius Cæſar to the death of Henry the eighth. But the hiſtory cannot properly be ſaid to commence before the year 800, as the events which preceded that epoch are only ſlightly touched upon in an introductory ſketch. With the acceſſion of Egbert to the throne of Weſſex begins the detailed narrative of Engliſh and foreign affairs. The narrative is divided into five books; the firſt of which brings it down to the Norman invaſion, the ſecond to the cloſe of king John's reign, the third to the acceſſion of Henry of Lancaſter, the fourth to the fall of Richard at Boſworth, and the fifth to the demiſe of Henry the eighth, in the year 1547.

The outline ſketched by Mr. Andrews, and which we have quoted, he has filled up with great taſte and judgment. He appears to have neglected no ſource whence information, any way connected with his ſubject, could be drawn. His reading has indeed evidently been multifarious; and he has brought it to bear upon, and illuſtrate, his work with a more than common felicity. Few books can be named which contain at once as much amuſement blended with inſtruction as does his hiſtory of Great Britain. Motives, actions, and characters he ſcrutinizes and delineates with conſiderable ſhrewdneſs, clearneſs and ſtrength. His ſtyle is ſometimes, though not frequently, too epigrammatic; but, in general it is terſe, neat, ſpirited. In a few, and only a few inſtances, he falls into the error of uſing French words and idioms.

From the hiſtorical narrative, where ſo much depends on the connection of parts, it would be difficult to extract an inſulated paſſage which would enable the reader to do juſtice to the talents of the author. Specimens may more eaſily and properly be given from the appendixes, where the various ſubjects, as "Agri-"culture," "Laws," &c. naturally take ſomething of the form of ſeparate and independent eſſays or diſſertations. Under the head of "Anti-"quities," in our preſent volume, we have already inſerted Mr. Andrews's account of "Laws and Go-"vernment," during the reigns of the Tudors. We ſhall now copy his ſketch of "Education and Litera-"ture" in England, from the time when Egbert aſcended the throne to that when the laſt Henry cloſed his capricious and tyrannical career. This article we chuſe to give, not becauſe it is better executed than others, but, becauſe its length is ſuch as will admit of our laying before the reader the whole of what Mr. Andrews has written on ſo intereſting a ſubject.

FIRST PERIOD. 800 to 1066.

'A period,' ſays Baronius, ſpeaking of the ninth and tenth centuries, 'which for barbarity and profligacy may be compared to iron,' and, for blindneſs and ignorance, 'may be ſtyled, "the age of darkneſs."'

The prelates ſet examples of the moſt groſs want of common literature.

Meinhard,

Meinhard, biſhop of Paderborn, uſed to read in the ſervice of the church, 'Benedic, Domine, regibus & reginis, mulis & mulabus tuis:' inſtead of 'famulis & famulabus.'—*Leibnitz. Col. Scr. Brunſw.*

It was but a very little before this period that Rome herſelf could only produce ſuch Latin as the following: 'ut inter eis diſſenſio fiat, et diviſis inveniantur.' 'Una cum omnes benebentani,' &c.—*Muratori.*

England, in this period of darkneſs, produced ſome rays of intellectual light.

Bede in particular, (ſtyled 'The Venerable') who flouriſhed in the eighth century, had been named 'the Wiſe Saxon,' and is believed to have compriſed, in the eight folio volumes which he publiſhed, the whole body of knowledge which his age afforded.

The library of Egbert, archbiſhop of York, (nearly a contemporary of Bede) deſerves notice. Alcuinus, (who was his pupil) has left a catalogue of the books in not inelegant Latin verſe. He names the fathers; Victorinus and Boeticus; Pompeius Trogus (of whom we have only Juſtin's abridgment); Pliny; Ariſtotle; Tully; &c. Among the Latin poets we find only Virgil, Statius, Lucan, and Prudentius (1). *Alcuin. de Pontific. apud Gale.*

The ſame Alcuinus, who is ſuppoſed to have been abbot of Canterbury, was for his wit and learning tempted by Charlemagne to leave his native iſle and reſide in his more poliſhed court. His letters to that great prince are extant; in one of them, he preſſes him to ſend young gentlemen over from Germany and France to be educated at the excellent ſchools of England.—*Alc: Epiſt.*

Great as Charlemagne undoubtedly was, he could not write his own name.

Somewhere about the middle of the eighth century a diviſion of the ſeven liberal ſciences firſt took place; grammar, rhetoric and logic, were the trivii, muſic, arithmetic, geometry, and aſtronomy, 'the quadrivii.' The barbarous diſtich below is of conſiderable antiquity. (2)

Soon after burſt forth that torrent of armed ignorance and brutality from the north, which ſwept away ſchools, ſchoolmen and ſcholars, in one huge maſs of ruin.

The virtuous and wiſe Alfred (who mounted the Engliſh throne in 872) was deeply learned; and to the utmoſt of his power promoted the revival of literature. His biographer Aſſer, and the ſtill more particular antiquary Rous, ſpeak largely of his foundations and edifices. But, although his ſon Edward and his grandſon Athelſtan purſued the ſame track, yet the ſparks of ſcience were ſoon extinguiſhed by the repeated floods of barbariſm from Denmark and Norway.

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(1) How vaſt the coſt of ſuch a library muſt have been we may gueſs, when we are told that Aldfrid, king of Northumberland, gave to Benedict Biſcop (a learned prieſt who had travelled to Rome to collect MSS.) a large landed eſtate for one book only.—*Bede.*

And how great muſt the loſs of this curious collection have been to the world. It periſhed by fire in 1069, when the Norman garriſon burnt the ſuburbs of York to prevent the approach of the Danes and the Northumbrians.—*S. Dunelm.*

It was ſome years after this, that a counteſs of Anjou gave two hundred ſheep and a large parcel of rich furs for a book of homilies.—*Henault.*

(2) 'Gramm. loquitur, Dia*. vera docet, Rhet. verba colorat,
'Mus. canit, Ar. numerat, Geo. ponderat, Aſt. colit aſtra.'
* Dialectica, ſynonymous to Logic.

IMITATED.

Gramm. rules the ſpeech; Log. truth doth teach;
Rhet. words with wit ſupplies;
Mus. chaunts her lays; Ar. counts; Geo. weighs;
Aſt. ponders on the ſkies.

In all the tenth (and moſt part of the eleventh) century, England ſeems only to have produced one remarkable learned man (for the hyperboles of the monks have rendered the literary character of St. Dunſtan queſtionable) and he is but little and confuſedly known. Elfric was his name; he ſtudied under Ethelwold, biſhop of Winton, and was ſtyled 'The Grammarian,' from his having written a grammar of the Latin tongue: two volumes of homilies in MS. tranſlated by Elfric from Latin into the Saxon language, are known to be extant: Cerne in Dorſetſhire was the ſcene of his ſtudies. The few others, who have in any degree illuminated the gloom of theſe obſcure times, will be noticed as the hiſtory proceeds. But Gerbert (who from a low origin became, in 999, Pope under the name of Sylveſter II.) deſerves a particular record, as it is to his experience, gained by travel and long reſidence among foreign nations) that our arithmetic owes the uſe of the Saracen numerals.—*W. of Malmſb.*

Algebra (by numbers) was invented about the middle of the tenth age by Geber or by Mahomet Moſes, an Arabian. Literal Algebra was of much later date.

Among the various diſcouragements which literature was obliged to encounter in this ill-fated period may be reckoned the extreme ſcarcity of materials for writing, a ſtrong proof (3) of this is that many of the MSS. of the tenth and eleventh centuries are written on parchment from which older works (perhaps decades of Livy) have been eraſed. —*Muratori.*

SECOND PERIOD. 1066 to 1216.

The univerſities (4) of Oxford and Cambridge could do little in the eleventh century for the improvement of learning. They had been burnt and plundered by Dane and Norman ſucceſſively. By the domeſday book there appeared to be, in 1086, only 243 inhabitants in Oxford; and, in 1141, king Stephen reduced all that was left of the city to aſhes. Cambridge ſeems, if we may judge from the account of its revival in 1109, told by the continuator of Ingulphus, to have been reduced to equal extremities. About the beginning of the thirteenth century however theſe ſiſter ſeminaries flouriſhed again. Oxford in 1214 had about 4,000 members, according to the accurate Anthony á Wood; nor was Cambridge (when Peter de Blois wrote) leſs fortunate; but in the diſturbances under the deſpotic John, it had the misfortune to be obnoxious alternately to each party, and conſequently to be pillaged by both.

Beſides the univerſities there were

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(3) For want of parchment to draw the deeds upon, great eſtates were frequently conveyed from one family to another only by the ceremony of a turf and a ſtone delivered before witneſſes, and without any written agreement.—*Ingulphus.*

(4) Theſe ſeats of literature were firſt called 'Studia' or Studies. Nor until the cloſe of the twelfth century were they ſtyled Univerſities.—*Brompton. Ant. à Wood.*

in England many celebrated nurſeries for literature. Almoſt every cathedral and every convent or abbey afforded a ſchool. Thoſe who were to be monks were peculiarly inſtructed in the art of writing and ornamenting manuſcripts; beſides which, at the larger abbeys were taught rhetoric, theology and phyſic, together with the civil and canon law. At many cities and towns were academies (5) or great ſchools; and we are told by Fitz Stephens there were three ‘illuſtrious ſchools’ beſides inferior ones; nor does the account which he gives of theſe and of their method of examination, tend to their diſcredit on a compariſon with thoſe of modern eſtabliſhments.—*Deſcrn. of London.*

The jews had ſchools of their own in London, York, Lincoln, and many other cities. Their moſt learned rabbis officiated as teachers; and the oriental languages, arithmetic and medicine were particularly attended to at each of them. In the laſt ſcience theſe perſecuted people were ſingularly ſkilful. None of theſe ſchools were ſhut againſt any chriſtians who might wiſh that their children might partake of the inſtructions (6).—*M. Paris, &c.*

If the Anglo-Norman gentleman wiſhed

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(5) At St. Albans was a much celebrated academy, highly commended by M. Paris. At the ſame place was the abbey, of which Alexander Neckam (a little after this period) ſpeaks with elegant affection.

‘Hic locus ætatis noſtræ primordia novit,
Annos felices, lætitiæque dies.
Hic locus ingenuis pueriles imbuit annos
Artibus, et noſtræ laudis origo fuit.
Hic artes didici, docuiq. fideliter; inde
Acceſſit ſtudio lectio ſacra meo.
Audivi canones, Hippocratem cum Gallieno;
Jus civile mihi diſplicuiſſe neges.

IMITATED.

’Twas here my youth’s gay hours ſtole away,
And reſt, the night; and ſcience crown’d the day.
Here taught I travell’d learning’s arduous road,
And to theſe walls the fame I’ve gain’d is ow’d.
Each art I teach was taught me here before,
And ſcripture ſtudy join’d the uſeful lore;
The canons too,—Galen—Hippocrates—
Nor did the civil law my taſte diſpleaſe.———J. P. A.

(6) With ſo many opportunities of learning, the decided ignorance and credulity of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries ſeems unaccountable. But the diſcerning Dr. Henry remarks that this brutal deficiency of common knowledge was confined to the upper ranks, who thought of nothing but war or ſports, and the loweſt people who were doomed to perpetual ſervitude and hard labour. Two extremes equally unfriendly to intellectual purſuits.

The Latin of this æra could not indeed be very bad, when Giraldus Cambrenſis criticiſes bitterly on an old ſecluded Welch hermit, who in common talk ſaid to him, “Oh, oh nolo diſcere, ſed cuſtodire; vana eſt ſcire, niſi cuſtodiri.” He uſed the infinitive abſurdly,’ (ſays Giraldus) ‘but, one might underſtand him well enough.’

But we have ſtronger proofs of the generally good Latinity of the age in the hiſtory written by William of Malmſbury, a book which might have almoſt been owned by a Livy; in the poetical works of the abbot Godfrey, of W. Mapes, Hanvil, Iſcanus &c. &c. Theſe have been already noticed.

The province of hiſtory writing was in the early ages totally occupied by men deſtined to a religious and ſolitary life; and the abbeys and convents have ſupplied us with numerous hiſtories and chronicles many of which if not impartially written (are all our hiſtories wiſhed to give his ſon a foreign education, the univerſity of Paris was the favourite ſeminary; for there were collected the youth (7) of all nations. Yet the ſtudies there, were trifling and uſeleſsly perplexing. School divinity, a crabbed graft on the ſtock of Ariſtotle's philoſophy, was the ſcience moſtly followed. From this nurſery the writers called 'ſchoolmen' are planted out.

They wrote Commentaries on the Scripture not aiming to explain the didactic part, but to extract ſome myſtic or allegoric ſenſe, which might become a ſubject of ſchool-wrangling. Some of theſe queſtions, were bold and impious; many were trifling; and not a few unjuſtifiably ludicrous. Eraſmus in his 'Encomium Moriæ' laſhes theſe abſurdities with a heavy hand. Some of their moſt harmleſs (if not wiſeſt) doubts were ſuch as follow, 'Doth the glorified body of Chriſt while reſident in heaven uſe a ſitting or a ſtanding poſture?' 'Is the body of Chriſt when eaten in the ſacrament, dreſſed or undreſſed?' 'Were the clothes in which Chriſt appeared after the reſurrection real or imaginary?'—*Henry, from Hiſt. Literaire de la France. Bulæi Univ. Par. &c.*

Notwithſtanding theſe puerilities and ſome very ill-principled doctrines, this univerſity had merit; and its fame cauſed Paris to be ſtyled by the writers of the twelfth century 'the city of learning.' It was certainly the favourite ſeminary for European ſcholars.

THIRD PERIOD. 1216 to 1399.

The cathedral, conventual and other ſchools continued to flouriſh as before deſcribed. The univerſities, on their part, gained great advantage by the munificence (joined perhaps with oſtentation) of many private perſons who, by erecting colleges and halls for the propagation of literature, prevented the frequent diſputes which were uſed to ariſe between the ſtudents and the townſmen, on whom, before ſuch erections, they had been obliged to

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hiſtories even *now* impartial?) are executed with grace and exactneſs. In the biographical part of this work theſe authors and their performances are particularly and ſeparately treated of.

The difficulties of finding materials for writing, probably ſtill continued; for we find (notwithſtanding a kind of paper, called 'Charte Bombycina' had been invented in the beginning of the twelfth century, we not know by whom) that ſo ſcarce were books in 1074, that Walter, a learned abbot of Weſtminſter, gave to the monks of Dorcheſter for Bede's Homilies and St. Auſtin's Pſalter, twelve meaſures of barley and a rich pall, embroidered in ſilver with the ſtory of a favourite ſaint.—*Warton, from a Regiſter.*

(7) One Nigel Wercker thus characterizes the Engliſh ſtudents at Paris, in the perſon of a ſtranger making obſervations on the youth of the univerſity.

Et, quia ſubtiles ſenſu conſiderat Anglos,
Pluribus ex cauſis ſe ſociavit iis.
Moribus egregii, vultu verboque venuſti;
Ingenio pollent, conſilioque vigent.
Dona pluunt populis et deteſtantur avaros;
Fercula multiplicant; et ſine lege bibunt.

IMITATED.

The ſtudents from Britain his fancy moſt ſtrike—
'Ay—there' (quoth the ſtranger) are lads that I like!
Be theſe then my meſſmates, ſtout, jolly and clever;
With comrades like theſe I could ſtudy for ever.
When they've caſh, 'tis ſoon gone—for they hoard up no treaſure,
And they eat without ſtint, and they drink without meaſure.

J. P. A.

depend for, not only their lodgings, but even the buildings where their lectures were pronounced. Thoſe quarrels had indeed been carried ſo far that, in 1213, Henry III. appointed two citizens and two maſters of arts to be annually choſen, that they might ſit in judgment on the offenders.

The endowments which accompanied theſe edifices were generally ample; ſufficient to enable the youth to ſtudy at his eaſe; and the retiring maſter to end his days in comfort.

Not leſs than ſeven colleges were founded and endowed at Oxford, and nine colleges and halls at Cambridge, within the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Beſides theſe there were ſtill maintained at Oxford about two hundred private halls; and probably as many at the ſiſter univerſity.

The number of ſtudents was proportionably great (8). Diſſentions among theſe ſometimes roſe ſo high as to occaſion a tremendous emigration. In 1060 a new univerſity had nearly been formed at Northampton by the diſcontented; and forty years afterwards an univerſity was actually eſtabliſhed at Stamford in Lincolnſhire, and maintained itſelf for ſome time.—*Wood. Fuller.*

London itſelf was a third univerſity, and Edward III. actually built and endowed a college, called St. Stephen's in Weſtminſter, which exiſted at the reformation. John of Gaunt alſo built and endowed a college for the ſtudy of divinity in St. Paul's church-yard.—*Buc's third univerſity apud Stow.*

The law in particular was beſt ſtudied in the metropolis, where the 'inns of court' and of 'chancery' gave the ſtudent excellent opportunities for digeſting the intelligence which he might gain by a cloſe attendance on the courts of law; and there appears to have been academies at each of the 'inns' well calculated to improve him in every branch of literature.—*S. J. Forteſcue de Laud. Leg. Angliæ.*

That the 13th and 14th centuries produced no ſuch pure and claſſical Latin as that of John of Saliſbury, Peter of Blois, Joſeph of Exeter, &c. is owing, it may be conjectured, to the growing improvement of the Engliſh language, and the more frequent uſe of it by men of learning. (9.)

Greek and the oriental tongues were almoſt totally neglected. Not more than three or four perſons (ſays the great Roger Bacon, who bitterly laments the blindneſs of the age) had turned their ſtudies that way.

Logic ſuited the genius of the æra. It furniſhed the ſchoolmen with a regulated ſubtility which aided them to diſpute for ages (10) upon nothing. It was therefore extenſively taught, and accurately ſtudied.

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(8) An archbiſhop of Armagh in 1357 told the Pope that there had been (not long before) 30,000 ſcholars in Oxford. That at that time the number was lowered to 6,000, ſo many having been ſeduced away by mendicant friars that parents were cautious of ſending their children thither.—*Bulæi Hiſt. Univ. Par.*

(9) There are however inſtances of brutal ignorance which this excuſe will not reach. In the univerſity of Oxford, it was uſual to ſay '*Ego* currit; tu currit, currens eſt ego.' In 1276, Robert Kilwarby, biſhop of Canterbury, viſited the place, and ſolemnly condemned theſe wretched idioms. They met however with defenders; and in 1284, his ſucceſſor John Peckham was obliged to exert the ſame condemnation againſt the ſame expreſſions and others equally obnoxious.—*Wood's Antiquities apud Henry.*

(10) 'That two contradictory propoſitions might each be true,' was a dogma ſeriouſly and earneſtly argued.—*Ibid.*

Divinity had now taken a new turn; and ſoared above the Scriptures. The ſchoolmen valued themſelves on carrying on their theological improvements without recourſe to either Teſtament; and thoſe unfaſhionable ſages who ſtill ſtudied the ſacred writings were ſtyled in deriſion 'Bible-men,' and could neither find pupils, attendants nor rooms wherein to read lectures, in any European univerſity.—*Wood's Antiq. apud Henry.*

The civil and canon law was cloſely ſtudied by the clergy, as that ſtudy led the way to great employments. This was carried to ſo great a length that Pope Innocent IV. was obliged to ſend forth a prohibitory bull, leſt the ſtudy of divinity ſhould be loſt.

The mathematics were generally neglected, and the few who attended either to them or to the oriental tongues were not only ſhrewdly ſuſpected of wiſhing to hold commerce with the prince of darkneſs, but frequently met with painful obſtacles to their ſtudies, from the abſurd fanaticiſm of the age.

Aſtronomy and its connected ſcience, that of optics, were known to Friar Bacon; probably to few others. The ſame great man ſeems to have monopolized the knowledge of mechanics and of chemiſtry.

Alchymy, though itſelf a deluſion, yet being the known parent of many uſeful inventions, muſt appear on our liſt. Perhaps no prizes leſs intereſting than thoſe held out by the adepts, (viz. an elixir to cure all diſeaſes and to prolong life, and a bone or powder which ſhould tranſmute all baſer metals into gold) could have urged the minds of men in an age wholly occupied by ſolemn trifles, to have purſued any ſtudy with ſuch energy as to accompliſh ſuch diſcoveries as the followers of alchymy produced (11).

Indeed this fanciful ſcience, though now from the beſt of reaſons in diſrepute, was, while in the adroit hands of Roger Bacon and Raimond Lully, not without its uſes; and it is allowed by the great Boerhaave that no writers have ever treated ſubjects which relate to animals, vegetables, and foſſils, with ſo much clearneſs as thoſe which have written on alchymy. Thoſe great princes, Edward I. and III. both believed in the powers of alchymy to produce treaſures; on the former, Lully ſolemnly calls to atteſt his having fabricated a diamond from cryſtal even in the royal preſence, in the ſecret chamber of St. Katherine, in the tower of London; and in Rymer's Fœdera there is extant a proclamation from Edward III. for the ſeizure of John Rous and William de Dalby, who, (as is there aſſerted) "have it in their power to aſſiſt the king and kingdom by making gold!"

FOURTH PERIOD. 1399 to 1485.

Notwithſtanding the horrors of the 15th century, no period in the Engliſh hiſtory has proved more fruitful in the production of colleges and other nurſeries of ſcience. The public ſchools formed at Cambridge in 1475, and the ſtill more magnificent buildings called by the ſame name at Oxford in 1480, do honour to the age which erected them.

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(11) For inſtance the invention of gunpowder, and ſeveral improvements in the art of dying. Many medicines of great ſervice to the health and eaſe of mankind were alſo found by theſe fantaſtical philoſophers.

Among the ſarcaſms on alchemy few are more bitter than that of Mr. Harris, 'ars ſine arte, cujus principium eſt mentire, medium laborare, et finis mendicare.' The Italians ſay 'non fidatevi al alchemiſta povero o al medico ammalato.'

In Scotland, too, under the patronage of James I. and II. were founded the celebrated univerſities of St. Andrews and of Glaſgow.

Yet amid the din of arms, literature was not reſpected, preferments in the church were beſtowed on the ignorant, while the beſt ſcholars wandered round the country, with certificates from their chancellors, begging their bread and expoſed to every outrage which brutal inſolence could contrive or defenceleſs poverty invite (12.)—*Ant. à Wood.*

The extreme ſcarcity of books continued; and even the art of printing (which during this age began to afford its aid to literature) did not for ſome time operate either as to increaſing their number or diminiſhing their prices.

Although the Latin tongue was ſtill uſed by the chroniclers of the 15th century, that purity and claſſic turn which had diſtinguiſhed the writers of the former ages was nearly loſt. When the monks endeavoured to deſcribe with grandeur they now were too apt to become turgid, nor did they ſcruple to coin a Latin word when one to their purpoſe was not to be found in their dictionary (13). Walſingham perhaps ſhould be excepted from the general cenſure.

As to the Greek language, it was not now to be found in the north of Europe. Not a book in that tongue was extant in the king of France's library in 1425; it is true that the ſack of Conſtantinople, by diſperſing the learned Greeks, provided future teachers for thoſe who wiſhed to learn; but Italy was the only country where theſe exiled ſages ſought an aſylum, and for a long ſpace it was only *there* that the language could be ſtudied.

The mathematics were now very little attended to. An age in which the ridiculous purſuits of aſtrology were eagerly followed, and in which the profeſſors of that vain ſcience were placed near the ears of monarchs, and were frequently more liſtened to than the wiſeſt counſellors, was not a ſeaſon for ſteady, ſober diſquiſitions.

Under the head of literature, the new and important diſcovery of printing may ſurely claim a place. The merit of introducing it to England undoubtedly belongs to William Caxton, of whom ſome account has been given in the biographical part of the work. 'The game of Cheſſe,' dated 1474; is the firſt book which we know with certainty to have been printed in our iſland. Caxton, although an elderly man when he began his enterprize, printed and publiſhed about fifty books, ſome of them large volumes, and many of them tranſlated by himſelf.—*Ames.*

There were other printers in London during the life of Caxton, moſtly foreigners.

No book printed among the Scots in

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(12) We are told of a Baron who finding his convivial pleaſures interrupted by the ſupplications of two indigent and itinerant poets from a neighbouring univerſity, ordered his dependants to place them in two buckets, and to immerſe them by turns in a well until they had compoſed a poem on their deplorable ſituation. The company, it is intimated, enjoyed the liberal frolic.—*Ant. à Wood.*

(13) Such as 'et arrivavit prope Redbanke' in W. de Wynceſtre; and 'contraviſſent mortem ducis,' &c. in J. Rous.—*Henry.*

in this early age is to be found. It is not improbable that their firſt eſſays in this new art all periſhed by the undiſtinguiſhing efforts of furious reforming zeal, when monaſtic libraries, records, &c. were conſumed as abettors of popery.

FIFTH PERIOD. 1485 to 1547.

Notwithſtanding the number and magnificence of the colleges founded and brought to perfection in the beginning of the 16th century, the mode of treating young perſons, in point of education, was by no means calculated either to make them gentlemen or ſcholars.

The civil diſturbances had proved deſtructive to the beſt ſchools; (14) inſtitutions which could not thrive at a period when no ſcience but that of war was thought worthy of cultivation; and at home, the patriarchal deſpotiſm of the parents made their inſtruction, and even their preſence *, odious to their offſpring. The monaſteries, however, were ſtill (until the reformation) open to ſtudents, and taught writing and indifferent unclaſſical Latin; while, at the nunneries girls were inſtructed in the uſual accompliſhments of their ſex, and in ſome not thought neceſſary in a more modern age (15).

The time however approached, when the united labours of Linacre, Cheke, Lilly, and others, were doomed to revive the knowledge of the Latin tongue in its purity; and even to inſtil a taſte for the Greek language into a nation whoſe clergy oppoſed its introduction, with as much vehemence as they did that of a reformation in religion.

The great Eraſmus, the firſt who undertook the taſk of teaching Greek at Oxford, met with few friends to his undertaking in that ſeat of whatever learning England could boaſt. Blind in their anger, the obſtinate prieſts confounded the objects of their adoration with thoſe of their reſentment; and becauſe the New Teſtament was written in Greek, they ſtyled it 'an impious and dangerous book.'—*Ant. à Wood.*

After the acceſſion of Henry VIII.

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(14) Under ſuch circumſtances it is not ſurpriſing that many perſons ſhould chuſe to travel, or ſend their children abroad, to acquire that learning which domeſtic diſcord had frighted from the Engliſh ſhore. The practice, however, is ſharply cenſured by the contemporary poet, Barclay.

'But thou, vain boaſter! if thou'lt take in hand,
To ſtudye conynge, idleneſſe deſpiſe,
The roy'lme of Englonde might for thee ſuffice;
In Englonde is ſufficient diſcipline,
And noble men endowed with ſcience;' &c.

And again,

'One runn'th to Almayne, another into Fraunce,
To Paris, Padwaye, Lombardy, or Spayne;
Another to Bonony, Rome, Orleaunce,
To Cayn, to Thouloufe, Athens, or Coloyne;
And, at the laſt, returneth home agayne
More ignoraunt,' &c. &c.——*Ship of Fools.*

Yet travelling for education was encouraged by ſome prelates: for Thomas Langton, biſhop of Wincheſter, ſent Richard Pace at his own coſt to reſide at Padua, and bequeathed to him ten pounds annually for ſeven years, that his ſtudies might be completed at Bononia. This gives ſome light into the expence of foreign reſidence in the 16th age.—*Antiquarian Repertory, Vol. III.*

(15) Particularly phyſic and ſurgery.

* Fenn's letters paſſim.

the promiſe of an extenſive and reſpectable patronage enticed Eraſmus (who had quitted Oxford in diſguſt) to return and purſue his attempts in favour of Grecian literature; his ſucceſs, however, although lord Mountjoy, archbiſhop Warham, and ſir Thomas More, were his friends, was ſmall and tardy. Scurrility and rioting (16) aſſiſted the party of oppoſition; nor was it until the king and his favourite Wolſey declared themſelves on its ſide, that this much reprobated language could gain the privilege of being ſtudied in peace, even within the walls of edifices conſecrated to learning.—*Jortin's life of Eraſmus.*

By degrees, the good ſenſe of the nation, aided by potent protection, overpowered every prejudice; and, before the half of the 16th century had paſſed away, the Latin and Greek claſſics, which had been long neglected, were ſought after with eagerneſs and ſtudied with attention (17). But every attempt to bring Hebrew forward failed for the preſent.

Topography began now to be ſtudied. In a catalogue of furniture which belonged to Henry VIII. and ſtood in a cloſet at Greenwich, there appears ‘ a globe of paper;’ ‘ a mappe made like a ſcryne’. There was alſo ‘ a mappe of England’, and at Weſtminſter Palace, ‘ a mappe of Hantſhire’.—*Warton's Emendations.*

The practice of printing is cloſely connected with literature. It gained ground in the 16th century, although neither as to workmen or paper was it ſo well ſupplied as in the ſtates on the continent. Yet the types of Wynkyn (or ken) de Worde, are ſaid to have been uſed, even in modern times, for the Saxon character.

The moſt important productions of the Engliſh preſs (next to the Scriptures) were the Chronicles of England, (18) and the Statutes, which W. de Worde always printed ſoon after they paſſed, but not by excluſive right, ſince others reprinted them after him.—*Ames on Printing, &c.*

In Scotland, the progreſs of printing was ſlow, and the labours of the preſs ſeem to have been dedicated only to miſſals and ſtatutes.”

It is to be lamented that the work of Mr. Andrews comes down no lower than to the death of Henry the Eighth, and that no continuation of it will ever appear from his hand. The plan was abandoned by him, in order to carry forward the unfiniſhed hiſtory of Dr. Henry, but Mr. Andrews had completed only two volumes of his new undertaking when death put a period to his literary exertions.

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(16) Two parties were formed at the univerſity, that of the Greeks and that of the Trojans. The latter, being ſupported by the monks, was by far the ſtrongeſt; and the Greeks were driven from the public ſtreets and walks with hiſſes and varied inſults.—*Ant. à Wood.*

Biſhop Gardiner, who was chancellor of Cambridge, oppoſed the admiſſion of Greek literature with great vehemence, not from diſlike to learning, but merely as it was a novelty. The rational Cheke ſupported the cauſe of erudition; at Oxford, Aſcham complains that, after the firſt fervour for claſſical learning was over, a bad taſte enſued, and that Lucian, Plutarch, and Herodian, in Greek; and Seneca, Geliſius, and Apuleius, in Latin, were preferred to the ancient and more pure writers of Greece and Rome.

(17) Mr. Warton obſerves, that as ‘ all novelties are purſued to exceſs, and the moſt beneficial improvements often introduce new inconveniences, ſo this univerſal attention to polite literature deſtroyed philoſophy; the old philoſophy was aboliſhed, but a new one was not adopted in its ſtead. At Cambridge,’ he adds, ‘ we now find the ancient ſcientific learning in ſome degree reformed by the admiſſion of better ſyſtems.’—*Hiſt. of Poetry.*

(18) Thoſe of Hall and Harding were printed by Graſton. Romances and legends moſtly employed the preſs in its early days. Very few claſſics were publiſhed.

The Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, called the Magnificent. *By* William Roſcoe. *4to. Two volumes.*

TO the republic of Florence may with ſingular propriety be applied that which was ſaid of Tyre by the ſublimeſt of the Hebrew prophets: "that her merchants "were princes, and her traffickers "the honourable of the earth." Among thoſe to whom Florence has given birth the preeminence is juſtly due to the family of the Medici; a family in which talents and a love of literature ſeemed, along with riches and influence, to be tranſmitted by hereditary deſcent. In the perſon of Lorenzo the Magnificent all the virtues and accompliſhments of his anceſtors were combined with others which were peculiar to himſelf. It would perhaps be impoſſible to point out, in the hiſtory of any country, an individual more truly worthy of eſteem and admiration. Whether we conſider him as the ſtateſman, the ruler, the patron of literature and arts, the poet, or the man, he diſplays equal claims to our wonder and applauſe.

That, during a lapſe of three centuries, no complete biography of a character ſo illuſtrious ſhould have been given to the world is an extraordinary, not to ſay diſgraceful, circumſtance.

For an Engliſh writer, reſiding at a diſtance from the capital, and actively engaged in a profeſſion not generally favourable to the cultivation of taſte and liberal ſentiments, was reſerved the honour of producing a full and claſſical life of the the magnificent Lorenzo. Poſſeſſing ample powers of mind to do juſtice to his ſubject, Mr. Roſcoe was likewiſe fortunate enough to obtain authentic and hitherto untouched materials to enrich his labours. After ſtating the documents which he had collected together, he adds, "I had "not however proceeded far, before "I perceived that the ſubject de-"ſerved a more minute enquiry; "for which purpoſe it would be "neceſſary to reſort to contempo-"rary authorities, and if poſſible to "original documents. The imprac-"ticability of obtaining in this coun-"try the information of which I "ſtood in need, would perhaps have "damped the ardour of my under-"taking, had not a circumſtance "preſented itſelf in the higheſt de-"gree favourable to my purpoſe. "An intimate friend, with whom "I had been many years united in "ſtudies and affection, had paid a "viſit to Italy, and had fixed his "winter reſidence at Florence. I "well knew that I had only to requeſt "his aſſiſtance, in order to obtain "whatever information he had an "opportunity of procuring, from "the very ſpot which was to be the "ſcene of my intended hiſtory. My "enquiries were particularly di-"rected towards the Laurentian and "Riccardi libraries, which I was "convinced would afford much ori-"ginal and intereſting information. "It would be unjuſt merely to ſay "that my friend afforded me the "aſſiſtance I required; he went far "beyond even the hopes I had

" formed, and his return to his " native country was, if poſſible, " rendered ſtill more grateful to me, " by the materials he had collected " for my uſe. Amongſt theſe I had " the pleaſure to find ſeveral beauti- " ful poems of Lorenzo de' Medici, " the originals of which are depo- " ſited in the Laurentian library, " although the former editors of his " works appear not to have had the " ſlighteſt information reſpecting " them. Theſe poems, which have " been copied with great accuracy, " and, where it was poſſible, collated " with different manuſcripts, will " for the firſt time be given to the " public at the cloſe of the preſent " work."

The work of Mr. Roſcoe is divided into ten chapters, and is followed by a copious ſupplement, conſiſting of eighty-five documents, and the newly-diſcovered poems from the Laurentian library.

In the firſt chapter Mr. Roſcoe, after lightly touching upon the origin and government of Florence, paſſes to the anceſtors of Lorenzo, the more remote of whom are only briefly mentioned in order to introduce thoſe immediately connected with his ſubject. It is with Coſmo de' Medici, the grandfather of Lorenzo, that Mr. Roſcoe begins to enter upon a detailed narrative. Coſmo was not leſs diſtinguiſhed for his riches and ſagacity than for his unwearied patronage of literary characters. Flavio Blondo juſtly deſcribes him as " a citizen, who " whilſt he excels in wealth every " other citizen in Europe, is rendered " much more illuſtrious by his pru- " dence, his humanity, his liberality, " his knowledge of uſeful literature, " and particularly of hiſtory." To the munificent aſſiſtance, which Coſmo furniſhed to Poggio and others, the world is indebted for the bringing to light of ſome of the moſt valuable treaſures of ancient learning and genius. With the narration of theſe diſcoveries Mr. Roſcoe has blended brief but animated ſketches of thoſe eminent literary characters by whom they were made. To ſecure and perpetuate the treaſures which they had obtained the Laurentian library was eſtabliſhed by Coſmo. Under his auſpices alſo, the Platonic philoſophy began to revive, and Marſilio Ficino was educated, for the expreſs purpoſe of becoming the teacher of a future Platonic ſchool. Not the leaſt curious part of the firſt chapter is that which relates the enmity and bitter ſcurrilities of the literati of that age, who frequently diſplayed towards each other a malignity of mind and brutality of language, calculated to excite the utmoſt ſurprize and diſguſt in a modern reader. Coſmo died in the year 1464, at the age of ſeventy-five, and his character is drawn by Mr. Roſcoe with much ſpirit and diſcrimination. It is ſufficient to ſay in praiſe of Coſmo, that by a public decree the honourable title of *Pater Patriæ* was ordered to be inſcribed upon his tomb.

The ſecond chapter opens with an account of the early accompliſhments of Lorenzo. In another part of our volume we have given Mr. Roſcoe's concluding ſummary of the character of Lorenzo. From the opening of the ſecond chapter we will now add a few particulars to complete the picture. " Lorenzo de " Medici was about ſixteen years of " age when Coſmo died, and had at " that time given ſtriking indica- " tions of extraordinary talents. " From his earlieſt years he had “exhibited proofs of a retentive and vigorous mind, which was cultivated, not only by all the attention which his father's infirmities would permit him to beſtow, but by a frequent intercourſe with his venerable grandfather. He owed alſo great obligations in this reſpect to his mother Lucretia, who was one of the moſt accompliſhed women of the age, and diſtinguiſhed herſelf not only as a patroneſs of learning, but by her own writings. Of theſe ſome ſpecimens yet remain, which are the more entitled to approbation, as they were produced at a time when poetry was at its loweſt ebb in Italy. The diſpoſition of Lorenzo which afterwards gave him a peculiar claim to the title of *magnificent*, was apparent in his childhood. Having received as a preſent a horſe from Sicily, he ſent the donor in return a gift of much greater value, and, on being reproved for his profuſeneſs, he remarked, that there was nothing more glorious than to overcome others in acts of generoſity. Of his proficiency in claſſical learning, and the different branches of that philoſophy which was then in repute, he has left indiſputable proofs. Born to reſtore the luſtre of his native tongue, he had rendered himſelf conſpicuous by his poetical talents before he arrived at manhood. To theſe accompliſhments he united a conſiderable ſhare of ſtrong natural penetration and good ſenſe, which enabled him, amidſt the many difficulties he was involved in, to act with a promptitude and deciſion which ſurprized thoſe who were witneſſes of his conduct; whilſt the endowments which entitled him to admiration and reſpect, were accompanied by others that conciliated, in an eminent degree, the eſteem and affection of his fellow citizens.

“Tall in ſtature, robuſt in his form, Lorenzo had in his perſon more the appearance of ſtrength than of elegance. From his birth he laboured under ſome peculiar diſadvantages; his ſight was weak, his voice harſh and unpleaſing, and he was totally deprived of the ſenſe of ſmell. With all theſe defects his countenance was dignified, and gave an idea of the magnanimity of his character; and the effects of his eloquence were conſpicuous on many important occaſions. In his youth he was much addicted to active and laborious exerciſes, to hawking, horſemanſhip, and country ſports. Though not born to ſupport a military character, he gave ſufficient proofs of his courage, not only in public tournaments, which were then not unfrequent in Italy, but alſo upon more trying occaſions. Such was the verſatility of his talents, that it is difficult to diſcover any department of buſineſs, or of amuſement, of art, or of ſcience, to which they were not at ſome time applied; and in whatever he undertook, he arrived at a proficiency which would ſeem to have required the labour of a life much longer than that which he was permitted to enjoy.”

The whole of this chapter is occupied with the early hiſtory of Lorenzo, during the life of his father Piero, who placed in him a confidence which was amply juſtified by the talents and virtues of the ſon. In this chapter the celebrated Politian is firſt introduced; and in the remainder of the volumes he holds a diſtinguiſhed place, which, notwithſtanding his many defects, he ſeems to have well merited by his rigid fidelity and affection to his patron. It was at this period that Lorenzo firſt felt the paſſion of love. It is a curious circumſtance, that he has not only never mentioned, nor hinted, the name of his adored miſtreſs; but that he has not even given her a poetical appellation, in any of the numerous compoſitions which her charms inſpired. A proſe character which he has left of her deſcribes her in elegant and glowing language, and if the lover may be credited, the object of his wiſhes was indeed "a faultleſs monſter." From irrefragable evidence it appears that her name was Lucretia Donati, a woman of both virtue and beauty, and the daughter of an illuſtrious family. The hand of Lorenzo, however, was not deſtined for Lucretia. In compliance with the will of his father he married Clarice Orſini on the fourth of June 1469. He has himſelf left a proof that his heart had no ſhare in the engagement: in ſome private memorandums, under the above date, he ſays, "I "took donna Clarice to wife, or "rather ſhe was given to me;" a mode of ſpeaking which is ſufficiently expreſſive. He treated her, however, with eſteem and affection; but a beautiful unfiniſhed Italian elegy from his pen, puts the fact beyond a doubt that long ſubſequent to his marriage his heart was in the poſſeſſion of another. The death of Piero de' Medici cloſes the ſecond chapter.

By the death of his father the chief authority of the republic devolved to Lorenzo. The third chapter, therefore, is opened, by Mr. Roſcoe, with the political ſituation of Italy and its various ſtates. A ſhort ſketch ſucceeds it of the wealth, commercial concerns and ſplendid munificence of the Medici family. In the ſhort ſpace of thirty-ſeven years the anceſtors of Lorenzo expended, in works of public charity and utility, the amazing ſum of more than 660,000 florins. From theſe ſubjects Mr. Roſcoe turns to the private and literary life of Lorenzo, in the midſt of thoſe to whom his bounty and his manners had endeared him. Among theſe Politian holds the firſt place. The foreign concerns of Florence are next adverted to; and the chapter then cloſes with the progreſs of the Platonic academy, and the effects produced by its eſtabliſhment. Of thoſe effects a judicious eſtimate is formed by the biographer of Lorenzo. "The "principal advantages of this inſtitution ſeem," ſays he, "to have "been the collecting together men "of talents and erudition, who "had courage to diſſent from eſtabliſhed modes of belief, and of "ſupplying them with new, rational, "and important topics of converſation. From theſe diſcourſes it was "not difficult to extract the pureſt "leſſons of moral conduct, or the "ſublimeſt ſentiments of veneration "for the Deity, but good ſenſe was "the only alembic through which "the true eſſence could be obtained, "and this was not at hand on all "occaſions."

The concluding lines of this chapter afford at once a leſſon and a reproach to thoſe, and the number is far too great, who ſeem to think that the proper and indeed the only end of commerce is, to enable them to hoard up treaſures, from which they may claim a right to indulge a vulgar oſtentatious pride, and to trample upon poor and unprotected genius. "Earneſt in the acquiſition "of wealth, indefatigable in im- "proving their manufactures and "extending their commerce, the "Florentines ſeem not however to "have loſt ſight of the true dignity "of man, or of the proper objects "of his regard. A thorough ac- "quaintance as well with the an- "cient authors as with the litera- "ture of his own age, was an indiſ- "penſable qualification in the cha- "racter of a Florentine; but few of "them were ſatisfied with this in- "ferior praiſe. The writers of that "country, of whoſe lives and pro- "ductions ſome account is given by "Negri, amount in number to up- "wards of two thouſand, and among "theſe may be found many names "of the firſt celebrity. In this "reſpect the city of Florence ſtands "unrivalled. A ſpecies of praiſe "as honourable as it is indiſput- "able."

The fourth chapter preſents a buſy and varied ſcene. The aſſaſſination of the duke, Galeazzo, at Milan, was ſpeedily followed by the formation of a conſpiracy at Florence, for the murder of Lorenzo and his brother Giuliano. This was the conſpiracy of the Pazzi, which count Alfieri, with a ſtrange obliquity of judgment and perverſion of genius, has choſen as the ſubject of a tragedy, and a theme of applauſe. Certain as is the fact, it almoſt ſhocks belief that the chief of the conſpiracy was the pope, Sixtus IV. that the place choſen for the aſſaſſination was the temple of the Deity, and the moment for its execution, that of the elevation of the hoſt. Giuliano fell a victim, but Lorenzo, though wounded, providentially eſcaped. The conſpirators were nearly all exterminated by public juſtice and the rage of the populace. Irritated at the diſcloſure and defeat of his wickedneſs, the dark-ſouled Sixtus joined in a league with Ferdinand, king of Naples, to ſubjugate the Florentines, againſt whom he likewiſe directed all the thunders of the church. Florence was, however, offered peace by Ferdinand if it would either deliver up Lorenzo to his enemies or baniſh him from the Tuſcan ſtates. It refuſed to comply with either alternative, and armed in his defence. But protracted war ſoon diſcouraged the citizens, and Lorenzo was convinced by their encreaſing murmurs, that he could place little reliance upon their future protection. In this ſituation he formed a plan, which would entitle him to be conſidered as a great man, even had he no other claim to be ſo called. Though the character of Ferdinand was not ſuch as to inſpire confidence, Lorenzo determined to put himſelf into his hands, and take the chance of periſhing, ſo that he might ſave his country. He left Florence without communicating his intention to his fellow citizens, and from San Miniato ſent to the magiſtrates of the city a letter, explanatory of his motives, which is a noble monument of his patriotic virtue.

"If I did not explain to you," ſays Lorenzo, "before I left Flo- "rence the motives of my depar- "ture, it was not from want of re- "ſpect, but becauſe I thought, that "in the dangerous circumſtances in "which our city is placed, it was "more neceſſary to act than to de- "liberate. It ſeems to me that

"peace

"peace is become indiſpenſable to "us; and as all other means of ob"taining it have proved ineffectual, "I have rather choſen to incur ſome "degree of danger myſelf, than to "ſuffer the city to continue longer "under its preſent difficulties; I "therefore mean, with your per"miſſion, to proceed directly to "Naples, conceiving that as I am "the perſon chiefly aimed at by our "enemies, I may, by delivering my"ſelf into their hands, perhaps be "the means of reſtoring peace to "my fellow citizens. Of theſe two "things, one muſt be taken for "granted; either the king of Na"ples, as he has often aſſerted, and "as ſome have believed, is friendly "to the Florentine ſtate, and aims, "even by theſe hoſtile proceedings, "rather to render us a ſervice, than "to deprive us of our liberties; or "he wiſhes to effect the ruin of the "republic. If he be favourably "diſpoſed towards us, there is no "better method of putting his in"tention to the teſt, than by "placing myſelf freely in his "hands, and this I will venture "to ſay is the only mode of obtain"ing an honourable peace. If, on "the other hand, the views of the "king extend to the ſubverſion of "our liberties, we ſhall at leaſt be "ſpeedily apprized of his intentions; "and this knowledge will be more "cheaply obtained by the ruin of "one, than of all. I am contented "to take upon myſelf this riſk, be"cauſe, as I am the perſon princi"pally ſought after, I ſhall be a "better teſt of the king's intentions; "it being poſſible that my deſtruc"tion is all that is aimed at; and "again, as I have had more honour "and conſideration among you than "my merits could claim, and per"haps more than have in our days "been beſtowed upon any private "citizen. I conceive myſelf more "particularly bound than any other "perſon to promote the intereſt of "my country, even with the ſacri"fice of my life. With this full in"tention I now go; and perhaps it "may be the will of God, that as this "war was begun in the blood of my "brother, and of myſelf, it may "now by my means be concluded. "All that I deſire is, that my life "and my death, my proſperity and "my misfortunes, may contribute to "the welfare of my native place. "Should the reſult be anſwerable to "my wiſhes, I ſhall rejoice in hav"ing obtained peace to my country, "and ſecurity to myſelf. Should it "prove otherwiſe, my misfortunes "will be alleviated by the idea that "they were requiſite for my coun"try's welfare; for if our adverſa"ries aim only at my deſtruction, I "ſhall be in their power; and if "their views extend further, they "will then be fully underſtood. In "the latter caſe, I doubt not that "all my fellow citizens will unite in "defending their liberties to the "laſt extremity, and I truſt with the "ſame ſucceſs as, by the favour of "God, our anceſtors have hitherto "done. Theſe are the ſentiments "with which I ſhall proceed; en"treating Heaven that I may be "enabled on this occaſion to per"form what every citizen ought, at "all times to be ready to do for his "country."

The courage, the generoſity, and the eloquence of Lorenzo triumphed over the enmity of Ferdinand, and in the courſe of three months that monarch became his friend, and the ally of the Florentine ſtate. A peace was ſhortly after concluded with the malignant Sixtus.

Quitting politics, Mr. Roſcoe devotes the fifth chapter to an account of the ſtudies of Lorenzo, and a critical examination of his poetical works, which he renders familiar to the Engliſh reader, by a number of tranſlations, that rival the originals in beauty. The riſe, the degradation, and ſubſequent revival, of Italian literature, are traced with the hand of a maſter.

In the ſixth chapter the author returns to the public life of Lorenzo, whoſe political talents were now diſplayed in their brighteſt luſtre. With him appears indiſputably to have originated the firſt idea of that ſyſtem denominated in latter times the balance of power, a ſyſtem admirably conceived for the protection of the weak againſt the ſtrong, and for the common intereſt of all; but which, fatally for Europe, appears to be finally overthrown. Of that overthrow France has been the immediate author, but it cannot be denied that the firſt impulſe to its fall was given by Ruſſia, Pruſſia, and Auſtria, in their flagitious partition of Poland in the year 1772. It was in purſuance of this ſyſtem that the Florentines in league with the Neapolitans ſupported the duke of Ferrara againſt Sixtus the fourth and the Venetians; and that they afterwards defended their ally, the king of Naples againſt the enterprizes of Innocent the eighth. The petty ſtates of Italy were alſo protected from the rapacity of their mightier neighbours. On all theſe occaſions the genius of Lorenzo was ſtrikingly manifeſt, and his character was raiſed in conſequence to the higheſt pitch of reputation. His friendſhip was courted by the emperor Frederic III. by John II. of Portugal, by Matthew Corvinus, king of Hungary, by the wily and barbarous tyrant Louis XI. king of France, and even by the ſultan of Egypt. Italy, under his auſpices, enjoyed a momentary peace.

Of this period of tranquillity Mr. Roſcoe takes advantage, to ſuſpend his narrative, and revert to the ſubject of Italian literature. He inveſtigates, and ſatisfactorily accounts for, the unequal progreſs of claſſical literature and the literature of Italy. To the learned Greeks who fled into Italy, on the ſubverſion of the eaſtern empire, he attributes, in a great meaſure, the reſtoration of ancient learning, and the ſubſequent progreſs which was made by the moderns. "If," ſays he, "we advert to the night of thick darkneſs in which the world had been long enveloped, we may eaſily conceive the ſenſations that took place in the minds of men when the gloom began to diſperſe, and the ſpectres of falſe ſcience, by turns fantaſtic and terrific, gave way to the diſtinct and accurate forms of nature and of truth. The Greeks who viſited Italy in the early part of the fifteenth century, if they did not diffuſe a thorough knowledge of their language, and of thoſe ſciences which they excluſively poſſeſſed, at leaſt prepared a ſafe aſylum for the muſes and the arts, who had long trembled at the approach, and at length fled before the fierce aſpect of Mahomet II. From that period a new order of things took place in Italy; the conſtruction of language was inveſtigated on philoſophical principles; the maxims of ſound criticiſm

" ticiſm began to ſupplant the ſcho-" laſtic ſubtleties which had per-" verted for ages the powers of the " human mind; and men deſcended " from their fancied eminence among " the regions of ſpeculation and hy-" potheſis, to tread the earth with " a firm foot, and to gain the tem-" ple of fame by a legitimate, though " laborious path." The eſtabliſhment of public libraries, was alſo of the utmoſt utility to the cauſe of literature; and among thoſe libraries, that which was moſt conſpicuous was the Laurentian, begun by Coſmo, enlarged by Piero, and raiſed to an eminent rank by the care of Lorenzo. But it was to the art of printing, lately diſcovered, that the world was indebted for the diffuſion of the literary treaſures of ancient times. Of this art Lorenzo eagerly availed himſelf. Prompted by him numerous Italian ſcholars engaged in the taſk of collating maunſcripts, and preparing them for the preſs. An elegant account of their labours is given by Mr. Roſcoe. Politian ſtands one of the foremoſt in the performance of their honourable taſk; and Mr. Roſcoe dwells with evident pleaſure on his talents and exertions. He alſo conſiders him as the beſt Latin poet of what may be called the Laurentian age. In thoſe days men of high birth were anxious to acquire a reputation for learning; and the ſame anxiety was felt by the ſofter ſex. Pico of Mirandula, Alleſſandra Scala, and Caſſandra Fidelis, are illuſtrious examples. But, as Mr. Roſcoe judiciouſly obſerves, there was " one circumſtance which " was perhaps more efficacious than " any other in giving life and energy " to theſe purſuits. An acquaintance " with the learned languages was, " at this period, the moſt direct path " not only to riches and literary " fame, but to political eminence; " and the moſt accompliſhed ſcholars " were, in almoſt every government " of Italy, the firſt miniſters of the " time." At Florence this appears to have been more particularly the caſe. There " the moſt permanent " officers were uniformly ſelected on " account of their learning. During " a long courſe of years the place " of ſecretary, or chancellor of the " republic, (for theſe terms ſeem to " have been indiſcriminately uſed,) " was filled by ſcholars of the firſt " diſtinction." The chapter cloſes with a general idea of the ſtate of literature in Florence.

In the eighth chapter Mr. Roſcoe returns to the private life of Lorenzo, whom he defends from the imputation of having been addicted to licentious amours, and whoſe paternal affection for his children he places in a ſtrong and amiable light. Politian was the preceptor of thoſe children, and in the execution of his duty he ſeems to have been frequently thwarted by their mother Clarice, on whom, however, he certainly revenged himſelf by an abundant portion of aſperity and rudeneſs. The wife of Lorenzo at length ſucceeded in ridding herſelf of the preſence of the tutor, who withdrew to an elegant retirement beſtowed on him by his patron, and devoted himſelf to the charms of ſtudy. It was in this retirement, at Fieſole, that he compoſed his fine Latin poem, which bears the title of " Ruſticus." Lorenzo now called in his debts, abandoned commerce, and reſolved to give himſelf up entirely to agricultural occupations. His various villas are well deſcribed by the pen of Mr. Roſcoe. The paternal feelings of Lorenzo ſoon received the higheſt gratification by his ſon Giovanni, (afterwards the celebrated Leo X.) being raiſed to the dignity of a cardinal at the age of only thirteen years. The young cardinal was, however, prohibited from aſſuming the inſignia of his rank till he reached his ſixteenth year. The admonitory letter which his father addreſſed to him, on his going to Rome, is, as Mr. Roſcoe obſerves, as conſpicuous for ſound ſenſe, as for paternal affection, and diſcovers the deep policy of Lorenzo, and the great extent of his views. It is, perhaps, happy for mankind that the ſon did not rigidly follow the precepts of the father. Had Leo been conſtantly guided by them, the dawn of reformation would not ſo quickly have broken upon the chriſtian world. The marriage of Piero de' Medici with Alfonſino Orſini, the firſt appearance at Florence of the fanatical Savonarola, the death of Madonna Clarice, and the aſſaſſinations of Girolamo Riario and Galeotto Manfredi, occupy the remainder of the eighth chapter.

The progreſs of the arts, commencing with painting and ſculpture, forms the ſubject of the ninth chapter. Mr. Roſcoe traces it with much felicity of taſte from the middle ages down to the epoch of Lorenzo. The family of the Medici was always diſtinguiſhed for its encouragement of the arts; but in this, as in all other things, Lorenzo appears pre-eminent. Sculpture, in particular, owes to him unbounded gratitude. To excite among contemporary artiſts a purer taſte than was then prevalent, "he appropriated his gardens, adjacent to "the monaſtery of S. Marco, to the "eſtabliſhment of a ſchool or academy for the ſtudy of the antique, "and furniſhed the different buildings and avenues with ſtatues, "buſts, and other pieces of antient "workmanſhip. Of theſe he appointed the ſculptor Bertoldo, "the favourite pupil of Donatello, "who was then far advanced in "years, ſuperintendant. The attention of the higher rank of his fellow citizens was incited to theſe "purſuits by the example of Lorenzo; that of the lower claſs by "his liberality. To the latter he "not only allowed competent ſtipends, whilſt they attended to "their ſtudies, but appointed conſiderable premiums as the rewards "of their proficiency." His patronage of Michelagnolo would alone be ſufficient to immortalize Lorenzo. That aſtoniſhing artiſt was one of two pupils ſelected by the painter Ghirlandajo, at the requeſt of Lorenzo, to ſtudy in the gardens. "On the firſt viſit of Michelagnolo, "he found in the gardens his future "adverſary Torregiano, who, under "the directions of Bertoldo, was "modelling figures in clay. Michelagnolo applied himſelf to the "ſame occupation, and his work "ſoon afterwards attracted the attention of Lorenzo, who, from "theſe early ſpecimens, formed "great expectations of his talents. "Encouraged by ſuch approbation, "he began to cut in marble the head "of a Faun, after an antique ſculpture, which, though unaccuſtomed "to the chiſſel, he executed with "ſuch ſkill as to aſtoniſh Lorenzo; "who, obſerving that he had made "ſome intentional deviations from "the original, and that in particular "he had repreſented the lips ſmooth, "and had ſhewn the tongue and "teeth, remarked to him, with his

“ accuſtomed jocularity, that he ſhould have remembered that old men ſeldom exhibit a complete range of teeth. The docile artiſt, who paid no leſs reſpect to the judgment, than to the rank of Lorenzo, was no ſooner left to himſelf, than he ſtruck out one of the teeth, giving to the part the appearance of its having been loſt by age. On his next viſit, Lorenzo was equally delighted with the diſpoſition and the genius of his young pupil, and ſending for his father, not only took the ſon under his particular protection, but made ſuch a proviſion for the old man, as his age and the circumſtances of his numerous family required. From this time till the death of Lorenzo, which included an interval of four years, Michelagnolo conſtantly reſided in the palace of the Medici, and ſat at the table of Lorenzo, among his moſt honoured gueſts; where, by a commendable reſolution, the troubleſome diſtinctions of rank were aboliſhed and every perſon took his place in the order of his arrival. Hence the young artiſt found himſelf at once aſſociated, on terms of equality, with all that was illuſtrious and learned in Florence, and formed thoſe connections and friendſhips which, if they do not create, are at leaſt neceſſary to promote and reward ſuperior talents.” This is indeed patronage; a patronage equally honourable to the patron and the patronized. Architecture and other arts were equally encouraged by the munificent Lorenzo.

The tenth and concluding chapter opens with the melancholy narrative of the ſickneſs and death of Lorenzo, who died at the early age of forty-four. The character which Mr. Roſcoe has drawn of him, has been given in another part of our volume. The reſt of the chapter is filled by a rapid, but ſpirited, narrative of the fate of Lorenzo's friends, the varied fortunes of his deſcendants, and the affairs of Florence, till the final overthrow of the Florentine republic.

The ſtyle of Mr. Roſcoe is uniformly flowing, equable, and elegant, with a ſufficient degree of animation. It is wholly free from affectation, and pompoſity. His work is a valuable acquiſition to the ſtock of claſſical Engliſh literature; nor is it probable that we ſhall ever receive from the pen of any other writer a Life of Lorenzo, capable of ſuperſeding Mr. Roſcoe's either by accuracy of fact or gracefulneſs of diction.

A Deſcription of the Country from thirty to forty miles round Mancheſter; containing its geography, natural and civil; principal productions; river and canal navigations; a particular account of its towns and chief villages, their hiſtory, population, commerce and manufactures; buildings, government, &c. The materials arranged, and the work compoſed, by J. Aikin, *M. D. 4to.*

TO thoſe perſons, and, fortunately, the number is great, who delight to trace the progreſs of Engliſh commerce and manufactures, from their infancy to their preſent vigorous and even gigantic maturity, and to mark the conſequent aggrandizement of the comforts, knowledge and reſources of this country, the work of Dr. Aikin will afford an ample and an equal ſhare of pleaſure and information. The circle, which he has judiciouſly choſen for his panoramic view, comprehends a variety of objects not to be found in any other of the ſame extent, throughout the whole of the kingdom. It contains the important manufactures of cotton, woollen, ſilk, ſail cloth, and coarſe linens, pottery, cutlery and hardware, nails, watch tools, and watch movements. Rock ſalt, lead, iron, and other mineral productions, are among its ſubterraneous treaſures. Numerous canals, branching in all directions, and the port of Liverpool, afford a ready outlet to theſe multifarious commodities.

The magnitude of Dr. Aikin's plan, and the mode of carrying the plan into execution, will beſt be learned by his own deſcription. "We begin," ſays he, "by breaking this large ſpace into its geographical diviſions. As the greater "part of Lancaſhire, and a ſtill "larger proportion of Cheſhire, are "comprehended within our bounds, "it has been thought proper to give "an entire general deſcription of "theſe two counties. Their limits, "diviſions, face of country, ſoil, "climate, courſe of rivers, agriculture, and productions, are treated "of in a ſummary way, and every "circumſtance of importance by "which they are characterized is "noted. Though a much ſmaller "portion of Derbyſhire belongs to "our plan, yet, as the whole coun"try is not very extenſive, and as "the two hundreds with which we "are concerned are by much the "moſt remarkable for their appear"ance and products, we have alſo "extended our general deſcription "through the whole of it. York"ſhire being geographically divided "into three ridings, of which a part "of the weſt alone comes within "our circle, we have given a gene"ral account of that riding alone. "Of Staffordſhire the northern ex"tremity only is deſcribed in this "general manner. Theſe ſeveral "territorial deſcriptions are termi"nated by a particular account of "the whole ſyſtem of canal and "river navigation, which extends "through and mutually connects "theſe diſtricts, and which cannot "be properly underſtood without "tracing the ſeveral trunks and "communicating branches from "county to county, diſregarding all "artificial boundaries. The main "body of the work then ſucceeds, "conſiſting of the deſcription of "particular places. Beginning with "our centre, we proceed through all "the principal towns and villages "in the ſame order in which the "counties have been treated of. "Details are given, as accurate as "our materials could ſupply, of po"pulation, government, inſtitutions "public and private, trade, manu"factures, and all that is important "in the preſent ſtate of a place, "not, however, entirely diſregard"ing narrations of paſt times, when "they appeared intereſting."

The general deſcription of the geographical diviſions, and of the canals which interſect them, is written in a perſpicuous and ſatisfactory manner, but does not admit of abridgment, or the extraction of any paſſage, forming a whole in itſelf. The account of Mancheſter, of the progreſs of manufactures in that place, and the cauſe and conſequences of that progreſs, is of equal merit. From the latter part of it we extract the following ſketch of the habits, cuſtoms, and domeſtic economy of the Mancheſter traders at various epochs. This ſketch is ſaid to be drawn up from the facts and obſervations communicated by an accurate and well informed enquirer.

"The trade of Mancheſter may be divided into four periods. The firſt is that, when the manufacturers worked hard merely for a livelihood, without having accumulated any capital. The ſecond is that, when they had begun to acquire little fortunes, but worked as hard, and lived in as plain a manner as before, increaſing their fortunes as well by economy as by moderate gains. The third is that, when luxury began to appear, and trade was puſhed by ſending out riders to every part of the kingdom. The fourth is the period in which expence and luxury had made a great progreſs, and was ſupported by a trade extended by means of riders and factors through every part of Europe.

It is not eaſy to aſcertain when the ſecond of theſe periods commenced; but it is probable that few or no capitals of £.3,000. or £.4,000. acquired by trade, exiſted here before 1690. However, towards the latter end of the laſt century and the beginning of the preſent, the traders had certainly got money beforehand, and began to build modern brick houſes, in place of thoſe of wood and plaſter. For the firſt thirty years of the preſent century, the old eſtabliſhed houſes confined their trade to the wholeſale dealers in London, Briſtol, Norwich, Newcaſtle, and thoſe who frequented Cheſter fair. The profits were thus divided between the manufacturer, the wholeſale, and the retail, dealer; and thoſe of the manufacturer were probably (though this is contrary to the received opinion) leſs per cent. upon the buſineſs they did, than in the preſent times. The improvement of their fortunes was chiefly owing to their economy in living, the expence of which was much below the intereſt of the capital employed. Apprentices at that time were now and then taken from families which could pay a moderate fee. By an indenture dated 1695 the fee paid appears to have been ſixty pounds, the young man ſerving ſeven years. But all apprentices were obliged to undergo a vaſt deal of laborious work, ſuch as turning warping mills, carrying goods on their ſhoulders through the ſtreets, and the like. An eminent manufacturer in that age uſed to be in his warehouſe before ſix in the morning, accompanied by his children and apprentices. At ſeven they all came in to breakfaſt, which conſiſted of one large diſh of water pottage, made of oatmeal, water, and a little ſalt, boiled thick, and poured into a diſh. At the ſide was a pan or baſon of milk, and the maſter and apprentices, each with a wooden ſpoon in his hand, without loſs of time, dipped into the ſame diſh, and thence into the milk pan; and as ſoon as it was finiſhed they all returned to their work. In George the Firſt's reign many country gentlemen began to ſend their ſons apprentices to the Mancheſter manufacturers; but though the little country gentry did not then live in the luxurious manner they have done ſince, the young men found it ſo different from home, that they could not brook this treatment, and either got away before their time, or, if they ſtaid till the expiration of their indentures, they then, for the moſt part, entered into the army, or went to ſea. The little attention paid to rendering the evenings of apprentices agreeable at home, where they were conſidered rather as ſervants than as pupils, drove many of them to taverns, where they acquired habits of drinking, that frequently proved injurious to them in after life. To this, in part, is to be attributed the bad cuſtom of gilling, or drinking white wine as a whet before dinner, to which at one period a number of young men fell a ſacrifice.

When the Mancheſter trade began to extend, the chapmen uſed to keep gangs of pack-horſes, and accompany them to the principal towns with goods in packs, which they opened and ſold to ſhopkeepers, lodging what was unſold in ſmall ſtores at the inns. The pack-horſes brought back ſheep's wool, which was bought on the journey, and ſold to the makers of worſted yarn at Mancheſter, or to the clothiers of Rochdale, Saddleworth, and the weſt riding of Yorkſhire. On the improvement of turnpike roads waggons were ſet up, and the pack-horſes diſcontinued; and the chapmen only rode out for orders, carrying with them patterns in their bags. It was during the forty years from 1730 to 1770 that trade was greatly puſhed by the practice of ſending theſe riders all over the kingdom, to thoſe towns which before had been ſupplied from the wholeſale dealers in the capital places before mentioned. As this was attended not only with more trouble, but with much more risk, ſome of the old traders withdrew from buſineſs, or confined themſelves to as much as they could do on the old footing, which by the competition of young adventurers, diminiſhed yearly. In this period ſtrangers flocked in from various quarters, which introduced a greater proportion of young men of ſome fortune into the town, with a conſequent increaſe of luxury and gaiety. The fees of apprentices becoming an object of profit, a different manner of treating them began to prevail. Somewhat before 1760, a conſiderable manufacturer allotted a back parlour with a fire for his apprentices, and gave them tea twice a day. His fees in conſequence roſe higher than had before been known, from £.250 to £.300; and he had three or four apprentices at a time. The higheſt fee known as late as 1769 was £.500. Within the laſt twenty or thirty years the vaſt increaſe of foreign trade has cauſed many of the Mancheſter manufacturers to travel abroad, and agents or partners to be fixed for a conſiderable time on the continent, as well as foreigners to reſide at Mancheſter. And the town has now in every reſpect aſſumed the ſtyle and manners of one of the commercial capitals of Europe."

"In a manufacturer's private expence book, under the date 1700, are different ſums paid for two of his daughters who were at London in the houſe of a perſon who managed a warehouſe for him. Among the reſt is paid for a ſpinet £.5 3*s*. In the ſame book, in 1701, is paid £.26 18*s*. 9*d*. for a journey to Scarborough, and hire of a coach £. 13 6*s*. 2*d*. This was the ſea bathing place of the time, for the journey was on account of a child five years old who died there; and at her funeral, though ſo young, there was paid for gloves £.2 5*s*. When this reputable perſon went to

London, his conſtant annual luxuries were Brunſwick mum, beer, and tobacco. In the expences of 1702, there is a charge, for the firſt time, of ten ſhillings for coffee and tea. His houſe rent was forty pounds per annum, perhaps including his warehouſe. For ſeveral years, ten ſhillings a quarter is put down for *chapel wages*, or his ſubſcription to the diſſenting houſe. In 1774 is five pounds for an aſs; an enormous price for the time, from which it is probable that few were then bred near Mancheſter. For the ſame year is £.2 10*s*. for a perriwig, but this was preparatory to a wedding, and double the price of thoſe charged before. This was an expenſive piece of finery for ſuch frugal times.

A proof of the early hours then kept appears in the following fact. In 1705 a manufacturer married a phyſician's daughter who had been genteelly educated and kept a good deal of company. The hour of afternoon viſiting was then two o'clock, ſo that for ſome years after her marriage, ſhe had always finiſhed her viſits ſoon enough to go to the old church prayers at four. They then dined at twelve; and there being no ſuch thing as a hair-dreſſer, it was eaſy to be ready for viſiting at two."

Sometime not long after 1708 a dancing aſſembly was formed, and a room built for it, under the patronage of Lady Hulme. It was held once a week at the low price of half a crown a quarter, and the ladies had their maids to come with lanthorns and pattens to conduct them home; nor was it unuſual for their partners to attend them. About 1720 there were not above three or four carriages kept in the town. In 1750, there was a ſtand of hackney coaches in St. Ann's ſquare, but ſedan chairs, as more convenient, were afterwards ſubſtituted for them. Some perſons who had quitted trade began to keep chaiſes, but no perſon in buſineſs ſet up a carriage till 1758. Tea was partially introduced a little before 1720, but the uſual entertainment at gentlemen's houſes at that time was wet and dry ſweetmeats, different ſorts of cake and gingerbread, apples or other fruits of the ſeaſon, and a variety of home-made wines. The manufacture of theſe wines was a great point with all good houſewives, as they made an eſſential part of all feaſts, and were to brought forth when the London or Briſtol dealers came down to ſettle their accounts and give orders. In order to perfect young ladies in what was then thought a neceſſary part of their education a paſtry ſchool was ſet up in Mancheſter.

About this period the evening expences at a club of the moſt opulent manufacturers were fixed at four-pence halfpenny for each perſon, viz. four-pence for ale, and a halfpenny for tobacco. At a much later period a ſixpenny worth of punch, and a pipe or two were eſteemed fully ſufficient for the evening's tavern amuſement of the principal inhabitants.

Annual horſe races were eſtabliſhed, about 1730, on Kelſal Moor; diſcontinued in 1745, and afterwards revived.

Mancheſter has now a neat theatre, an elegant and capacious concert room, large and commodious aſſembly rooms, an agricultural, and a literary and philoſophical ſociety.

In 1753 the population of Mancheſter was 19,839 perſons of both ſexes; in 1773, 27,246 perſons; in 1778, about 50,000; and by the year 1791 it was calculated to have increaſed to between 65 and 74 thouſand inhabitants.

Liverpool is the next object of prominent importance in the volume. This town, now the ſecond port in the kingdom, contained, in 1565, only 138 houſeholders and cottagers, and its whole ſhipping conſiſted of ten barks, the largeſt of forty tons burthen; and ſix years after it was ſo far from being in a more flouriſhing ſtate, that, in a petition to queen Elizabeth, praying to be relieved from a ſubſidy, it was ſtyled by its inhabitants "her majeſty's poor decayed town of Liverpool." It continued, however, gradually to increaſe; but even in the firſt year of this century its population was little more than 4000 ſouls. From that period its riſe was more rapid. The firſt dock was conſtructed in 1710, and an act for forming a ſecond was obtained in 1717. A third was completed in 1771. By the year 1740 the population had riſen to 18,000 perſons, in 1773 to 34,407, and in 1793 it was believed to have ſwelled to the vaſt number of nearly ſixty thouſand individuals.

Some idea of its commerce may be formed from the circumſtance that, in the year 1793, the number of veſſels cleared outwards from its port was 1739 Engliſh, and 240 foreign, and of veſſels entered inwards was 1704 Britiſh and 218 of other nations. 606 veſſels belonged to the port of Liverpool. In 1751 the whole number, outwards and inwards was only 1151.

Under the head of "Northwich" is the following account of the ſalt-mines, and brine-ſprings, which about a century ago were diſcovered at that place.

"Rock ſalt is found from twenty-eight to forty-eight yards beneath the ſurface of the earth. The firſt ſtratum or mine met with is from fifteen to twenty-one yards in thickneſs, perfectly ſolid, and ſo hard as to be cut with great difficulty by picks and wedges. Of late, the workmen have blaſted it with gunpowder, by which they looſen and remove many tons together. The appearance of the ſalt is extremely reſembling that of brown ſugar candy. Beneath this ſtratum is a bed of hard ſtone, conſiſting of large veins of flag, intermixed with ſome rock ſalt, the whole from twenty-five to thirty-five yards in thickneſs. Under this bed is a ſecond ſtratum, or mine, of ſalt, from five to ſix yards thick, many parts of it perfectly white, and clear as cryſtal, others browner, but all purer than the upper ſtratum, yet reckoned not ſo ſtrong. Above the whole maſs of ſalt is a bed of whitiſh clay, which has been uſed in the Liverpool earthen ware; and in the ſame place is found a good deal of gypſum or plaiſter ſtone.

Rock ſalt pits are ſunk at great expence, and are very uncertain in their duration, being frequently deſtroyed by the brine-ſprings burſting into them, and diſſolving the pillars, by which the whole work falls in, leaving vaſt chaſms on the ſurface of the earth. In forming a pit a ſhaft or eye is ſunk, ſimilar to that of a coal pit, but more extenſive. After the workmen have got down to the ſalt rock, and made a proper cavity, they leave a ſufficient ſubſtance of the rock, about ſeven yards in thickneſs, to form a ſolid roof, and as they proceed, they hew pillars out of the rock for the ſupport of that roof, and then employ gunpowder

powder, to ſeparate what they mean to raiſe. When well illuminated, the cryſtalline ſurface of the roof, pillars, and ſides of a large pit, make a glittering and magnificent appearance. Freſh air is conveyed from the mouth of the pit by means of a tube, to which is fixed a pair of forge bellows, forming a continual current between the outer air and that in the pit. The pits, at the greateſt depth, are dry and of a comfortable temperature.

The largeſt ſalt pit now worked, is in the townſhip of Witton, and in the lands of Nicholas Aſhton eſquire. It is worked in a circular form, 108 yards in diameter, its roof ſupported by five pillars, each three yards wide at the front, four at the back, and its ſides extending ſix yards. The pit is fourteen yards hollow; conſequently each pillar contains 294 ſolid yards of rock ſalt; and the whole area of the pit contains 9160 ſuperficial yards, little leſs than two acres of land."

The average quantity of rock ſalt annually raiſed from the pits is eſtimated in one account at 50,484 tons, and by another at 65,000 tons. Nearly 14,000 tons are refined in England, the remainder is exported in its native ſtate to foreign countries.

Northwich likewiſe ſurpaſſes the other towns in the ſalt made from brine-ſprings. The whole quantity of ſalt made from brine-ſprings in Cheſhire is eſtimated at 65,560 tons, no leſs than 45,000 of which are furniſhed by the Northwich ſprings.

" The uſual depth of the brine-ſprings is from twenty to forty yards. The mode of cryſtallizing ſalt is by putting the brine into large iron pans, of twenty or thirty feet ſquare, and fourteen inches deep, where it is heated till it boils: a light ſcum then riſes to the top, which being taken off, the liquor is reduced to a lower degree of heat; the ſteam ariſing is made to evaporate as quickly as poſſible; and the ſalt cryſtallizing forms a cruſt on the ſurface, which ſinks to the bottom of the pan, whence it is taken out once or twice in twenty-four hours. The quantity annually cryſtallized is computed at about 35,000 tons. All the fine hard baſket ſalt is not cryſtallized. Of the white ſalt, about 15 or 16,000 tons are conſumed in England and Wales, excluſive of what is refined from rock ſalt."

About 1200 hands are employed in the two modes of obtaining ſalt.

Of the Staffordſhire potteries a full and valuable account is given by Dr. Aikin. The great ſeat of the pottery manufacture commences about a mile from the borders of Cheſhire, at a village called Golden Hill, and extends in a continued line to Lane End, a ſpace ſomething more than ſeven miles; a conſiderable part of which, by joining together, ſtrikes the traveller as but one town, though under different names. This diſtrict, under the general name of "The Pottery," contains the towns and villages of Golden Hill, New Field, Smith Field, Tunſtal, Longport, Burſlem, Cobridge, Etruria, Hanley, Shelton, Stoke, Lower Lane, Lane Delf, and Lane End. The manufacturers' department alone of the pottery, gives employment to fifteen or twenty thouſand perſons. A ſingle piece of ware, ſuch as a common enamelled tea-pot, a mug, or jug, paſſes through fourteen hands before it is finiſhed; nor does this number include the turner of the wheel, turner of the lathe, and other inferior workmen. It is to the late Joſiah Wedgwood that the Staffordſhire ware owes its preſent perfection.

We ſhall cloſe our extracts from Dr. Aikin's work with the following account of the number of broad and narrow woollen cloths milled at the ſeveral fulling mills in the weſt riding of the county of York during ſeven years, from 1787 to 1794. This document will afford the reader ſome idea of the immenſe importance of the great ſtaple manufacture of this country. It is made up from the 25th of March 1787 to the ſame day in 1788, and ſo annually to March 1794.

	Broads.		Narrows.	
Years.	*Pieces.*	*Yards.*	*Pieces.*	*Yards.*
1788	139,406	4,244,322	132,143	4,208,303
1789	154,133	4,716,460	145,495	4,409,573
1790	172,588	5,151,677	140,407	4,582,122
1791	187,569	5,815,079	154,373	4,797,594
1792	203,623	6,383,589	156,475	5,153,944
1793	214,851	6,760,728	190,468	5,531,698
1794	190,988	6,067,208	130,403	4,634,258

In 1769 the quantity of broad cloth ſtamped was only 1,771,667 yards; which is little more than one fourth of the quantity manufactured in 1794.

The volume is illuſtrated by numerous engravings and maps. Some of the engravings are well executed, but the greater part of them are not entitled to much commendation.

There is in the volume only one thing which excites diſguſt, and that one thing is a prefatory advertiſement from the publiſher. This advertiſement diſplays an arrogant vanity which is quite inſufferable. Let the publiſher remember the good old maxim, that "the cobler ought not to go beyond his laſt." He has no qualifications to authorize his aſſuming the character of an author and a critic. Dodſley, indeed, though a bookſeller, was an author, but Dodſley was a man of undoubted talent.

The Hiſtory and Antiquities of the County of Leiceſter. Compiled from the beſt and moſt ancient hiſtorians, inquiſitiones poſt mortem, and other valuable records, in the Tower, Rolls, Exchequer, dutchy and augmentation offices; the regiſters of the dioceſe of Lincoln; the chartularies and regiſters of religious houſes; the college of arms; the Britiſh muſeum; the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge; and other public and private repoſitories. Including alſo Mr. Burton's deſcription of the county, publiſhed in 1622; *and the late collections of Mr. Stavely, Mr. Carte, Mr. Peck, and Sir Thomas Cave. By* John Nichols *F. S. A. Edinburgh and Perth. Folio. Vols.* I. & II.

TOPOGRAPHICAL hiſtory, though neither ſo generally intereſting, nor ſo morally inſtructive, as the hiſtory of ſtates, is, nevertheleſs, entitled to a conſiderable ſhare of attention and praiſe. To the higher ſpecies of hiſtory it is eminently uſeful, by preſerving numerous facts, cuſtoms, dates and biographical notices, which would otherwiſe be wholly loſt. Nor are the qualifications requiſite to a topographical hiſtorian by any means of the loweſt order. To unwearied patience, and a ſpirit of enquiry, he ſhould unite varied and extenſive knowledge, and a large portion of judgment, taſte and diſcrimination. The uſual fault in writers of this claſs is a degree of minuteneſs and tedioufneſs which at length wearies out the perſeverance of the moſt indefatigable reader. They dwell on inſignificant objects with a delight which is confined wholly to themſelves. Nothing eſcapes their microſcopic eyes. "Names ignoble born to be forgot," are copied from the mouldering tomb-ſtone, and printed with as much ceremony as if their owners had decided the fate of empires, or, which is more worthy of commemoration, had enlightened and adorned the age in which they lived. Of what uſe can it be, either to the preſent race or to poſterity, to know that John Jackſon, miller, died in November, and that Thomas Jobſon, farrier, died in December, and that ſome of their children, not twelve months old, are buried with them? This is a waſte of paper and time. No name is worthy of being recorded in a county hiſtory that is not in one way or other connected with ſome object or perſon of diſtinguiſhed virtue or diſtinguiſhed utility.

It now remains for us to declare that Mr. Nichols has brought to the performance of his taſk as large a ſhare of the good qualities of a topographical hiſtorian, and as ſmall a ſhare of the bad ones, as any author of the kind that has ever come under our obſervation. He diſplays, indeed, a more than ordinary portion of acuteneſs, fidelity, and laborious reſearch; and leaves no ground for any future writer to attempt a hiſtory of the county of Leiceſter.

The work is meant to extend to four large folios; only two of which are yet publiſhed. In another department of our volume we have given ſome extracts, and we ſhall now continue our quotations.

The firſt volume opens with a copy of that part of domeſday book which relates to Leiceſterſhire, and the original is accompanied by a faithful tranſlation. This is ſucceeded by a curious and valuable diſſertation on the domeſday book. Speaking of the period of William the conqueror, Mr. Nichols ſays "The general face of the country at "this time was divided into arable, "expreſſed by the carucates and the "number of *carucæ* or ploughs, "meadow (pratum) paſturage (paſtura) and woodland (ſilva.) In "this part of the ſurvey the *woods* "are frequently, perhaps always, "taken into the account; not that "the timber was at that time of "great value, but principally on "account of the *acorns* and *beech-maſt*, which, when the country was "in a very imperfect ſtate of cultivation, had a degree of importance, of which we can form a "very inadequate idea at this time. "Our hogs are reared with whey, "or with milk, with the refuſe of "our gardens, with grains, and the "waſh of our kitchens, and they "are fed with potatoes or with "barley flour: but the hogs of thoſe "times were generally kept in the "woods, and it is probable were "always fatted there. In many "places of this ſurvey, and once in "this county under Aſcebi, the "value of a wood is aſcertained by "the number of hogs it would ſup-

“port. Pig-bread, (porcellorum panis) is one of the Saxon words for *acorn;* and it was in a great meaſure for the ſake of a food of ſuch importance to them, that new ſevere laws were made by our Saxon anceſtors for the preſervation of timber. They even eſtimated the value of a tree by the number of hogs that could lie under it; and the fines for treſpaſſes in woods were not trivial. The laws of Hoel Dha, which were written not long before the time of this ſurvey, ſeem to have been with the ſame view. Even the terms on which hogs might be agiſted are ſettled in the Saxon laws. Hence we have good reaſon to conclude, that the donation, *decimarum pannagii,*[*] made by the old barons to the religious houſes they favoured, were extremely acceptable.—A wood that yielded neither acorns nor beech-maſt is in this (under *Lupeſtor,* p. 235. a. 2.) and other parts of the ſurvey, called ſilva *infructuoſa,* as affording nothing that would, comparatively ſpeaking, be an object of attention.”

Ludicrous as the thought appears, the above extract gives us reaſon to believe that, to the love of our anceſtors for pork, Great Britain is, in part, indebted for her naval ſuperiority. Had not the woods been preſerved to afford food for the hogs, it is probable that, as in the American back ſettlements, they would have been gradually deſtroyed, in order to convert the land into arable or paſture.

The diſſertation on Domeſday Book is followed by a numerous collection of civil and eccleſiaſtical documents, none of which admit of either abridgment or extract, though the whole of them are highly important.

The early hiſtory and antiquities of the town of Leiceſter are treated upon at great length, and in a very ſatisfactory manner. One extract we give, as well for its curioſity, as to afford the reader an opportunity of comparing it with other accounts of the ſame kind, which have been formerly publiſhed. “It is the amount of the diſburſements of Thomas earl of Lancaſter, in his domeſtic expences for one whole year, made out by Henry Leiceſter his cofferer, 1313; at which time ſilver was at one ſhilling and eight pence the ounce; ſo that twelve ounces made a pound ſterling. His total expence, therefore, in that year amounted (in our money) to two and twenty thouſand and ſeventy-eight pounds, ſeventeen ſhillings and eight-pence; whence it is evident that he muſt have had a prodigious eſtate; eſpecially when we conſider the great difference between the prices of proviſions at that time and now.”

Charge of the pantry, buttery, and kitchen - -	£. 3405	0	0
To 184 tons, 1 pipe, of red or claret wine, and 2 tons of white wine	104	17	6
To grocery - - -	180	17	0
To 6 barrels of ſturgeon	19	0	0
To 6800 ſtock-fiſhes, ſo called, and for dried			

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[*] “Quiſque villanus habens X porcos dat unum porcum de paſnagio,” Domeſday, Herefordſcire, p. 180 a. 1. Pannage or pawnage ſignifies the fruit growing on foreſt trees, ſuch as oak, beech, and cheſnut; which was proper food for pigs. It ſignifies ſometimes the rent paid for ſuch food either in money or kind. See Manwood's Foreſt Laws, p. 227—229.

	£.	s.	d.
fiſhes of all ſorts, as lings, haberdines, &c.	41	6	7
To 1714 pounds of wax, vermillion and turpentine	314	7	4½
To 2319 pounds of tallow candles for the houſehold, and 1870 of lights for Paris candles, called perchers	31	14	3
To charge of the earl's great horſes (generally more than 1500 in number) and ſervants' wages	486	4	3½
To linen for the earl and his chaplains, and for the pantry	43	17	0
To 2 cloths of ſcarlet for the earl's uſe; one of ruſſet for the biſhop of Anjou; 70 of blue for the knights; 28 for the eſquires; 15 of medley for the clerks; 15 for the officers; 19 for the grooms; 5 for the archers; 4 for the minſtrels and carpenters; with the ſharing and carriage for the earl's liveries at Chriſtmas	460	15	0
To 7 furs of variable miniver, or powdered ermine, 7 hoods of purple, 395 furs of budge, for the liveries of barons, knights, and clerks; 123 furs of lamb bought at Chriſtmas, for the eſquires	147	17	8
To 65 ſaffron-coloured cloths for the barons and knights in ſummer; 12 red cloths for the clerks; 26 ray-cloths for the eſquires; 1 for the officers; and 4 ray-cloths for carpets in the hall	345	13	8
To 100 pieces of green ſilk for the knights; 14 budge furs for ſurcoats; 13 hoods of budge for clerks; 75 furs of lambs for liveries in ſummer, with canvas and cords to truſs them	72	19	0
To ſaddles for the lord's ſummer liveries	51	6	8
To 1 ſaddle for the earl, of the prince's arms	2	0	0
To ſeveral items (the particulars in the account defaced)	241	14	1½
To horſes loſt in ſervice of the earl	8	6	8
To fees paid to earls, barons, knights, and eſquires	623	15	5
To gifts to knights of France, the queen of England's nurſes, to the counteſs of Warren, eſquires, minſtrels, meſſengers, and riders	92	14	0
To 168 yards of ruſſet cloth, and 24 coats for poor men, with money given the poor on Maunday Thurſday	8	16	7
To 24 ſilver diſhes; 24 cups; 1 pair of paternoſters; 1 ſilver coffer; all bought this year	103	5	6
To divers meſſengers about the earl's buſineſs	34	19	8
To ſundry things in the earl's chamber	5	0	0
To ſeveral old debts, paid this year	88	16	0¾
The expences of the counteſs at Pickering, in the pantry, buttery, kitchen, &c.	285	13	4½
In wine, wax, ſpices, cloths, furs, &c. for the counteſs's wardrobe	157	7	4½
Total	£.7957	13	4½

As a ſupplement to the foregoing account it will be proper to add the following “ Table of proviſions, with their prices, as eſtabliſhed by the king's proclamation in 1314, but revoked in 1326.”

	£.	s.	d.
The beſt graſs-fed ox alive at	0	16	0
The beſt grain-fed ox at	1	4	0
The beſt cow, alive and fat, at	0	12	0
The beſt hog of two year's old at	0	3	4
The beſt ſhorn mutton at	0	1	2
The beſt gooſe at	0	0	3
The beſt capon at	0	0	2½
The beſt hen at	0	0	1½
The beſt chickens, two for	0	0	1½
The beſt young pigeons, three for	0	0	1
Twenty eggs at	0	0	1

The firſt volume of Mr. Nichols's work concludes with an appendix of documents to the Hiſtory of Leiceſter.

The ſecond volume contains the hiſtory of the hundred of Framland. The parochial deſcriptions are well drawn up, and are arranged in a methodical manner. In the courſe of the volume we meet with biographies of ſeveral eminent characters, which are very full and ſatisfactory. Under the head of “ Belvoir” a copious account is given of the dukes of Rutland and their anceſtors. A note contains a ſhort ſketch from Anthony Wood of the life of Henry Pierpoint, marquis of Dorcheſter, and a letter ſaid to be in part written by the celebrated author of Hudibras. For the amuſement of the reader we will extract the ſketch, and the curious ſpecimen of literary and noble ſcolding, by which it is accompanied.

“ This noble lord, born at Manſfield in Nottinghamſhire in 1606, was educated at Emanuel college, Cambridge, where he was famed for being a hard ſtudent. Adhering firmly to king Charles the firſt, he was with him at Oxford, after the battle of Edgehill, and as we learn by Anthony Wood “ had a degree conferred on him, or at leaſt was incorporated, though neglected to be regiſtered by the common ſcribe of the univerſity. He was then eſteemed a learned man, as being well read in the fathers, ſchoolmen, caſuiſts, the civil and canon law; having about that time been admitted a bencher of Lincoln's-inn.” He ſucceeded, July 30, 1643, to the title of earl of Kingſton, on his father's loſing his life in the ſervice of the king; and was raiſed to the title of marquis of Dorcheſter, March 25, 1645. “ In 1649,” Wood adds, “ he applied his ſtudy to medicine and anatomy; and in 1658 was admitted fellow of the college of phyſicians at London, and became their pride and glory,” He publiſhed 1. “ Two ſpeeches, ſpoken in the houſe of lords; one, concerning the right of biſhops to ſit in parliament; the other, concerning the lawfulneſs and the conveniency of their intermeddling in temporal affairs, 1641.” 2. Speech to the trained bands of Nottinghamſhire, at Newark, July 13, 1642.” 3. “ Letter to John, lord Roos,” Feb. 13, 1659, and printed February 25, on occaſion of the differences which had ariſen between the lord Roos, and Anne his wife; (daughter of the marquis.) As ſoon as the ſaid letter was received by the lord Roos,” Wood adds, “ he wrote another in

“ anſwer to it, in a buffooning ſtyle, aſſiſted therein by Sam. Butler, afterwards known by the name of Hudibras.” The marquis replied in, 4. “ The reaſons why the marquis of Dorcheſter printed his letter, &c.” He is ſuppoſed to have been the author of ſome other productions; and dying December 8, 1680, was buried at Holme Pierpoint, in Nottinghamſhire. After the above traits of the marquis's character have been peruſed, the alluſions in the following letter will be more readily under-underſtood.

“ *The lord Roos his anſwer to the marquis of Dorcheſter's letter, written the 25th of Feb.* 1659.

“ Sir,

“ Sure you were among your gallypots and gliſter pipes, when you gave your choller ſo violent a purge, to the fouling of ſo much innocent paper, and your own reputation (if you had any, which the wiſe very much doubt.) You had better bin drunk, and ſet in ſtocks for it, when you ſent the poſt with a whole pacquet of chartells to me; in which you have diſcovered ſo much vapouring nonſence and rayling, that it is wholſomer for your credit to have it thought the effect of drink, than your own naturall talent in perfect minde and memory: for if you underſtand anything in your own trade, you could not but know that the hectick of your own brain is more deſperate than the tertian fits of mine, which are eaſily cured with a little ſleep; but your's is paſt the remedy of a mortar and braying. But I wonder with what confidence you can accuſe me with the diſcovery of private paſſages between us, when you are ſo open yourſelf, that every man ſees through you; or how could I diſcloſe perfectly anything in your epiſtles to my father and mother, which was not before very well known to your tutors and ſchoolmaſters, whoſe inſtructions you uſed in compiling thoſe voluminous works? Let any man judge, whether I am ſo likely to divulge ſecrets as you, who cannot forbear printing and publiſhing. Your labours are now cry'd in the ſtreets of London, with ballads on the Rump; and Hewſon's Lamentations; and the lord of Dorcheſter's name makes a greater noyſe in a cloſe alley then *kitching ſtuffe*, or *work for a tinker*; and all this by your own induſtry, who are not aſhamed at the ſame inſtant to pretend to ſecrecy, with no leſſe abſurdity than you commit, when, accuſing me for uſing foul language, you doe outdoe Billinſgate yourſelf. But now you begin to vapour, and to tell us you have fought before; ſo I have heard you have, with your wife and poet; but if you came off with no more honour than when you were beaten by my lord Grandiſon, you had better have kept that to yourſelf, if it were poſſible for you to conceale anything; but I cannot but laugh at the untoward courſe you take to render yourſelf formidable, by bragging of your fights, when you are terrible onely in your medicines. If you had told us how many you had killed that way, and how many you have cut in pieces, beſides calves and dogs, a right-valiant man that has any wit would tremble to come near you; and if by your threatening to ramme your ſword down my throat, you do not mean your

" pills, which are a more dangerous " weapon, the worſt is paſt, and I am " ſafe enough; for as to your feats " of armes, there is no half quarter " of a man that is ſo wretched but " would venture to give you battayl: " but you are moſt unſufferable in " your unconſcionable engroſſing of " all trades. It is not enough that " you are already as many things " as any of your own receipts; that " you are a doctor of the civill law, " and a barriſter at the common, a " bencher of Gray's Inne, a profeſſour of phiſick, and a fellow of " the colledge; a mathematician, " Caldean, a ſchoolman, and a piece " of a grammarian (as your laſt " work can ſhew were it conſtrued) " a philoſopher, poet, tranſlator, antiſocordiſt, ſolliciter, broker, and " uſurer; beſides a marquis, earl, " viſcount, and baron; but you muſt, " like Dr. Suttle, profeſſe quarrelling too, and publiſh yourſelf an " Hector; of which calling there are " ſo many already that they can " hardly live one by another. Sir, " truly there is no conſcience in it, " conſidering you have not onely a " more ſure and ſafe way of killing " men already than they have, but " a plentiful eſtate beſide; ſo many " trades, and yet have ſo little conſcience to eat the bread out of their " mouths, they have great reaſon to " lay it to heart; and I hope ſome " of them will demand reparation of " you, and make you give them " compounding dinners too, as well " as you have done to the reſt of " your fraternities. And now be " your own judge, whether any one " man can be bound in honour to " fight with ſuch an hydra as you " are; a monſter of many heads, " like the multitude, or the devil " that called himſelf legion. Such " an encounter would be no duell, but " war; which I never heard that " any one man ever made alone; " and I muſt levy forces ere I can " meet you; for if every one of your " capacities had but a ſecond, you " would amount to a brigade, as " your letter does to a declaration; " in which I cannot omit, that in " one reſpect you have dealt very ingenuouſly, and that is, in publiſhing to the world, that all your " heroical reſolutions are built upon " your own opinion of my want of " courage; this argues you well " ſtudied in the dimenſions of quarrelling; among which one of the " chiefeſt ſhews how to take meaſure " of another man's valour, by comparing it with your own, to make " your approaches accordingly; but " as the leaſt miſtake betrays you to " an infallible beating, ſo you had " far'd, and perhaps had had the " honour which you ſeem to deſire, " of falling by my ſword, if I had " not thought you a thing fitter for " any man's contempt than anger.

Roos."

The pariſh of Claxton is remarkable for a cuſtom, and for a natural phenomenon.

" In this pariſh they have a cuſtom," ſays Mr. Peck, from whoſe MS. the account is taken, " which " I no where elſe meet with, of " paying tithe bread. The manner " of their ſo doing is this: once a " quarter every houſe gives the vicar " a tithe loaf, weighing eight pounds, " of the ſame ſort of bread, whether " it be coarſe or fine, which they eat " themſelves. This cuſtom, they " ſay, began upon this occaſion: " they had a vicar whom they exceedingly loved, but he had a

“ numerous iſſue, and was very poor, and the living being ſmall, he told them he muſt leave them, for he could not live on it. To prevent a remove, they gave him tithe bread, which has continued ever ſince. If this ſtory be true, the cuſtom is not old, but began ſince the reformation.” Mr. Peck might have added that, if it be true, it reflects equal honour upon the pariſhioners and their paſtor.

The phenomenon is thus deſcribed by the Rev. Mr. Chamberlain, the vicar of Claxton. “In the ſpring of the year, or the commencement of ſummer, when the weather is warm, and the days clear and calm, we have what has been obſerved by many, and by ſome called a-tide wind (but for what reaſon, I know not) which ariſeth in the evening, three quarters of an hour or more before ſun-ſet, and blows a ſtrong gale; inſomuch that I have heard it obſerved that the millers at Claxton can do a great deal of buſineſs when others can do little or none. This wind blows at firſt rather more to the eaſt than the ſouth eaſt, almoſt in direct oppoſition to the ſun, and keeps inclining more and more to the ſouth, as long as it continues to blow, which is frequently till midnight, when it becomes entirely calm, or takes a different or rather quite oppoſite direction. According to the obſervations which I have made upon this wind, when it happens, it is generally in oppoſition to the current of air in the higher part of the atmoſphere; i. e. the direction of the current of air above is from the north weſt when this wind blows from the ſouth eaſt, which, to an attentive obſerver, is ſometimes diſcernible by ſmall light, low floating clouds, moving almoſt in direct oppoſition to the wind; whereby it is evident that this wind extends but a ſmall height in the atmoſphere; and that muſt be the reaſon that its effects are felt but to a ſmall diſtance or not in equal force. The cauſe of it appears to me to be the rarefaction of the air under the hills by the ſun's heat in the day time.”

We ſhall add only one extract more. It is a royal mandate for ſecuring a continuance of fair weather; and is grounded upon another natural phenomenon, which is not unworthy of inveſtigation.

“ Sir, Belvoir, Aug. 1, 1636.

“ His Ma^{tie}, taking notice of an opinion entertayned in Staffordſhire that the burning of ferne doth bring down raine; and beeing deſirous that the country and himſelfe may enjoy fair weather as long as hee remaines in thoſe parts; his ma^{tie} hath comanded mee to write unto you, to cauſe all burning of ferne to be forborne untill his ma^{tie} bee paſſed the country; wherein, not doubting but the conſideration of their owne intereſt as well as of his ma^{ties} will invite the country to a ready obſervance of this his ma^{ties} comand. I reſt your very loving friend,

“ *Pembroke & Montgomery.*”

“ To my very loving friend
the high ſheriffe of the
county of Stafford.”

The ſecond volume, like the firſt, is terminated by an appendix of original documents; and both volumes are ornamented with engravings, numerous beyond example, and many of them executed by artiſts of reſpectable character.

Travels in Portugal; through the provinces of Entre Douro e Minho, Beira, Eſtremadura, and Alemtejo, in the years 1789 *and* 1790. *Conſiſting of obſervatians on the manners, cuſtoms, trade, public buildings, arts, antiquities, &c. of that kingdom. By* James Murphy, *Architect.* 4*to.*

WHILE almoſt every other part of the continent of Europe has been deſcribed, till deſcription has become weariſome, very little, comparatively ſpeaking, has been written on the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal. This has doubtleſs ariſen from their lying out of the eſtabliſhed track of touriſts, who, with a true mill-horſe ſpirit have choſen to follow each other in the old beaten circle. That Portugal, eſpecially, cloſely connected as it has long been with Great Britain, ſhould have been ſo much neglected by Engliſh travellers, is truly wonderful. In our language there is not, we believe, a ſingle account of Portugal which is at all ſatisfactory. For this reaſon, though Mr. Murphy affords us much leſs information than he might have done, we are rather diſpoſed to be thankful for the contribution which he has thrown into our ſtock of knowledge upon the ſubject, than to quarrel with him for not having beſtowed with a more liberal hand. It muſt, alſo, be remembered, and allowed for, that Mr. Murphy travelled as an artiſt, and not as a profeſſed and critical obſerver of national cuſtoms, character, and political economy.

Oporto was the place at which Mr. Murphy landed. His deſcription of it is clear and tolerably full. It is the ſecond city in Portugal, in point of extent, population, and trade, and is ſeated about a league and a half from the ſea, upon the declivity of a hill, on the north ſide of the river Douro. The houſes riſe gradually one above another like the ſeats of a theatre. On the oppoſite ſide an immenſe mountain, dotted with gardens, villas, convents, and wine ſtores, terminates the proſpect.

“ Oporto, in common with moſt ancient cities,” ſays Mr. Murphy, “ has the defects of being narrow, and ſo irregularly diſpoſed, that there is ſcarcely a houſe in it with four right angles. Hence, a ſtranger would be led to ſuppoſe that the forty-ſeventh propoſition of the firſt book of Euclid, had not yet found its way thither. The corner houſes of the ſtreets in general, being obliquely diſpoſed, render the adjoining houſes of the ſame figure, as every one follows the crooked plan of his next neighbour. Thus all become rhomboids and trapeziums; defects which at firſt might have been avoided by relinquiſhing a little ground; but there are very few in commercial cities, who would ſacrifice a few feet of their property, even for what Pythagoras ſacrificed a hecatomb.

Many of the ſtreets are ſo ſteep that a man may be ſaid to climb rather than walk them. But this defect is compenſated by their cleanlineſs, which they owe much more to nature than the police; for as often as it rains, the floods of the adjoining mountains run down in torrents, and ſweep away all the impurities of the town. Lamps have not yet been introduced in the ſtreets except thoſe which are placed at the *ſacraria* of the madonas.

The houſes, when viewed at a moderate diſtance, have a clean agreeable appearance, owing to the colour of the materials, lowneſs of the roofs, and their not being diſfigured by a multiplicity of chimnies, thoſe vehicles of dirt, which make ſo conſpicuous an appearance in the buildings of northern climates. Here no apartment is furniſhed with a fire place but the kitchen, and this is uſually placed in the attic ſtory.

"The churches are large, ſtrong, and magnificent buildings, but totally devoid of every thing which conſtitutes ſcientific architecture: theirs is of a ſpecies between the Teutonic and the Tuſcan. The materials of which they are formed are excellent, and the maſonry part is not without merit. It is ſcarcely credible what riches are laviſhed on the inſide of them; the altar pieces, baldackins, &c. however defective in deſign, exhibit a profuſion of gilding."

That the trade of Oporto is extenſive may be judged from the liſt of annual exports for the year 1789.

35,600 pipes of wine, ſhipped to various parts of Europe and America.
4,989,000 *varas* (each nearly a yard) of linen cloth, the greater part of which was ſent to America.
40,000 *varas* of ſtuff, ſent to Brazil and Liſbon.
92,000 *covados* (each ¾ yard) of woollen cloth, baize, &c. manufactured at Oporto, and its diſtrict.
110,000 dozen of various pottery.
8500 pipes of oil, part of which was ſent to Brazil.
10,500 cheſts of Brazil ſugar.
56,000 *arrobas* (32lb. each) of ſumach, tartar, potter's lamina, lemon peels, and cork.
1200 quintals (each 128lb.) of bay berries.
9,000,000 ſweet and ſour oranges.
8000 lemons.
500,000 *varas* of lace, and other ornamental manufactures; ſent to Brazil.
150,000 *covados* of ſilk, manufactured at Oporto and its diſtricts ſent to Brazil.

Yet, amidſt all this buſtle of commerce, ſuch, Mr. Murphy tells us, is the devout appearance of the inhabitants that religion ſeems to be their only purſuit. The clattering of bells, the buſtling of proceſſions, and the ejaculations of friars, engage the attention by day, whilſt every part reſounds by night with the chanting of hymns.

From Oporto Mr. Murphy proceeded through Coimbra to Batalha. In a part of the route between the two former places land is of ſo little value that, inſtead of ſquare or triangular diviſions of property, the only ſeparations are rivers and mountains. A farm-houſe is a novelty, and the traveller might as well ſeek in the deſerts of Arabia for a rick of hay or a ſtack of corn. This, however, does not proceed as might be ſuppoſed, from the ſterility of the ſoil, for the ſoil appears well calculated for every ſpecies of culture.

The royal monaſtery of Batalha is deſcribed by Mr. Murphy with great animation, and the ſubject is well worthy of his praiſes. It is a fine and chaſte ſpecimen of that ſtyle which is called the modern Norman Gothic. The extent of the building from the weſtern entrance to the eaſtern extremity is four hundred and ſixteen feet; from north to ſouth, including the monaſtery, it meaſures five hundred and forty-one feet. It is built of marble, originally ſimilar in colour to Carrara marble, but which in the interior Time has pictureſquely changed to a modeſt grey, and externally, has cruſted with a yellowiſh ſcoria.

Batalha was founded at the cloſe of the fourteenth century by John the firſt, in conſequence of a ſignal victory obtained, at Aljubarotta, over the Caſtilian forces. It is the ſepulchre of many of the Portugueze ſovereigns; of each of whom Mr. Murphy has given a brief account.

To the manners and morals of the monks at Batalha Mr. Murphy bears honourable teſtimony.

"During a reſidence," ſays he, "of thirteen weeks in this abode of peace and hoſpitality, I experienced every politeneſs and attention from the fathers, who, in every reſpect conſiſtently with the duties of their order, practice the virtuous precepts of their ſacred religion. In their mode of living there appears nothing to envy, but a great deal to admire and commend; they eat but twice in the four and twenty hours, dine at eleven o'clock and ſup at eight. The daily allowance of each is two ſmall loaves, one pound and a quarter of meat, the ſame quantity of fiſh, beſides ſoup, rice, wine, and fruit: a great part of this is diſtributed to the poor. The rules of their order they obſerve with the moſt ſcrupulous rigidity; they are muſtered every morning in winter at day-break, and in ſummer at five o'clock, then each brings a vaſe full of water from the fountain, to waſh in before he enters the choir. Their cleanlineſs, regularity, and exemption from the anxieties of the world, contribute to preſerve their health and faculties to a very old age. And, notwithſtanding the bodily infirmities which phyſicians aſcribe to a ſtate of inactive life, every father in the convent exhibited a pleaſing exception to this maxim; for I could not diſcern one drooping with the weight of years, or who had loſt a tooth, or who had an eye dimmed with defluxion, though ſome of them had attained to the age of ninety and upwards." The monks of the royal monaſtery of Alcobaça are ſpoken of by Mr. Murphy in terms of equal reſpect.

On his paſſage down the Tagus to Liſbon an incident occurred which deſerves to be related; "Among thoſe," ſays he, "who ſat at the ſtern of the boat, (the part of the veſſel appropriated to the better ſort of perſons) was a man, who had apparently miſtaken his rank, if one might judge by his dreſs; he was barefoot, wore a long beard, and a pilgrim's ſcapulet, over the remains of a Perſian habit: he was about thirty-ſix years of age, of a middling ſtature, well-proportioned, of a ſwarthy complexion. I found by his language that he was a Spaniard. There was ſomething in his manners that intereſted me very much; his countenance was placid, and beſpoke a firmneſs of mind, ſuch as we admire in a virtuous man ſtruggling with misfortune. I muſt confeſs that he excited at once my pity and eſteem; and if fate had not placed my lot ſo much on a level with his own, he ſhould not want a cloak to cover him, or a cruſade in his pouch.

When we arrived at Liſbon, I requeſted he would permit me to pay his paſſage; he thanked me, ſaying, "I have change ſufficient for that "purpoſe; it is true, my apparel "beſpeaks poverty, (looking at his "bare feet) therefore you may be "ſurprized that I had the preſump"tion to take my ſeat in your com"pany; but the true Caſtilian thinks "himſelf degraded or honoured, not "by his garb but his actions."

Liſbon is well deſcribed by Mr. Murphy, but the deſcription is of too great a length to be quoted. Its population exceeds 240,000 ſouls. The total weight of the butcher's meat conſumed in 1789 by the inhabitants was, 12,212,160 pounds. In the ſame year there were regiſtered 1598 marriages, 6561 births, and 5386 deaths, but in the latter number friars, nuns, and their domeſtics are not included.

Cintra, that beautiful and romantic ſpot, occupies ſeveral pages. We ſhall paſs by the deſcription of its picturesque charms, in order to find room for a ſalutary leſſon to kings.

"Alfonſo the fourth, at his acceſſion to the throne, paſſed a month here together in hunting the wild beaſts which, in his time, roved in numbers about theſe mountains. While he was enjoying the pleaſures of the chace with his favourites, the affairs of the ſtate were conſigned to men who ſtudied their own intereſt more than that of the public. The nobility, perceiving the abuſes of the miniſters, and the ſovereign's inattention to the duties of his crown, held a council at Liſbon, to which they invited the prince. He accordingly appeared; but, inſtead of attending to their deliberations, he proceeded to recite his adventures at Cintra, with all the levity of a young ſportſman. When he had finiſhed his narrative, one of the nobleman ſtood up, and thus addreſſed him.

"Sire,—Courts and camps were allotted for kings, not woods and mountains. When buſineſs is ſacrificed to amuſement, the affairs even of private perſons are in danger; but when pleaſure engroſſes the thoughts of a king, a whole nation muſt inevitably be conſigned to ruin. Sire, we came here, not to hear the adventures of the chace, which are intelligible only to grooms and falconers, but to conſult the welfare of the people. Your majeſty will find ſufficient employment in attending to their wants; and if you will remove the grievances with which they are oppreſſed, you will find them dutiful and obedient ſubjects, if not—here the king ſtarting up in a rage interrupted him, ſaying, *if not*, what then?—"If not," reſumed the nobleman, in a firm tone, "they will look for a better king."

Alfonſo ruſhed out of the room, in a tranſport of anger; but reaſon ſoon conquering his paſſion he returned with a ſerene countenance, and thus, addreſſed the aſſembly. "I now perceive the truth of what you have juſt advanced. A king who will not perform the duties of his throne cannot have affectionate ſubjects. Remember, that from this day you have to do, not with Alphonſo the ſportſman, but with Alfonſo the fourth, king of Portugal." The reſolution ſo nobly taken was as nobly kept; and Alfonſo became one of the beſt kings that ever reigned in his kingdom.

From Liſbon Mr. Murphy croſſed the Tagus to Setuval, whence he proceeded to Beja, and then to Evora, at which place he terminated his journey. Some remarkable antiquities in the two latter towns are deſcribed with great minuteneſs. The moſt remarkable object at Evora appears to be the *caſa dos oſos*, or charnel houſe of the Franciſcan convent. This building is ſixty-ſix feet long, by thirty-ſix broad. The piers, which are eight in number, that is four at each ſide of the nave, and alſo the walls, are lined with human ſkulls and bones, ſet in a hard cement. The obſcurity of the place, and the proſtrate poſture of the pious ſupplicants, render the whole a ſcene truly awful.

With Mr. Murphy's "Obſervations on the Manners and Cuſtoms of Portugal," we ſhall conclude our account of his volume.

"The inhabitants of Liſbon may be ranked under four claſſes; viz. the nobility, the clergy, the traders, and the labouring people. The obſervations I am about to offer on each claſs contain very little more than may be collected by every one in the ſtreets or the roads, the markets or cottages. To proceed in the moſt natural order we ſhould begin with the pedeſtals of the ſtate; but for once, we ſhall reverſe the order of the ſtructure, and commence with what is called "the Corinthian capitals of poliſhed ſociety."

The nobility may be conſidered as a body entirely diſtinct from the other three; the principal affairs of the ſtate are committed to their truſt, they reſide in the capital, or its environs, and ſeldom viſit their eſtates in the provinces. They eſteem it an honour to be born in the capital, and alſo to dwell there. They are educated likewiſe at Liſbon, in a college founded for that purpoſe by king Joſeph. Hence it is called the *collegio dos nobres*, the college of nobles. Prior to the eſtabliſhment of this college they were educated at Coimbra, a place apparently adapted for that purpoſe; as it poſſeſſes many advantages not to be found in a commercial city. The fragrance of the air, the ſtillneſs of the country, and the delightful proſpects with which Coimbra abounds, are great incitements to ſtudy; beſides, it is enriched with immenſe literary treaſures, the accumulation of ages; and its buildings are very magnificent. Now, the ſeminary at Liſbon is deficient in all theſe points. It appears, therefore, that the nobility have made a bad exchange. There is a wide difference between a college of nobles and a noble college.

The nobility, comparatively ſpeaking, are not very rich, for though their patrimonies are large, their rents are ſmall. I doubt if any of them has ever ſeen a map of his eſtate, or exactly knows its boundaries. If ever they deign to turn their attention towards the conſtructing of roads and canals, and not conſider agriculture as a purſuit unworthy of gentlemen, they will become the richeſt nobility in Europe, on account of the vaſt extent of their landed poſſeſſions.

In the diſtribution of their fortunes they ſhew great prudence without the appearance of parſimony. In a country where there are no race horſes, licenſed gambling-houſes, or expenſive miſtreſſes, a gentleman may live ſplendidly upon a moderate income; fortunately theſe allurements to diſſipation are unknown to them. Nor do they excite the envy of the poor by midnight orgies or gilded chariots. Their time is ſpent between their duty at court, and the ſocial enjoyment of private parties.

The fine arts, which to the ſuperior claſſes of every nation of Europe are ſources of the moſt refined pleaſure, are almoſt entirely neglected by the nobility of this country; neither do they appear to take much pleaſure in the cultivation of the ſciences, though they poſſeſs moſt excellent capacities for both. Their lives are an even tenor of domeſtic fidelity, not remarkable for brilliant actions, and but rarely ſtained by vice. The fame of their illuſtrious anceſtors juſtly entitles them to every honour and reſpect; but whilſt they glory in the remembrance of their achievements, they ſeem to forget their maxims. It muſt be allowed, however, that they poſſeſs many amiable qualities. They are religious, temperate, and generous, faithful to their friends, charitable to the diſtreſſed, and warmly attached to their ſovereign; whoſe approbation, and a peaceful retirement, conſtitute the greateſt happineſs of their lives.

With reſpect to the clergy, I was not furniſhed with information ſufficient to form an accurate eſtimate of their true character, and I ſhall not preſume to ſpeak from report of ſo reſpectable a body. Among thoſe with whom I had the honour to be acquainted, I found ſome poſſeſſed of great liberality and talents; in proof of this I need only mention his grace the biſhop of Beja, whoſe piety and learning would do honour to the apoſtolic or Auguſtan ages. I might alſo inſtance the abbé Corrêa, chaplain to his grace the duke de Lafoens, and father de Souza author of ſeveral pieces in the Arabic language.

There are ſeveral other men of eminent talents among the clergy, but concealed in gloomy cells; and what is very extraordinary, the greater are their talents the more careful are they in ſecluding themſelves from all communication with the world. It may be aſked then, why they do not oblige the world with ſome of their acquirements? The reaſon is very obvious; the Portugueze language is ſo little known, that there is little or no ſale for books written in that language out of the country; and in it reading is far from being general; very few books therefore will defray the expence of printing and paper, eſpecially if they treat on ſcientific ſubjects. Thus are men of letters deterred from making themſelves known through this laudable channel, and the world is deprived of their experience and wiſdom.

It is true, that in all the learned profeſſions, men will be found who would render more ſervice to the community in an humble ſphere, and among the clergy there are, I am ſorry to add, but too many of this deſcription; who are better calculated by nature and education to follow the tail of the plough, than to diſcharge the important ties of that ſacred profeſſion.

The merchants are remarkably attentive to buſineſs, and, as far as I could learn, juſt and punctual in their dealings; they live on a friendly footing with the foreign traders who reſide here, particularly the Engliſh. Bankruptcies are ſeldom known among them, and they are careful in avoiding litigations; for it is a well known fact, that the gentlemen of the long robe in Portugal are not to be ſurpaſſed even by their brethren of the Engliſh court of chancery, in the art of protracting a ſuit.

A Liſbon merchant paſſes his hours in the following manner: he goes to prayers at eight o'clock, to 'change at eleven, dines at one, ſleeps till three, eats fruit at four, and ſups at nine: the intermediate hours are employed in the counting-houſe, in paying viſits, or playing at cards.

To viſit any one above the rank of a tradeſman, it is neceſſary to wear a ſword and *chapeau*; if the family you viſit be in mourning, you muſt alſo wear black; the ſervants would not conſider a viſitant as a gentleman unleſs he came in a coach; to viſit in boots would be an unpardonable offence, unleſs you wear ſpurs at the ſame time. The maſter of the houſe precedes the viſitant on his going out, the contrary order takes place in coming in.

The common people of Liſbon and its environs are a laborious and hardy race; many of them by frugal living lay up a decent competence for old age; it is painful to behold the trouble they are obliged to take for want of proper implements to carry on their work. Their cars have the rude appearance of the earlieſt ages; theſe vehicles are ſlowly drawn by two ſtout oxen. The corn is ſhelled by the treading of the ſame animals, as in the days of the Iſraelites; hence probably the ſcripture proverb, "thou ſhalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth the corn." They have many other cuſtoms which to us appear very ſingular; for example, women ſit with the left ſide towards the horſe's head when they ride. A poſtilion rides on the left horſe. Footmen play at cards whilſt they are waiting for their maſters. A taylor ſits at his work like a ſhoemaker. A hair-dreſſer appears on Sundays with a ſword, a cockade, and two watches, or at leaſt two watch-chains. A tavern is known by a vine-buſh. A houſe to be let, by a piece of blank paper. An accoucheuſe door, by a white croſs. And a Jew is known by his extra-catholic devotion.

The lower claſſes of both ſexes are very fond of gaudy apparel; we obſerve even the fiſh-women with trinkets and bracelets of gold about the neck and wriſt. The fruit-women are diſtinguiſhed by a particular dreſs. The cuſtom of wearing boots and black conical caps is peculiar to thoſe women; but for what reaſon, if any there be, I could not learn.

All the drudgery is performed by Gallicians, who may be called the hewers of wood and drawers of water of this metropolis; they are patient, induſtrious, and faithful to a proverb. One of the principal employments in which they are daily engaged, is ſupplying the citizens with water, which they carry on their ſhoulders in ſmall wooden barrels from the different fountains.

Every Gallician in this ſervitude is obliged, by the police of the city, to carry one of theſe veſſels filled with water to his lodgings every night, and in caſe of fire, to haſten with it to aſſiſt in extinguiſhing the flames at the firſt ſound of the fire bell; any neglect in this reſpect is ſeverely puniſhed; on the contrary, they are ſure to be rewarded in proportion to their vigilance. But the people are ſeldom viſited by that dreadful ſcourge: during my reſidence here there was not an inſtance of any accident by fire.

In the houſes of foreign merchants, the Gallicians are the only ſervants employed, and many of the Portugueze prefer them to the natives in that capacity; they cook the victuals, clean the rooms, and make the beds. If there be any female ſervants in the houſe under the age of five-and-thirty, they are inviſible except to the miſtreſs and her daughters; after this age they are left to their own diſcretion, as their charms are ſuppoſed to be then ſufficiently faded to render them ſecure from the invaſions of gallantry.

The ladies ſeldom breathe the pure air, except in their ſhort excurſions to the next chapel, which they viſit at leaſt once a day.

The Portugueze ladies poſſeſs many amiable qualities; they are chaſte, modeſt, and extremely affectionate to their kindred. No woman goes out of doors without the permiſſion of her huſband or parents. To avoid all ſuſpicion, men, even though relations, are not allowed to viſit their apartments, or to ſit beſide them in public places. Hence the lovers are ſeldom gratified with a ſight of them, except in the churches; here they make ſigns and ſignals:

'Addreſs and compliment by viſion,
Make love and court by intuition.'
Hudibras.

Notwithſtanding the watchful eye of the duenna, the lovers contrive to exchange *billet-doux*, and that in ſo ſubtle a manner, that none can perceive it whoſe breaſt glows not with a ſimilar flame. The little boys who attend at the altar, are often the meſſengers on theſe occaſions. When one of theſe wingleſs Cupids receives the letter, he makes his way through the audience till he approaches the fair one, then he throws himſelf on his knees, repeating his *ave maria ſtella*, and beating his breaſt; after finiſhing his ejaculations, and croſſing his forehead, he falls on his face and hands, and fervently kiſſes the ground; in the meantime he conveys the letter under the lady's drapery, and brings back another.

At other times when the lovers are coming out of the church, their hands meet as it were by chance in the holy water font; by this means they exchange billets, and enjoy the delectable pleaſure of preſſing each others fingers.

Various are the contrivances to which they are compelled to reſort, in order to elude ſuſpicion; and in no part of their lives do they evince more prudence than during their courtſhip. Their natural diſpoſition to ſecrecy is the means of their continuing for years under the impreſſion of the tender paſſion; and they muſt have fallen victims to it, were it not that refined, that virtuous love which Guevara deſcribes.

Arde y no quema; alumbra y no danna; quema y no conſume, reſplende y no laſtima, purifica y no abraſa; y aun calienta, y no congoxa.

It glows, but ſcorches not; it enlightens, but hurts not; it conſumes not though it burns; it dazzles not, though it glitters; it refines without deſtroying; and though it be hot, yet it is not painful.

Marriage feaſts are attended with vaſt expence; the reſources of the lower claſs are often exhauſted in the preparations made on theſe occaſions. The nuptial bed-chamber is ornamented in the moſt coſtly manner, with ſilks, brocades, and flowers; even the wedding ſheets are trimmed with the fineſt lace.

In their chriſtenings and funerals alſo they are very extravagant; but in other reſpects very frugal and temperate, particularly the females, who ſeldom drink anything but water; if they drink wine, it gives riſe to ſuſpicion of their chaſtity, and ſuſpicion is often held tantamount to a crime. The empreſs dona Leonor, daughter of Edward, king of Portugal, endeavoured to introduce the like cuſtom among the German ladies; but neither her majeſty's example nor perſuaſion could induce them to exchange the "milk of "venus" for the limpid rill.

The abſtemiouſneſs of the Portugueze ladies is conſpicuous in their countenance, which is pale, tranquil, and modeſt; thoſe who accuſtom themſelves to exerciſe have, nevertheleſs, a beautiful carnation. Their eyes are black and expreſſive; their teeth extremely white and regular. In converſation they are polite and agreeable; in manners aſſuaſive and unaffected. The form of their dreſs does not undergo a change, perhaps, once in an age; milliners, perfumers, and fancy dreſs makers, are profeſſions as unknown in Liſbon as in ancient Lacedæmon.

Widows are allowed to marry, but they do no not avail themſelves of that privilege as often as in other countries. There are many Portugueze, particularly thoſe of the good old ſtock, who look upon it as a ſpecies of adultery ſanctioned by the law.

Women do not aſſume the family names of their huſbands, as with us. In all the viciſſitudes of matrimony they retain their maiden names.

The men are generally addreſſed by their chriſtian names as *Senhor Pedro.* Supernomes are alſo very common here, which are derived from particular trades, remarkable incidents, places of reſidence, or ſtriking perſonal blemiſhes or accompliſhments.

Strangers' ſurnames are frequently tranſlated, eſpecially if they bear any alluſion to ſubſtantives or qualities. For example, Mr. Wolf, they call *Senor Lobo;* Mr. Whitehead, *Senor Cabeça Branca.* To the chriſtian names of men and women are often ſuperadded thoſe of their parents, for diſtinction's ſake. This cuſtom prevailed very much among the ancient Iriſh, and is not unuſual at this day in the ſouthern provinces of that country.

With reſpect to the middling claſs, in their ideas and manners they differ from the reſt of Europe; the unfrequency of travel, except to their own colonies, excludes them from modern notions and cuſtoms; hence they retain much of the ancient ſimplicity of their anceſtors, and are more converſant in the tranſactions of Aſia or America than of Europe.

Whether it proceeds from a fondneſs for eaſe, or a want of curioſity, they appear to have an averſion for travelling, even in their own country. A Portugueze can ſteer a ſhip to Brazil with leſs difficulty than he can guide his horſe from Liſbon to Oporto.

People, thus eſtranged from the neighbouring nations, are naturally averſe from the influx of mere theoretical doctrines, which tend to diſturb the tranquillity of eſtabliſhed opinions. They exclude at once the ſource of modern luxuries and refinements, modern vices and improvements.

Hence their wants, comparatively ſpeaking, are but few, and theſe are eaſily ſatisfied; their love of eaſe exempts them from many paſſions to which other nations are ſubject; groſs offences are rarely known amongſt them, but when once offended they are not eaſily appeaſed; paſſions that are ſeldom rouſed act with greater violence when agitated; under this impreſſion individuals have ſometimes been hurried to violent acts of revenge; but now, the vigilence of the magiſtrates, and the growth of civilization have blunted the point of the dagger.

The temperance of the people,

and their exemption from hard labour; the fragrance of the air, and the number of mineral ſprings with which the country abounds, are circumſtances ſo favourable to the human conſtitution, that we ſhould naturally expect to find the Portugueze live to a great age, yet there are not many remarkable inſtances of longevity among them; but there are fewer cut off by natural cauſes before the age of three ſcore, than among an equal number, perhaps, in any other part of Europe. One rarely meets a Portugueze, however aged, crippled with the gout, or bowed with infirmity.

The handſomeſt perſons of both ſexes are found in the province of Eſtremadura; that ſcourge of beauty, the ſmall-pox, does not rage here with the ſame violence as in cold climates. The inhabitants neglect one thing, which, in a country like this, would tend to expand the human frame to its full perfection, I mean bathing; neither do they take exerciſe enough for the preſervation of health.

The lower claſſes are endowed with many excellent qualities; they are religious, honeſt, and ſober, affectionate to their parents, and reſpectful to their ſuperiors. We muſt not, however, expect to find them poſſeſſed of theſe qualities on the verge of ſea-port towns, as their manners are there corrupted by mixing with refugee adventurers from various nations. Strangers, therefore, are often miſled, who form the character of the people through this adulterated medium. It is in the country only they can be found, uninfluenced by foreign manners or foreign cuſtoms, in their true national ſtate; and there we behold them honeſt, obliging, affable, and mannerly. A Portugueze peaſant will not walk with a ſuperior, an aged perſon, or a ſtranger, without giving him the right hand ſide, as a mark of reſpect. He never paſſes by a human being without taking off his hat, and ſaluting him in theſe words, *the Lord preſerve you for many years.* In ſpeaking of an abſent friend, he ſays, *morro com ſaudades de o ver:* I die with impatience to ſee him. Of a morning, when he meets the companions of his toil in the field, he ſalutes them in a complaiſant manner, and inquires after their little families. His day's work is computed from the riſing of the ſun to its ſetting; out of which he is allowed half an hour for breakfaſt, and two hours for dinner, in order to refreſh himſelf with a nap during the meridian heat. If he labours in the vineyard, he is allowed a good portion of wine. When his day's work is over he ſings veſpers, and on Sunday he attunes his guittar, or joins in a fandango dance. His male children are educated in the neighbouring convent, whence he alſo receives ſuſtenance for himſelf and family, if diſtreſſed or unable to work. They all imagine their country is the bleſſed Elyſium, and that Liſbon is the greateſt city in the world. In their proverbial language they ſay, "he who has not ſeen Liſbon "has ſeen nothing." Indeed they have proverbs for almoſt every thing, which, being founded on long experience, are generally true, though the above is a ſtriking inſtance to the contrary. Of the countries which do not, like their own, produce corn, wine and oil, they entertain but a mean opinion. They picture

ture to themſelves the miſery of the inhabitants of northern climates, who ſhudder in the midſt of froſt and ſnow, while they themſelves are baſking in the green fields. Theſe circumſtances, and the affectionate attachment they have for their king, endear to them their native ſoil. They centre a great portion of their happineſs in the fine climate with which Nature has bleſſed them, and the abundance of delicious fruit the foil yields them with little labour. Under every misfortune they are ſure to find conſolation in religion; and next to theſe divine favours, muſic is the greateſt ſolace of their lives: it diſſipates the ſorrows of the poor man, and refines the ſentiments of the rich; life glides on agreeably amidſt ſuch endearing ſcenes. It would be vain to perſuade a Portugueze that he could enjoy ſuch happineſs in any other part of the globe: he is nurtured in his opinion, and if chance or misfortune ſhould impel him to a foreign land, he pines as if in a ſtate of captivity."

THE

CONTENTS.

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Affairs of Poland. Act declaring the king's acceſſion to the confederation of Targowitz. Drawn up in language calculated to degrade the king. Confederation formed in Lithuania. Union of the two confederacies, under the title of the general confederation. Grodno fixed upon as the place of meeting. The general confederation fills the military and civil offices with its own partizans. Numbers of the Poliſh officers reſign. Addreſs of prince Poniatowſki to his troops. Proteſt of count Staniſlaus Malachowſki againſt the confederation. Other nobles alſo proteſt. Four thouſand nobles wait on them to return thanks. Various proceedings of the confederation deſigned to mortify and degrade the king. The confederation ſuſpends the courts of juſtice and ſhackles the preſs. Hatred of the people againſt the confederates, and eſpecially to Potocki. Embaſſy ſent to St. Peterſburgh by the confederation to return thanks to the empreſs. Its gracious reception. Bitter complaints of the Poliſh people againſt the barbarity of the Ruſſian troops. Inſtances of Ruſſian barbarity. No attention paid to any remonſtrances upon the ſubject. Manner in which the confederation was occupied. The great cities requeſted to ſend deputies to Grodno. Addreſs to the army. General addreſs from the confederation to the Poles. Plans of partition formed by the king of Pruſſia, and the empreſs of Ruſſia. They are conſented to by the emperor. Alarm of the confederation on the rumours of a partition. Note on the ſubject addreſſed by the confederation to the Pruſſian miniſter. Equivocal anſwer. Pruſſian army enters Poland. Manifeſto of Frederic William on this occaſion. Operations of the Pruſſian troops. Conſternation of the confederates. Potocki entreats the empreſs to interpoſe

poſe in favor of Poland. Grief of the king. Moderate reply of the confederation to the Pruſſian manifeſto. It is followed by a ſpirited proteſt. Meaſures taken by the confederation to repel the invaders. The Poſpolite ſummoned to prepare for taking the field. Alarming conduct of the Ruſſian general Igelſtrom. The count de Sievers ſent from St. Peterſburgh, as ambaſſador in Poland. Slight put upon the confederation by him. Note of the confederation to the empreſs intreating her protection. The maſk partly thrown off by Ruſſia. The count de Sievers haughtily demands the revocation of the order for calling out the Poſpolite. Reply of the confederation. The demand is complied with. Arbitrary conduct of the Ruſſian ambaſſador in various inſtances. Fallacy of his aſſertion that the neighbouring ſtates were in danger from Poliſh jacobin clubs. The confederation orders prayers for the ſafety of Poland to be put up in the churches, and ſends count Potocki to St. Peterſburgh to negociate with the empreſs. Progreſs of the Pruſſians. Czentochow ſurrenders to them. They take poſſeſſion of Dantzick. Plan of partition at length publiſhed. Manifeſto of Frederic William. Manifeſto of the empreſs. Official notification of the partition preſented to the confederates by the Ruſſian ambaſſador. Its contradictory and ſelf-criminating tenor. Pruſſian notification. The Ruſſian ambaſſador demands and obtains the reſtoration of the permanent council, and the ſequeſtration of property belonging to emigrants. Proteſt of M. Walewſki. Proteſt of count Rzewuſki. Conſequent proceedings of the Ruſſian ambaſſador againſt thoſe nobles. Anſwer of the confederates to the Ruſſian declaration. Ruſſian ambaſſador obtains the removal of the king from Warſaw to Grodno. Meaſures taken by Ruſſia to procure the convocation of a diet to ſanction the Ruſſian and Pruſſian uſurpations. The king iſſues an univerſal for convoking a diet - - - [1

CHAP. II.

Meeting of the dietines. Meaſures taken by the Ruſſians to prevent oppoſition. Nuncios arrive at Grodno. Plan of the king for the election of a marſhal not devoted to Ruſſia. It fails. Firſt ſitting of the diet. Violent debates on an innovation introduced by the confederates into the form of an oath. Ruſſian ambaſſador orders five nuncios to be arreſted. Ruſſian and Pruſſian ambaſſadors demand the appointment of a delegation, inveſted with full powers to treat with them. The demand is firmly oppoſed by the king and diet. Anſwer of the diet to the Ruſſian and Pruſſian ambaſſadors. Reply of the count de Sievers. Motion of the king for requeſting the mediation of foreign powers. It is carried. A delegation voted with limited powers, to treat with the Ruſſian ambaſſador. Inſtructions to the delegates. Arreſt of twelve deputies by the count de Sievers, and other meaſures. Imperious note of the count to the diet, on the manner of chuſing the delegates. His declaration againſt the confederates of Targowitz. The diet gives to the king the ſole power of chuſing *the delegates. Scandalous conduct of count Potocki. The count de Sievers delivers another menacing note to the diet. Manner in which the diet was kept beſieged. Firſt meeting of the delegation. The count de Sievers ſends two more threatening notes to the diet, inſiſting that the delegation ſhall be inveſted with full powers to conſent to the ceſſion. He is requeſted to grant time, but refuſes. Violent debate in the diet on his demand. Speech of the nuncio Kimbar. Speech of the king. The demand is at length acceded to. Reſolution voted by the king and diet to ſerve as a proteſt. Signature of the treaty. Tenor of the treaty. Extent, population, and revenues of the provinces wreſted from Poland by Ruſſia. Satisfaction felt by the empreſs of Ruſſia on obtaining this acquiſition. She orders an indemnification to all thoſe of her new ſubjects who had ſuffered by the Ruſſian invaſion; and likewiſe ſuſpends, till the 1ſt of January* 1795, *the payment of all taxes. Ukaſe for terminating law-ſuits, and diminiſhing the number of lawyers. The empreſs appoints a day of thankſgiving and feſtival, in gratitude to Providence for her new acquiſitions. Hopes of the diet that the empreſs would interpoſe to protect the republic from the king of Pruſſia. The Pruſſian ambaſſador demands that the delegation ſhall be authorized to treat with him. Debates of the diet upon the ſubject. Some of the members reproach the king. His defence. The king's ſpeech, treating with ſeverity the conduct of Pruſſia. He moves to requeſt the protection of Ruſſia. His motion is carried. Note addreſſed, in conſequence, to the count de Sievers. His jeſuitical anſwer. Diet not diſpoſed to treat with Pruſſia. Delegation to treat voted at laſt, on the demand of the count de Sievers. Attacks in the diet upon the king. His defence. Pruſſian treaty preſented to the diet. Unbounded indignation of the diet. The count de Sievers adopts the moſt violent meaſures to procure the acceptance of the treaty. Spirited conduct of the diet. It accepts the treaty, with ſome modifications, but enters a proteſt againſt it. The king of Pruſſia refuſes to allow the modifications. Force again reſorted to by the count de Sievers. The treaty is at length ſigned in its original form. Spirited proteſt of the diet. Contents of the treaty. Frederic William makes a tour through his new poſſeſſions. The diet demands the reſtoration of the members arreſted by the count de Sievers. He refuſes to comply, and writes an inſulting reprimand to the diet. Treaty of alliance between Ruſſia and Poland. Stipulations of the treaty, rigorous and degrading to the latter country. Staniſlaus declares for the acceptance of the treaty, as the leaſt of two evils. Empreſs of Ruſſia declares her intention to pay part of the debt owing in Holland by the republic. The diet determines to diſſolve the confederacy of Targowitz. Confederation of Grodno formed. Its purpoſe. The diet annuls all the decrees of the confederacy of Targowitz Laws paſſed by the diet. Reduction of the army. New conſtitution of Poland ſanctioned. The diet reſtores the order of merit, aboliſhed, on the demand of Catherine, by the late confederation. Conclusion of the diet* - - [21

CHAP. III.

Miniſters nominated by the king. He returns to Warſaw. Anger of the empreſs excited by the decrees which the diet had paſſed, for annulling the decrees of the confederates, and reſtoring the military order of merit. Count de Sievers recalled from Warſaw. Previouſly to his departure he remonſtrates againſt the proceedings of the diet. Remonſtrances repeated by his ſucceſſor, baron Igelſtrom, commander of the Ruſſian troops. Humiliating proclamation iſſued by the king and permanent council to ſatisfy the empreſs. A deputation appointed to proceed to St. Peterſburgh for the purpoſe of averting her wrath. Ruſſian ambaſſador demands, and obtains, the eraſure from the public records of every thing relative to the conſtitution of 1791; and the ſuppreſſion of all printed works concerning that conſtitution. Oppreſſive conduct of the Ruſſians. Diſſatisfaction and murmurs of the Poles. Meaſures taken by general Igelſtrom to prevent any inſurrection. Some patriots at Warſaw reſolve to attempt to free their country from the Ruſſian yoke. Correſpondence carried on by them with the expatriated Poles. They chuſe general Koſciuſko as their chief. Character of the general. He finds the plan not matured, and adviſes delay. Conduct of Igelſtrom renders it impoſſible to delay any longer. He calls for the reduction of the army. General Madalinſki refuſes to diſarm; and commences the inſurrection. Penetrates into ſouthern Pruſſia. Fruitleſs attempts to arreſt his progreſs. General Igelſtrom concentrates his forces. Koſciuſko appears at Cracow, and is inveſted with unlimited authority. Steps taken by the patriots at Cracow. Proclamations iſſued by Koſciuſko. Manifeſto to foreign powers. Koſciuſko endeavours to conciliate the emperor. He is joined by Madalinſki and colonel Mangette. Part of the Poliſh troops in the Ukraine, which had entered into the ſervice of the empreſs, abandon it, and return to Poland to join the patriots. The remainder are diſarmed. Proclamation iſſued againſt the patriots by the Poliſh government. It does not ſatisfy the Ruſſians. Koſciuſko marches to attack general Deniſſow. Battle of Raſlawice. Defeat of the Ruſſians. Inſurrection extends throughout Poland and Lithuania. Grochowſki and Chomentowſki raiſe the palatinates of Chelm and Lublin. Jaſinſki by a maſter-piece of prudence and courage makes priſoners eleven hundred Ruſſians at Wilna. Rejoicings in conſequence at Cracow. Poſition of Ruſſian and Poliſh armies. Affairs at Warſaw. Igelſtrom arreſts ſome perſons, and calls on the king and council to arreſt all ſuſpected individuals, but is refuſed Diſtribution of the Ruſſian garriſon to prevent any attempt at inſurrection. Igelſtrom inſiſts upon the arreſt of twenty-ſix perſons. The patriots now reſolve to begin the conteſt. Inſurrection breaks out with the utmoſt fury. Dreadful combat, which laſts nearly the whole of the day, to the great diſadvantage of the Ruſſians. Patriots favoured by the king. The combat ſlackens during the night. It is renewed the next morning with increaſed vigour. Igeſtrom compelled to retire with the remnant of his *force. Loſs ſuffered by the Ruſſians. Proviſional council eſtabliſhed at Warſaw. Tribunal formed for the puniſhment of traitors. Four traitors executed. Defenſive meaſures taken. Return of the principal of the Poliſh exiles. Unjuſt ſuſpicions entertained of the king by the people. Koſciuſko ſends inſtructions as to the manner of eſtabliſhing the government. He deſires that the king may be reſpected and conſulted. National council eſtabliſhed. Situation of Koſciuſko. He orders general Grochowſki to join him. Maſterly manœuvre of that general. Pruſſian army enters Poland, and joins the army of general Deniſſow. Frederic William takes the command. Koſciuſko reſolves to hazard a battle. Battle of Szezekocin. Gallantry of the Poles. The enemy are twice repulſed; but at length the death of general Grochowſki diſheartens the Poles, and compels Koſciuſko to abandon the field. Defeat of general Zajonczeck at Chelm by the Ruſſian general Derfelden. The Pruſſians make themſelves maſters of Cracow. Proclamation of Koſciuſko ordering the Poliſh generals to carry the war into the territories of the combined powers, and offer liberty to the people. Maſſacre of eight priſoners at Warſaw. Thoſe engaged in the maſſacre are ſeverely puniſhed. March of an Auſtrian force into the Poliſh territory. Koſciuſko obliged to retire to Warſaw, and poſt his army in the entrenchments. Commencement of the ſiege. Spirited defence made by the Poles. Some advantages gained by the Pruſſians. A general inſurrection takes place in ſouthern Pruſſia. The combined armies are under the neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege. Retreat of the Pruſſians and Ruſſians - - -* [44

CHAP. IV.

Determination of the empreſs to deſtroy the independence of Poland. Policy of holding back her force till the preſent period. Strength and poſition of the Poliſh armies. Exertions made by the empreſs to enſure the ſucceſs of her arms. Famine, in conſequence, in two of the Ruſſian frontier provinces. Actions in Lithuania. Ruſſians twice defeated. They are victorious in a third combat. Wilno taken by aſſault. Proceedings in ſouthern Pruſſia. Madalinſki defeats the Pruſſians at Bromberg. Advance of the principal Ruſſian army, under count Alexander Suwarrow. Character of Suwarrow. Rapid march to encounter the Poles. Poſition of the Poliſh army, under Sierakowſki. Some Poliſh detachments cut off. Sierakowſki takes a new defenſive poſition. He is attacked by Suwarrow, and defeated, with the loſs of three thouſand men, after a gallant reſiſtance. He retires behind the Bug, and takes a poſition near Brzeſc, with the intention of halting only long enough to repoſe his army. Suwarrow again marches to give him battle, and croſſes the Bug, which the Poliſh general had thought it impoſſible for him to do. Battle of Brzeſc. The Poles maintain a long and deſperate ſtruggle, but are, at length, overcome, and nearly the whole of them deſtroyed. Suwarrow halts at Brzeſc to receive reinforcements. Steps taken by Koſciuſko on receiving the news of Sierakowſki's defeat. After poſting a new army to oppoſe Suwarrow, *he viſits the Lithuanian army, and orders its general to call in the ſeparate corps, and prepare for action. Maſterly plan of Koſciuſko, to prevent the junction of Ferſen with Suwarrow, and to attack the latter in front, while Mokronowſki attacked him in the rear. The plan is fruſtrated by Ferſen's croſſing the Viſtula. Koſciuſko haſtens to oppoſe him. Error of prince Poninſki. Ferſen attacks Koſciuſko at Macciowice with a ſuperior force. Sanguinary conteſt. The Ruſſians are at length victorious, Koſciuſko is unfortunately wounded and made priſoner. The chiefs of the patriots raiſe general Wawrzecky to the ſupreme command. They iſſue a ſpirited proclamation to the people. Ferſen writes to the king to demand the releaſe of the Ruſſian priſoners taken in Warſaw. Anſwer of his majeſty. The patriots reſolve to confine themſelves to the defence of Warſaw and Praga. The Poliſh armies ordered to fall back on the capital. Movements of Suwarrow. He hopes to intercept the army of Mokronowſki, but is diſappointed. Defeat of a Poliſh diviſion at Kobylka. Suwarrow determines to attempt carrying the fortifications of Praga by aſſault. Angry correſpondence between generals Zajonczeck and Suwarrow. Meaſures taken by the patriots to enable Praga to make an obſtinate reſiſtance. Ruſſian army appears before Praga, and erects formidable batteries. Preparations for the aſſault. The aſſault is given, and the place is carried with a horrible ſlaughter of the garriſon. Negotiation for the ſurrender of Warſaw. Surrender carried into effect. Poliſh army attempts to effect its retreat. It is finally compelled to lay down its arms. Fate of ſeveral of the Poliſh chiefs. Partition of Poland. Courland united to Ruſſia. Abdication of the unfortunate king of Poland. Concluſion* - - - - - - - - - [63

CHAP. V.

French revolution. Proceedings of the convention. Revocation of many of the revolutionary laws. Slowneſs of the convention in bringing to juſtice the leaders of the terroriſt faction. Commiſſion of twenty-one members, to examine the charges againſt Barrere, Billaud, Collot and Vadier. Report of the commiſſion appointed to examine the papers of Roberſpierre. Feſtival in commemoration of the king's murder. Report of Cambaceres, on the family of Louis the ſixteenth. Horrible ſpeech of Brival. Salary of the members of the convention doubled. Gratuities to men of talent. Law for redeeming the pledged clothes and bedding of the poor. It is revoked. Inſolence of the jacobin faction. Duhem committed to priſon. Hatred of the people to the jacobins. Buſts of Marat overthrown. They are replaced. Sections petition the convention to puniſh the accuſed jacobins. Meaſures againſt the jacobins. Decree for expelling Marat and others from the pantheon. Indignities heaped by the Pariſians upon the buſts, pictures, &c. of Marat. Report of the commiſſion of twenty-one, declaring that there is ground for bringing the four jacobin members to trial. The outlawed Girondiſts are reſtored to their ſeats. Jacobins prepare for an inſurrection. They are aided by a dreadful ſcarcity in Paris. The convention decrees a kind *of martial law. Commencement of the inveſtigation into the conduct of the accuſed deputies. Their former colleagues defend them. Lecointre, their accuſer, goes over to their party, and attacks the Girondiſts. Attempts made to put an end to the enquiry. Steps taken by the jacobins to bring about an inſurrection. Counter meaſures of the convention. The inſurrection breaks out on the 1ſt of April. It is quelled. The convention decrees the tranſportation of the four deputies to French Guiana, and arreſts ſeveral deputies concerned in the inſurrection. It alſo orders the terroriſts to be diſarmed. The jacobins plan a ſecond inſurrection. The plan is, in part, detected. Trial and execution of Fouquier Tinville. Joy of the Pariſians on his execution. Trial and execution of Joſeph Le Bon. Reſtoration of the property of condemned perſons. Maſſacres in the ſouth of France. The jacobins muſter all their ſtrength for another inſurrection. Inertneſs of the government. Maniſeſto of the jacobin faction. Inſurrection of the twentieth of May. The rabble ſucceed in ſtorming the hall of the convention. Aſſaſſination of Feraud. Admirable courage of Boiſſy d'Anglas. Decrees to re-eſtabliſh the reign of terror, paſſed by the jacobin deputies. The moderate party rally ſome of the battalions of the ſections, and defeat the jacobins. Arreſt of ſeveral deputies. The jacobins of the ſuburbs again march to attack the convention. The other ſections march to its defence. Cowardly behaviour of the convention. The rabble diſperſe. The audacity of the inſurgents at laſt compels the convention to act with vigour. Decrees againſt the jacobins. Suburb of St. Antoine inveſted by an armed force. It ſubmits. Revolt at Toulon. It is quelled. Arreſt of ſeveral jacobin deputies. Proceedings of the military commiſſion for the trial of the inſurgents* - - - - - - [76

CHAP. VI.

Death of Lewis the ſeventeenth. Suſpicions that it was occaſioned by poiſon. The French rulers reſolve to exchange the princeſs royal for the deputies and ambaſſadors in the hands of the Emperor. She is removed from her priſon to a country houſe. General wiſh for a ſtable government. The convention, at firſt, affects to treat the anarchical conſtitution of 1793 *with great reſpect. Gradual change in its conduct. The jacobins call loudly for the eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution of* 1793. *Commiſſion of ſeven appointed to prepare laws to put it in execution. Report of the commiſſion. It recommends the formation of a commiſſion of eleven perſons, to reviſe the conſtitution, and make arrangements for its execution. The members are choſen from among thoſe who are hoſtile to it. Debate on giving ſtrength and unity to the preſent temporary government. Uſe which is made of it. Addreſs of one of the ſections reprobating the conſtitution of* 1793. *Conteſt in conſequence between the moderate party and the jacobins. Report from the commiſſion of eleven, preſented by Boiſſy d'Anglas. He attacks the code of* 1793. *Preſents the plan of a new conſtitution. The new conſtitution is debated, and finally decreed.*

Outlines of the form of government eſtabliſhed by it. Cenſures paſſed upon it. State of public opinion in Paris. The convention manifeſts a want of confidence in its late defenders. The leaders of the ruling faction releaſe the impriſoned terroriſts. Decrees of the convention that two thirds of its members ſhall ſit in the new legiſlature. Charge of cowardice brought againſt the citizens of Paris. Precautions of the ruling faction to ſecure the re-election. Indignation of the citizens of Paris, at the decrees and the charge brought againſt them. Bitter language uſed by the political writers. Petitions of the ſections. Attack upon Tallien. Meeting of the primary aſſemblies to deliberate on the conſtitution and the decrees. Proceedings in the Pariſian aſſemblies. The decrees rejected by the ſections. Bold meaſures of the ſections. The convention declares the conſtitution and the decrees to be accepted by the nation. The ſections ſtill continue their reſiſtance. The convention takes rigorous meaſures againſt them. It arms the terroriſts, and determines to reduce the ſections to obedience. Abortive attempt to diſarm the ſection of Le Pelletier. The citizens fly to arms, and march againſt the convention. After a dreadful conteſt they are entirely defeated. Proceedings of the convention againſt the vanquiſhed. Tallien denounces ſeveral of his colleagues. The convention orders the arreſt of Saladin and Rovere. Fears entertained of an intention, on the part of ſome of the leaders of the convention, to ſuſpend the conſtitution, and renew the reign of terror. Laſt acts of the convention. It declares its authority at an end. Its character - - - - - - - - - - [94

CHAP. VII.

Military and diplomatic proceedings of the French rulers. Royaliſts. Succeſs of the French in diminiſhing the number of their external enemies. They adopt a pacific ſyſtem towards ſome of the foreign powers. Speech of Boiſſy d'Anglas. The king of Pruſſia makes peace. Contents of the treaty. Convention of neutrality between Pruſſia and France. Juſtificatory declaration of his Pruſſian majeſty, addreſſed to his co-eſtates. The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel alſo concludes peace. The diet declares in favour of a pacification. The emperor endeavours to open a negotiation. Haughty anſwer of the French government. Actions between the garriſon of Mentz and the French beſiegers. Surrender of Luxemburgh. Opening of the campaign on the Rhine. The French army under Jourdan croſſes the Rhine, and compels the Auſtrians to retire beyond the Main. Manheim given up to general Pichegru, a part of whoſe army paſſes the Necker, and attacks an Auſtrian diviſion, but is defeated. Marſhal Clairfait turns the left of Jourdan's army, and obliges the whole French army to retire in the utmoſt diſorder. He then advances to raiſe the blockade of Mentz. French camp before Mentz. It is ſtormed by the Auſtrians under Clairfait. Rout of the republicans. Actions on the Lahn. General Wurmſer carries the republican poſts in front of Manheim. Marſhal Clairfait marches againſt general Pichegru, who retires, and occupies a poſition to defend

defend Manheim. Deſcription of his poſition. He is attacked and defeated by the Auſtrians. Manheim beſieged by the victors. Its garriſon, conſiſting of nearly eleven thouſand men, is compelled to ſurrender. Retreat of Pichegru to Landau. Marſhal Clairfait marches to the Necker. Combats at Kreutznach. Jourdan, who had again moved forward, once more retires. Armiſtice concluded for the winter. The convention annexes the Netherlands, and the duchies of Luxemburgh and Bouillon, to the French republic. Proceedings on the ſide of Italy. The grand duke of Tuſcany concludes a peace. Venice ſends an ambaſſador, who is flatteringly received. Poſitions of the Auſtro-Sardinian and republican armies. Kellerman appointed to command the French army in the Genoeſe territory. The Auſtrian general, Devins, forms a plan of attack upon the French poſts. Altercation with the Genoeſe government. French defeated by the Auſtro-Sardinians. New poſition of the republicans. It is ſeveral times fruitleſsly attacked by their antagoniſts. The French army is ſtrongly reinforced. It intends to reſume the offenſive. Plan of Kellerman. He is replaced by Scherer. New plan of attack. The Auſtro-Sardinians are defeated. Cloſe of the campaign in Italy. Campaign in Spain. Weſtern Pyrenées. Situation of the contending parties. Defeat of a Spaniſh diviſion. Various movements of the hoſtile armies till the termination of hoſtilities. Eaſtern Pyrenées. Roſas evacuated by the Spaniards, after a gallant defence. Plan to retake it. The plan is rendered abortive. Combat on the Fluvia, in which the republicans are defeated. Peace concluded between the republicans and the king of Spain - - - - - - - - [116

CHAP. VIII.

Campaign and proceedings in the United Provinces. Diſaffection of a conſiderable part of the Dutch. Correſpondence carried on with the French by the diſaffected. The ſtates of Frieſland reſolve to acknowledge the French republic. Proclamation of the magiſtrates of Amſterdam againſt meetings and petitions. Eight thouſand diſaffected citizens preſent, the very day after the proclamation, a moſt inſolent addreſs to the magiſtracy. They threaten an inſurrection. Duke of York quits the command of the Britiſh and Heſſians, and is ſucceeded by count Walmoden. Opening of the campaign. French defeated in an attempt to croſs the Waal upon rafts near Nimeguen. They make a general attack on the allied line, but are repulſed. The Stadtholder appoints two envoys to proceed to Paris to negotiate a peace. An armiſtice refuſed by the French general. The envoys are unable to ſucceed in their miſſion: The committee of public ſafety orders the generals on the Dutch frontier to puſh forward with the utmoſt vigour. A froſt ſets in with uncommon ſeverity in Holland. General Pichegru puts his army in motion. The French make themſelves maſters of the iſland of Bommel, the Altena land, and of ſeveral poſts near Breda. In a few days Heuſden capitulates. Surrender of Grave, after a gallant defence of two months by general De Bons. The republi-

cans having croſſed the Waal, and taken poſt at Thuyl, count Walmoden orders them to be driven thence. This ſervice is performed by a diviſion of Britiſh and Heſſians. The republicans again make themſelves maſters of Thuyl, and attack the Britiſh at Geldermalſen, but are repulſed. Orders iſſued by count Walmoden for a retreat acroſs the Leck. Action previouſly to the retreat, in which the republicans are defeated. The French croſs the Waal, in ſeven columns, above and below Nimeguen, and defeat the Auſtrians and Hanoverians. Count Walmoden reſolves to retreat over the Yſſel. Retreat commenced. States of Utrecht capitulate. The Stadtholder quits the united provinces, and lands in England. Retreat of the Britiſh army. Sufferings which it has to encounter during its retreat. It is embarked for England - - - - [134

CHAP. IX.

Affairs of Great Britain. State of the public mind at the beginning of 1795. Party formed in favour of peace from among thoſe perſons who had hitherto ſupported the war. Meeting of parliament. King's ſpeech. Addreſs moved in the houſe of lords. General obſervations in ſupport of it. An amendment propoſed by the earl of Guildford, who ſeverely cenſures the conduct of miniſters. It is rejected. In the houſe of commons a debate takes place in conſequence of Mr. Sheridan moving to bring in a bill for repealing the act for the ſuſpenſion of the habeas corpus act. Mr. Sheridan at length withdraws his motion. He contends that Mr. Dundas has vacated his ſeat. Converſation on the ſubject. Addreſs to the king moved by Sir Edward Knatchbull, and ſeconded by Mr. Canning. An amendment is moved by Mr. Wilberforce to requeſt his majeſty to open a negotiation with the French. Mr. Wilberforce ſtrenuouſly contends in favour of peace, if attainable on honourable terms. Reply of Mr. Windham. He declares the country not to be true to itſelf. Exhorts the country to perſevere with ſpirit and fortitude. Amendment ſupported by Mr. Bankes and Sir Richard Hill. Chagrin felt by the miniſter on being thus deſerted by ſome of his former friends. He denies the poſſibility of a peace. Examines the reſources of England and France, and declares the reſources of the latter to be in a ſtate of decline. Reply of Mr. Fox. He treats the miniſter with ſarcaſtic ſeverity, and contends that peace is deſirable, and would not be dangerous. He treats with contempt the idea that French emiſſaries would, in caſe of peace, ſeduce the Engliſh. He draws a favourable picture of the ſtate of France. Declares himſelf in favour of the amendment; but aſſures the mover of it that he will never relinquiſh his deſign of procuring an enquiry into the war. The amendment is rejected by a large majority. Mr. Sheridan brings forward his motion for the repeal of the act for ſuſpending the habeas corpus. He ridicules the idea of a conſpiracy, and aſſerts the innocence of the perſons acquitted. Reply of Mr. Windham. Mr. Erſkine ſupports the motion. He is replied to by Mr. Serjeant Adair. Speech of Mr. Fox. Motion rejected. Bill brought in for continuing the ſuſpenſion of the habeas corpus act.

28. It is violently oppoſed in the houſe of commons, but, nevertheleſs, is carried by a great majority. Amendment to it moved in the houſe of peers, by Lord Lauderdale, and adopted. The bill is carried, without a diviſion, after a long debate. Proteſt againſt it by four peers - [145

CHAP. X.

Attempts of the oppoſition to compel the miniſters to negotiate. Motion of lord Stanhope againſt interference in the internal affairs of France. Reply of lord Auckland. He cenſures the miſconduct of the allies; and declares that the form of government in France ought not to be an obſtacle to peace; but conſiders it not poſſible to make peace at the preſent moment. The earl of Mansfield aſſerts the right of one nation to interfere with the internal concerns of another. Duke of Bedford and marquis of Lanſdowne object to the terms of earl Stanhope's motion. Extraordinary aſſertion of earl Stanhope reſpecting the French decree of the 19th of November. His motion negatived. Motion in the houſe of commons by Mr. Grey, that the exiſtence of the preſent government of France ought not to preclude a negotiation for peace. He ſupports it in a very able ſpeech, in which he reviews the ſituation of England and France, and declares his diſbelief that a counter-revolution can, by any means, be effected in the latter country. He is ſupported by Mr. W. Smith, who compares the language of miniſters in the American and preſent wars. Mr. Pitt moves an amendment to the motion. He expreſſes his conviction that at this moment no ſecure peace could be made with France. Compares the reſources of England and France. Denies that the re-eſtabliſhment of monarchy in France was ever conſidered by miniſters as a ſine qua non. *Mr. Wilberforce objects to the amendment as not being ſufficiently explicit, and propoſes another. He expreſſes his hope that a peace would bring about a counter-revolution in France. Mr. Fox ſeverely comments on the conduct of the miniſter in eluding the queſtion. He argues, at conſiderable length, in favour of peace. Mr. Dundas oppoſes the motion. Reply of Mr. Grey. His motion is negatived, and the miniſter's amendment carried. Mr. Wilberforce's amendment negatived. Mr. Sheridan propoſes a third amendment, which ſhares the ſame fate* - - - - [162

CHAP. XI.

Motion in the houſe of lords, by the duke of Bedford, that no form of government in France ought to preclude a negotiation. Reply of Lord Grenville. He moves the ſame amendment as had been carried the preceding day in the lower houſe. Speech of the biſhop of Landaff againſt the war. The marquis of Landſdown enlarges on the inconvenience to which the country would be expoſed by the conqueſt of Holland; and contends that the reſources of France are not likely to fail. Arguments in behalf of the motion. Arguments in favour of the amendment. The amendment

amendment is carried. Lord Grenville declares the preſent government of France to be one with which miniſters could not treat. Mr. Grey makes a ſecond motion in the lower houſe, to open the way for negotiation. It is negatived by a large majority. Motion to the ſame effect made in the houſe of lords by the duke of Bedford. He grounds it on the neceſſity of an explicit declaration of the preciſe ſituation in which this country ſtood towards France. It is negatived. Mr. Fox moves for the houſe of commons to reſolve itſelf into a committee to inveſtigate the ſtate of the nation. He ſupports his motion by a long and able ſpeech, in which he reviews our loſſes, our alliances, and external and internal ſituation. Reply of Mr. Pitt. He ſpeaks with much ſeverity of Mr. Fox. The motion is oppoſed by Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Canning, and Mr. Baſtard, and ſupported by Mr. Sheridan. Anſwer of Mr. Fox. The queſtion of adjournment is carried. Motion to facilitate peace brought forward by Mr. Wilberforce. Oppoſed by Mr. Windham. It is negatived. Motion to the ſame effect, made in the houſe of lords, by the earl of Lauderdale, is likewiſe rejected - - - - - - - [178

CHAP. XII.

Converſation in the committee of ſupply. Declaration of Mr. Pitt as to the preſent impoſſibility of treating with France. Motion to grant 100,000 ſeamen for the ſervice of the year Debate in conſequence. Oppoſition ſtate the French ſhips to be better ſailors than the Engliſh ſhips. The fact denied by Captain Berkley, but admitted by Admiral Gardner. Mr. Fox complains that an undue attention is paid to the army to the prejudice of the navy. Mr. Dundas vindicates the navy department. Mr. Sheridan wiſhes for a larger number of ſailors. Mr. Pitt declares the French reſources to be rapidly declining. Speech of general Tarleton againſt miniſters. Attacks upon the conduct of the late firſt lord of the admiralty, and defence of him by his friends. Statement of exertions made for the protection of trade. Mr. Windham brings forward the army eſtimates. Speech of colonel Tarleton. He cenſures the ſyſtem of recruiting. Reviews and reprobates the conduct of the war, both in the Weſt Indies and in Flanders. Deprecates the idea of a loan to the emperor. Speech of Mr. Huſſey. He urges an increaſed naval exertion. Reply of Mr. Pitt. He aſſerts the country to be in a favourable ſituation. Mr. Fox replies to him. He accuſes the miniſter of arrogance and want of feeling. Mr. Pitt replies. Charges Mr. Fox with miſrepreſentation. Defends the conduct of miniſters. Debate on bringing up the report. Plan of the miniſter for manning the navy. Mr. Harriſon and Mr. Jolliffe ſuggeſt meaſures in aid of it. Mr Pitt's plan is ſanctioned by the legiſlature. Extraordinary expences of the army voted. Meſſage from his majeſty reſpecting a loan to the emperor. Debate on the ſubſidy paid in the preceding year to the king of Pruſſia. Reſolution moved by Mr. Sheridan. It is negatived. Mr. Pitt moves an addreſs in anſwer to his majeſty's meſſage, on the ſubject of the imperial loan. He urges

ſtrongly

ſtrongly the policy of granting the loan, and defends the good faith of the houſe of Auſtria. Mr. Fox moves an amendment to the addreſs. Declares himſelf decidedly adverſe to the loan. The amendment negatived, and the addreſs carried. Debate in the houſe of lords on the ſame ſubject. It has the ſame reſult - - - - - - [193

CHAP. XIII.

The ſupplies, and ways and means, for the year, brought forward by Mr. Pitt. Amount of the ſupply. Of the ways and means. Terms of the loan. New taxes on wine, ſpirits, tea, inſurance, timber, ſtamps, and hair powder. Sum to be raiſed by regulating franking. Reſources and credit of the country ſtated by Mr. Pitt to be in a flouriſhing ſituation. Statement of exports and imports. Animadverſions of Mr. Fox. He diſapproves of ſome circumſtances belonging to the loan, and doubts the correctneſs of ſome of the miniſter's concluſions reſpecting the improvement of the revenue: objects to ſome of the taxes: ſtates ſome unfavourable circumſtances in the ſtate of the country; and declares peace to be indiſpenſably neceſſary. Mr. Huſſey ſtyles the loan to the emperor a bankrupt bargain; and propoſes an amelioration of it. Obſervations by various members upon the different articles of taxation. Debates on the wine duty bill; on the modification of franking; and on the hair powder duty. Sir M. W. Ridley and general Smith complain of the hardſhip of the powder tax upon thoſe gentlemen who keep ſeveral ſervants. Taxes paſſed. Reſolution brought up from the Committee of ways and means, by Mr. Windham, for allowing a proviſion in time of peace to certain militia officers. It is oppoſed as unconſtitutional; but defended by miniſters and finally paſſed. Bill for re-modelling the London militia. It is attacked with great ſeverity by Mr. Sheridan, as a violation of the chartered rights of the city. The bill is defended by Mr. Luſhington and alderman Newnham. Bitter remarks of Mr. Sheridan upon thoſe two members. Bill for recruiting the artillery corps and the navy from the militia. Oppoſed by lord Radnor. Orders iſſued from the war-office, for making certain allowances to the ſoldiers. General Macleod moves for a committee of the houſe to take them into conſideration, on the ground of their being highly unconſtitutional. A very animated debate takes place. Miniſters defend themſelves on the ſcore of the urgency of the occaſion. The previous queſtion is moved by ſir W. Pulteney, and carried. Imperial loan. Mr. Pitt moves that the dividends be guaranteed. The loan is violently oppoſed, and the good faith of the emperor impeached, by the oppoſition members. The bill for guaranteeing the dividends paſſes the lower houſe. It is attacked in the houſe of lords, but paſſes there alſo - - - - - - - - [208

CHAP. XIV.

Parliamentary proceedings on Weſt and Eaſt India affairs. Slave trade. Mr. Wilberforce moves for leave to bring in a bill to aboliſh the ſlave trade. He urges that the houſe is bound, by its reſolution of 1792, to aboliſh the trade, and adduces additional evidence to prove the iniquity of the trade. The abolition oppoſed by Mr. Barham, Mr. Eaſt, Mr. Dent, and Mr. Alderman Newnham. They aſſert the impracticability of the meaſure, and ſpeak diſreſpectfully of the reſolution of 1792. Mr. Barham moves to poſtpone the conſideration of the ſubject for ſix months. Mr. Dundas takes a middle courſe. He gives his opinion againſt the trade, but ſtrenuouſly contends againſt an immediate abolition. Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. W. Smith, ſupport Mr. Wilberforce with much warmth, and refute the arguments uſed in favour of continuing the trade. The dilatory conduct of the peers ſeverely cenſured by Mr. Whitbread. Mr. Wilberforce's motion is negatived. Attacks made, during the diſcuſſion of the ſlave trade, on ſir Charles Grey and ſir John Jervis, in conſequence of their having iſſued certain proclamations in the Weſt Indies. Mr. Grey calls for an enquiry. The ſubject is brought forward by Mr. Barham, who moves for papers, which are granted. Motion to receive the affidavit of a Mr. Maleſpine. It is negatived. Mr. Barham brings forward his motion. He aſſerts the illegality of the proclamations iſſued by the two commanders, and denies that the Britiſh troops had met with a determined reſiſtance from the French in the Weſt India iſlands. He moves for an addreſs to his majeſty to diſavow the proclamations. Spirited reply of Mr. Grey. He proves the erroneouſneſs of Mr. Barham's aſſertions. Mr. Dundas declares againſt the motion, and moves three reſolutions of an oppoſite tendency. The reſolutions are carried. Vote for erecting a monument to the memory of general Dundas. Petition for relief preſented by lord Sheffield in behalf of the merchants trading to St. Vincents and Grenada. Supported by Mr. Pitt. Mr. Fox objects to the meaſure, on the ground of its giving too much influence to miniſters. A committee appointed to conſider of the petition. Bill brought in to the relieve the merchants. The oppoſition arraign the conduct of the miniſters with reſpect to the military proceedings in the Weſt Indies. Defence of the miniſters. Second debate on that ſubject. Mr. Fox pledges himſelf to prove the miſconduct of miniſters. Relief granted. Attempt of general Smith to obtain redreſs for Eaſt India officers. It fails. Concluſion of the trial of Mr. Haſtings. Mr. Haſtings is acquitted by a large majority. Eaſt India budget brought forward by Mr. Dundas. Flouriſhing ſtate of the company. Meaſures in favour of Eaſt India officers - - - - - - - [223

CONTENTS.

CHAP. XV.

Parliamentary proceedings relative to domeſtic affairs. Act paſſed for allowing the relief of paupers at their own houſes. Bill for the better obſervance of the ſabbath day rejected. Act paſſed to make embezzlement of money by clerks a felony. Meſſage from his majeſty calling on parliament to grant an eſtabliſhment for the prince and princeſs of Wales, and alſo to appropriate to the payment of his royal highneſs's debts a part of the income to be granted. General diſſatisfaction excited by the debts. Call of the houſe ordered. Mr. Huſſey propoſes to provide from the crown lands a fund for the payment of the debts. The propoſition is negatived. Animated debate in the committee on the motion of Mr. Pitt to grant the prince an additional income of ſixty-five thouſand a year. Mr. Grey oppoſes the motion, declares againſt noticing the debts, and moves that the additional income ſhould be only forty thouſand pounds. Speech of Mr. Lambton in behalf of the prince. Mr. Fox ſuggeſts the ſale of the duchy of Cornwall. Mr. Grey's amendment is rejected, and the original motion carried. Warm debates upon various points. Meſſage from his royal highneſs, declaring his acquieſcence in whatever arrangements the legiſlature might deem proper. The payment of the debts ſtrongly oppoſed by many members, and great regret expreſſed by others, that his majeſty had not come forward with an offer of aſſiſtance. Seventy-three thouſand pounds fixed as the ſum to be annually appropriated to the diſcharge of the debts. Animated debate as to what fund the debt ſhould be paid from in the event of the prince's demiſe. Speech of Mr. Fox. Speech and plan of Mr. Sheridan. General Smith makes a motion to claim the ſums received from the duchy of Cornwall by his majeſty during the minority of the prince. It is negatived. Jointure of the princeſs of Wales ſettled. Act paſſed to prevent future princes of Wales from incurring debt. Proceedings in the houſe of lords. The bills relative to the prince's eſtabliſhment and debt are paſſed. Cloſe of the ſeſſion - - - - - - - - - [238

CHAP. XVI.

Maritime and inſular campaign. Capture of La Pique, and death of captain Faulkner. French projects in the Mediterranean. Toulon fleet defeated by admiral Hotham, and two ſail of the line captured. Falſehood of the French official accounts. Vice admiral Cornwallis with a ſmall ſquadron, chaced by the Breſt fleet, which acts with great cowardice, and finally retires. The Breſt ſquadron defeated by Lord Bridport, who captures three ſail of the line. Toulon fleet again vanquiſhed by admiral Hotham, who takes one man of war. General ſucceſs of Britiſh frigates. War in the Weſt Indies. French reinforcements arrive at Guadaloupe. Plan of Victor Hugues to recover the French, and ſubjugate the Britiſh colonies. He reduces St. Euſtatius. Invaſion of St. Lucia by the republicans, and inſurrection of the inhabitants. General Stewart, the *commander in St. Lucia is defeated, after gaining ſome ſucceſſes. The Britiſh troops are under the neceſſity of withdrawing from the iſland. The republicans foiled in their attempts upon Dominica. They excite the Caraibs and French planters of St. Vincent's to rebel, and ſend them ſuccour. The rebels repreſſed for a time. They again act on the offenſive, and are again defeated. Still retain their ground in the iſland at the end of the year. Grenada. Retroſpect of affairs in that iſland ſince its conqueſt in the ſeven years war. Unjuſt conduct of the Britiſh-born to the French-born planters. Conſequent diſaffection of the latter. They are aſſiſted by Victor Hugues. They and the Mulattoes break out into rebellion. Ineffectual meaſures adopted againſt them. Maſſacre of the Britiſh priſoners. Various actions fought in the courſe of the year. Jamaica. Alarm of the Jamaica planters on the rebellion of the Maroons. Sketch of the origin and hiſtory of the Maroons. Cauſe of the preſent Maroon war. Artful plan of the Maroons for the ruin of the iſland. It is fruſtrated. Death of colonel Sandford. Maroons eſtabliſh their quarters at an inacceſſible place called the Cockpits. Death of colonel Fitch. The colonial aſſembly reſolves to ſend to Cuba for dogs to track the Maroons. Major general Walpole, by his activity and ſpirit, reduces the enemy to great diſtreſs. They appear deſirous of peace. Different opinions on the ſubject of granting it. Arrival of the dogs. Terror of the Maroons. Peace concluded with them. St. Domingo. Inactivity of the Britiſh. Activity of the enemy. Dreadful ravages of the yellow fever. Succeſſes of the republicans in various quarters. Rigaud repulſed from Fort Bizotton. He gets poſſeſſion of Tiburon. Plots againſt the Britiſh. Military proceedings in the Eaſt. Expedition againſt the Cape of Good Hope. Major general Craig effects a landing and defeats the Dutch. Arrival with a body of troops of General Clarke, who takes the command. Surrender of the colony. Trincomalé, and all the Dutch ſettlements in Ceylon, with the exception of Columbo, reduced by colonel Stewart. Reduction of the Dutch ſettlements on the Aſiatic continent. Concluſion* - - - - [254

CHRONICLE - *1—*75

Births in the year 1795 - - - - - - - - *61
Marriages - - - - - - - - - *62
Promotions - - - - - - - - - *65
Deaths - - - - - - - - - *69
Sheriffs appointed by his Majeſty in council, for 1795 - - *74
Sheriff appointed by his royal highneſs the prince of Wales in council, for 1795 - - - - - - - - - - *75

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

Extracts from the London Gazettes:

Diſpatch from vice-admiral Hotham, relative to a partial engagement with a French fleet off Genoa - - - - - *76
Diſpatches from vice admiral Cornwallis and admiral Bridport, relating the eſcape of the French fleet from Breſt, and the ſubſequent capture of a part of it - - - - - - - - *80
Diſpatches from major general Craig, general Clarke, and vice-admiral Elphinſtone, recounting the capture of the Cape of Good Hope - *83

Abſtract of the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Committee of Council appointed for the conſideration of all matters relating to Trade and Foreign Plantations; and of the evidence before the Lords of the Privy Council; in reſpect to the ſcarcity of Bread Corn, &c. &c. - *93
Ceremonial of the preſentation of the Turkiſh ambaſſador at the Court of St. James's - - - - - - - *105
Correſpondence between his Poliſh majeſty and the Britiſh envoy - *107
Particular detail of damages by the late floods - - - *108
An account of the journey, voyage, and arrival of the princeſs Caroline of Brunſwick, and of the marriage ceremony between her ſerene highneſs and the prince of Wales - - - - - - - *113
Ceremony of the acquittal of Warren Haſtings, eſq. (late governor general of Bengal) before the high court of parliament, for high crimes and miſdemeanors - - - - - - - - *120
Letter from earl Fitzwilliam, recently retired from the government of Ireland, to the earl of Carliſle; explaining the cauſes of that event *126
Earl Fitzwilliam's ſecond letter to the earl of Carliſle - - *134
Account of the trial of the Rev. William Jackſon, for high treaſon, April 23, *at the bar of the Court of King's Bench, Dublin, and of his ſubſequent death on the* 30*th of the ſame month* - - *145
Decree paſſed by the national convention for the alteration of weights and meaſures - - - - - - - - - *147

Precis

Procès verbal of the opening of the body of Lewis the XVIIth - *150
An account of the Wicklow gold mine - - - - - *152
A general bill of all the chriſtenings and burials in the cities of London and Weſtminſter, &c. for the year 1795 - - - - - *154
An account of the quantities of all corn and grain exported from, and imported into England and Scotland, &c. for the year ended 5th January 1796 - - - - - - - - - - *155
Prices of Stocks for the year 1795 - - - - - - *157
State of the barometer, thermometer, and hygrometer, for the year 1795 *158
Principal public Acts paſſed in the fifth ſeſſion of the ſeventeenth parliament of Great Britain - - - - - - - - *159
Supplies granted by parliament for the year 1795 - - - *160

STATE PAPERS.

His Majeſty's ſpeech from the throne, on opening the ſeſſion, December 30 1794 - - - - - - - - - - *166
Addreſs of the houſe of commons in anſwer to the preceding ſpeech - *168
Meſſage from his majeſty to the houſe of commons, Feb. 4, 1795 - *169
Meſſage from his majeſty to the houſe of commons, April 27 - *170
His majeſty's ſpeech from the throne on cloſing the ſeſſion, June 27 *171
His majeſty's ſpeech from the throne on opening the ſeſſion, October 29, 1795 - - - - - - - - - - *ibid.*
The joint addreſs of both houſes of parliament to his majeſty, on the daring outrages offered to his majeſty in his way to and from the parliament houſe; preſented October 31 - - - - - - - *173
Proclamation iſſued by his majeſty, Oct. 31, *in purſuance of the addreſs* *ibid.*
Meſſage from his majeſty, to the houſe of commons, December 7, 1795 *ibid.*
Meſſage from ditto, to ditto, December 8, 1795 - - - *175
Meſſage from his majeſty to both houſes, Dec. 8, 1795 - - *ibid*
Proteſt of Lord Stanhope againſt our interfering in the internal affairs of France, Jan. 6, 1795 - - - - - - - - - *176
Proteſt againſt the act for further ſuſpending the habeas corpus act, Feb. 3, 1795 - - - - - - - - - - *178
Proteſt againſt the rejection of the motion for treating with France, Feb. 12, 1795 - - - - - - - - - - *179
Proteſt againſt the rejection of the motion for inveſtigating the cauſe of Lord Fitzwilliams's recal, May 8, 1795 - - - - *ibid.*
Proteſt againſt the act for transferring the Militia, May 28*th* - *186
Proteſt againſt the paſſing of the new treaſon bill - - - *187
Proteſt againſt the ſedition bill - - - - - - *188
Proclamation reſpecting Dutch bills of exchange, February 6*th*, 1795 *190
Additional inſtruction to the commanders of Britiſh ſhips of war and privateers, that have, or may have letters of marque againſt France, dated 9*th day of February*, 1795 - - - - - - *ibid.*

CONTENTS.

Proclamation iſſued by his majeſty, relative to ſeditious aſſemblies - *191

Orders by general the duke of Richmond, relative to providing the army with bread, &c. - - - - - *192

Copy of a letter and inſtructions from Sir William Scott and Dr. John Nicholl, of Doctors commons, prepared at the inſtance of Mr. Jay, the American miniſter - - - - - - *193

Addreſs to the king, moved in the houſe of lords by the earl of Lauderdale, on the 5th of June, 1795 - - - - - - *198

Petition of the livery of the city of London, in common hall aſſembled, preſented to the houſe of commons, Jan. 26 - - - - *201

Addreſs of the city of London to his majeſty, preſented Jan. 28 - *ibid.*

Congratulatory addreſs of the city of London to his majeſty, preſented Nov. 6 - - - - - - - - *202

Reſolutions paſſed at an extraordinary meeting of the Whig Club, November 11 - - - - - - - - *203

Proceedings of the aſſociated livery of the city of London, at the Antwerp tavern in Threadneedle-ſtreet, November 13 - - - *204

Proceedings of a meeting held at the Paul's head tavern, in Cateaton-ſtreet, November 14 - - - - - - - *205

Petition to the houſe of commons, agreed upon at a meeting of the elector's of the city of Weſtminſter, in New Palace-yard, November 16 - - *206

Proceedings of the livery of the city of London, in common hall aſſembled, November 20 - - - - - - - *207

Proceedings of a meeting held at the Paul's head tavern, in Cateaton-ſtreet, Nov. 25. - - - - - - - *208

Proceedings of a meeting held at the London tavern, in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, Nov. 27. - - - - - - - *210

Reſolutions paſſed at a late meeting of the London correſponding ſociety, held near Copenhagen houſe, in the vicinity of Iſlington - - *211

Petition preſented to the houſe of commons, Nov. 23, and ſigned by twelve thouſand one hundred and thirteen perſons - - - - *212

Proceedings of a meeting held at Grocers' hall, Dec. 2 - - *213

Speech of his excellency earl Fitzwilliam, lord lieutenant of Ireland, to both houſes of parliament, Jan. 22 - - - - - - *215

Anſwer of his excellency earl Fitzwilliam, lord lieutenant of Ireland, to the addreſs of thanks preſented by the commons for his ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, Jan. 24 - - - - - - - *217

Speech of the Right Hon. John Foſter, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, to his excellency earl Fitzwilliam, lord lieutenant of Ireland, on preſenting the money bills that had been returned from England, March 24 *218

Speech of his excellency earl Camden, lord lieutenant of Ireland, to both houſes of parliament, June 5 - - - - - - *219

Speech of his excellency the viceroy of Corſica, delivered to the chamber of parliament at the opening of the ſeſſion, the 9th day of Feb. 1795 *220

Proclamation by ſir Gilbert Elliot, viceroy of Corſica - - *222

Treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between his Britannic majeſty and the United States of America, by their preſident, with the advice and conſent of their ſenate, Nov. 19, 1794 - - - *224

CONTENTS.

Letter from Mr. Jefferſon to Mr. Hammond, alluded to in the 7th article of the treaty - - - - - - - - *239
Convention between his Britannic majeſty and the emperor of Germany, ſigned at Vienna, 4th of May 1795 - - - - *240
Treaty of defenſive alliance between his Britannic majeſty and the emperor of Germany; ſigned at Vienna, May 29. 1795 - - *243
Treaty of defenſive alliance between his Britannic majeſty and the empreſs of Ruſſia; ſigned at St. Peterſburgh, Feb. 18, 1795 - - *246
Articles of agreement for raiſing French corps for the ſervice of Great Britain, 9th March, 1795 - - - - - - - *250
Subſtance of the treaty between Great Britain and the Dey of Algiers, concluded at the cloſe of the year 1795 - - - - - *254
Treaty of peace ſigned by Charette, on the part of the royaliſt inhabitants of La Vendee; and the commiſſioners of the convention, on the part of the French republic, March 7, 1795 - - - - - *ibid.*
Treaty of peace between the chiefs of that part of the royaliſts in Brittany known by the name of Chouans, and the French convention - *255
Proclamation of the royaliſts of Anjou and Upper Poitou, in anſwer to the pacificatory proclamation of the repreſentatives of the people - *256
Declaration of the chiefs of La Vendee, on accepting the propoſals of peace *257
Addreſs of Charette, and the other leaders, to the inhabitants of La Vendee - - - - - - - - *258
Proclamation of Louis XVIII. on the impiety and revolt of the French nation - - - - - - - - - - *260
The new French conſtitution, adopted by the convention, 1795 - *268
Speech of Boiſſy D'Anglas, on the policy of the French republic with reſpect to foreign nations, adopted by the convention, as a declaration of the principles of the French people, January 30, 1795 - - *296
Report made to the national convention by Roberjot, in Auguſt, 1795, *relative to his miſſion into the countries conquered by the armies of the North, and of the Sambre and Meuſe* - - - *303
Decree incorporating the Auſtrian netherlands with the French republic *320
Proclamation of the repreſentatives of the French nation to the people of Batavia.—Amſterdam, Jan. 20, 1795 - - - - *321
Public inſtrument of the new order of things ſolemnly publiſhed at the Hague, 31*ſt Jan.* 1795 - - - - - - - *322
Proclamation of the French commiſſioners at the Hague, iſſued on the 27th of January, 1795 - - - - - - - - *325
Proclamation, ſigned at the Hague, 27th Jan. 1795 - - *326
Proclamation at the Hague, 30 *January,* 1795 - - - *327
Proclamation of the proviſional repreſentatives of the people of Amſterdam, Feb. 3, 1795 - - - - - - - - - *328
Second proclamation, by the ſame - - - - - *330
Proclamation to the Dutch people, from the proviſional repreſentatives of Holland; 26th March, 1795 - - - - - *333
Declaration of the prince of Orange - - - - - *334
Proclamation of Victor Hugues at Guadaloupe - - - *337
Proclamation by the grand duke of Tuſcany, March 1, 1795 - 338

CONTENTS.

Treaty of peace between France and Pruſſia - - - *339
Second treaty between the republic of France and the king of Pruſſia *341
Treaty of alliance, offenſive and defenſive, concluded between the republic of France and the republic of the ſeven united provinces - - *343
Official copy of the treaty between the king of Spain and the republic of France - - - *345
Treaty concluded at Baſle, Aug. 8, between the republic of France and the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel - - - - - - - *347
Imperial decree of commiſſion from the emperor to the diet at Ratiſbon, reſpecting the propoſition for negotiating a peace with France *349
Declaration of the king of Pruſſia, to his moſt high colleagues, co-ſtates of the German empire, and members of the Germanic league, with reſpect to the treaty of peace concluded between him and the republic of France, on the 5th of April, 1795 - - - - - - - *351
Subſtance of the emperor's decree of commiſſion, dated Vienna, May 19*th, relative to the preparatory meaſures for a pacification, preſented to the aſſembly of the diet of the empire, at Ratiſbon, on the* 23*d day of May,* 1795 - - - - - - *358
Copy of the note, delivered from the emperor to the Pruſſian miniſtry, at Berlin, by prince Von Reuſs, the imperial miniſter; dated February 21, 1795 - - - - - - *361
Anſwer of the Pruſſian cabinet - - - - - *362
Subſtance of a reſcript of the emperor, dated Vienna, 22*d April* 1795, *and preſented by the imperial miniſter to the miniſter of the ſtates of the Germanic empire, at Ratiſbon, on the* 4*th of May* 1795 - - *ibid.*
Subſtance of a declaration made May the 12*th,* 1795, *to the miniſters of the ſtates of the empire, in the name of the emperor, by Baron Huegel, his ambaſſador and commiſſary at Ratiſbon* - - - - *363
Subſtance of the emperor's ſecond reſcript to the diet of Ratiſbon, preſented in the middle of May, 1795 - - - - - *ibid.*
Imperial decree of ratification concerning the opening of negotiations for a peace between the empire and France, publiſhed 21*ſt of Auguſt; dated Vienna,* 29*th July* - - - - - - *364
Imperial court decree, concerning the ſeparate treaty of peace concluded between the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel and the French republic; publiſhed at Ratiſbon, September 25*th,* 1795 - - - - - *366
Pro memoria, or note, delivered by the Pruſſian directorial envoy to the ſtates of the circle of Franconia, aſſembled at Nuremberg - - *368
Manifeſto on the part of the empreſs of Ruſſia relative to the affairs of Poland, 18*th June* 1795 - - - - - - *370
Note of Mr. Drake, the Britiſh miniſter, to the Genoeſe republic *372
Anſwer of the Genoeſe republic to Mr. Drake's note - - *373
Treaty between America and Algiers - - - - *374
Treaty between America and Spain - - - - - *378
The ſpeech of the preſident of America to both houſes of congreſs, December 8, 1795 - - - - - - - *385

CHARACTERS.

CONTENTS.

CHARACTERS.

Character of Lorenzo de' Medici.—From his Life by Mr. Roſcoe - 1
Character of Henry IV. *of France.—From the Hiſtory of France from the acceſſion of Henry* III. *to the death of Louis* XIV. *By N. W. Wraxall, Eſq. Vol.* III. - - - - - - - - - 3
Character of Lord Chatham.—From Anecdotes of ſome diſtinguiſhed Perſons, chiefly of the preſent and two preceding centuries. Vol. III. - - 6
Character of Sir Richard Fanſhaw, ambaſſador from Charles II. *to the Spaniſh court, who died in Madrid in* 1666.*—From a Sermon on his death; preached at Madrid by Henry Bagſhaw, M. A. of Chriſt-church, Oxford* - - - - - - - - - 9
Character of the late Sir William Jones.—Extracted from the Diſcourſe delivered by Sir John Shore, Bart. at the meeting of the Aſiatic Society in Calcutta, May 22, 1794 - - - - - - 12
Character of Dr. Adam Smith.—From the account of the life and writings of Dr. Smith, prefixed by Mr. Dugald Stewart to Dr. Smith's Eſſays on Philoſophical Subjects - - - - - - - - 16
Memoirs of Dr. Berkeley.—From the Gentleman's Magazine - - 18
The Life of John Knox, the reformer. By J. Lettice, B. D. author of "Letters on a Tour through various parts of Scotland."—From the European Magazine - - - - - - - 21
Memoirs of the Life and mechanical labours of the late Mr. Thomas Mudge.—From the Univerſal Magazine - - - - - 35
Of the Sepoy forces of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company in India.—From the European Magazine - - - - - - 43
Ceremony of burning a Gentoo woman with the corpſe of her huſband.—From a Journey over-land to India. By Donald Campbell, Eſq. - 46
Singular account of a woman of the dog-ribbed Indian tribe.—From Hearne's Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort to the Northern Ocean, undertaken by order of the Hudſon's Bay Company in the years 1769, 1770, 1771, *and* 1772 - - - - - - - - - - - 48
Deſcription of Pekin.—From a Narrative of the Britiſh Embaſſy to China, in 1792, 1793, *and* 1794. *By Æneas Anderſon.* - - - 50

NATURAL HISTORY.

Particulars of the zoology of the Iſle of Wight:—From the hiſtory of that iſland, by the Rev. Richard Warner - - - - - 56
Account of the Papilio Atlantica, explaining the cauſe of ſeeming ſhowers of blood.—From the Naturaliſt's Miſcellany, vol. v. - - - 62
On the fiſh encloſed in ſtone of Monte Bolca. By the Rev. George Graydon, LL.B.—From Tranſactions of the Royal Iriſh Academy, vol. v. 63
Account of the Pinna Nobilis, and the ſilk produced by it.—From Travels through various Provinces of the kingdom of Naples, in 1798. *By Charles Ulyſſes, of Salis Marſchlins* - - - - - 65
Obſervations on the Maritime Alps. By Albanis Beaumont - 67

CONTENTS.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

Hints reſpecting the culture and the uſe of **Potatoes.** *Printed and circulated by the Board of Agriculture* - - - - 71

Obſervations on the grafting of **Trees.** *In a letter from Thomas Andrew Knight, Eſq. to Sir Joſeph Banks, Bart.—From the Philoſophical Tranſactions for the year* 1795, part 2. - - - - 74

Communications relative to **Orcharding.** *By Thomas Skip Dyot Bucknall, Eſq.—From the Tranſactions of the Society inſtituted at London, for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. Vol. XIII.* 77

On the means of deſtroying Inſects in **Orchards**; *confirming the doctrine in the foregoing paper. By William Hampſon, eſq.—From the ſame.* 80

Deſcription of a method of increaſing **Potatoes,** *in a letter from Mr. John Lockett, of Donnington, to Mr. More.—From the ſame* - - 82

On the cultivation of **Vines** *in Sir R. Worſley's vineyard in the Iſle of Wight.—From Warner's Hiſtory of the Iſle of Wight, Military, Civil, and Eccleſiaſtical* - - - - - - - - 83

An account of the Compoſition of a **Water** *which has the property of deſtroying Caterpillars, Ants, and other Inſects; invented by C. Tatin, Seedſman and Floriſt, at Paris* - - - - 84

Reſearches on the **preſervation of Grain and Roots** *in Workſhops, Magazines, and above all on Shipboard; addreſſed to the National Convention. By Antoine Gouan, National Profeſſor of Botany at Montpelier* - 85

Manner of making **Parmeſan Cheeſe.***—From letters and papers on agriculture, planting, &c. Selected from the Correſpondence of the Bath and Weſt of England Society. Vol. VII.* - - - - - - - 86

Proceſs to deprive **Treacle** *of its diſagreeable taſte, and to render it capable of being employed for many purpoſes, inſtead of Sugar* - - - 87

An account of the manner of treating **Bees** *in Portugal.—From Murphy's Travels in Portugal* - - - - - - - *ibid.*

The General Report of the Magiſtrates of the county of Hants, on the ſtate of the **Poor** - - - - - - - - 89

Extract from a Plan of Agreement among the Powers in Europe, and the United States of America, for the purpoſe of rewarding Diſcoveries of general benefit to Society. By Sir John Sinclair, Bart. Preſident of the Board of Agriculture - - - - - - - 90

Outlines of a Plan for turning the **Thames,** *as it flows through London, into a moſt capacious Wet-dock, &c.* - - - - 92

CONTENTS.

ANTIQUITIES.

Account of the Roman roads in Leiceſterſhire.—From the Hiſtory and Antiquities of the County of Leiceſter, vol. i. *By John Nichols, F. S. A.* 100

Letter to Lord Cromwell, from one of the Commiſſioners appointed to inquire into the ſtate of the monaſtic houſes in the reign of Henry VIII.—From the ſame 104

Anecdotes of the government of England and Scotland, from the year 1,400 *to the year* 1,548.*—From Andrews' Hiſtory of Great Britain,* Vol. I. Part 2. 105

The manor that the Univerſitie of Oxford uſed in creating the right honourable Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, Kt. of the honourable order of the Garter, Lorde Chauncellor of England, Maiſter of State, and ſo Chauncellor of the ſaid Univerſitie, 1588. *By R. Bancroft.* 113

Two letters of king James the firſt.—Copy of a letter from his majeſty to the lords, read at the board, Nov. 12, 1617, *touching the abatement of his majeſty's houſehold charge* 116

Letter written by Sir John Leſly to Sir Thomas Riddle of Gateſhead, during the ſiege of Newcaſtle by the Scots, in the reign of Charles I. 117

MISCELLANEOUS.

On the nature and conſtruction of the ſun and fixed ſtars. By William Herſchell, LL. D. F. R. S.—From the Philoſophical Tranſactions for 1795, part i. 119

Origin of funding.—From the Hiſtory of France, from the acceſſion of Henry III. *to the death of Lewis* XIV. Vol. I. *By R. W. Wraxall, Eſq.* 133

Dialogue in the ſhades, between Swift, a bookſeller, and Mercury. By the late Mr. J. H. Beattie 135

Letter from David Hume to Dr. Adam Smith, on the publication of the Theory of Moral Sentiments.—From the account of the life and writings of Dr. Smith, prefixed by Mr. Dugald Stewart to Dr. Smith's "Eſſays on Philoſophical Subjects" 141

The Duke of Alva at a breakfaſt in the Caſtle of Rudolſtadt, in the year 1547.*—From Varieties of Literature* 143

Whimſical Thoughts.—From the Gentleman's Magazine 146

Ludicrous claſſification of worthleſs Phyſicians.—From Dr. Beddoes' edition of the Elements of Medicine. By John Brown, M. D. 147

POETRY.

POETRY.

Ode for the New Year 1795. *By Henry James Pye, Eſq. Poet Laureat* 150
Ode for His Majeſty's Birth-Day, 1795. *By Henry James Pye, Eſq. Poet Laureat* - - - - - - - - 151
To the Reverend John Ireland. Imitation of Horace, lib. ii. ode 16.—*From the Mæviad. By W. Gifford, Eſq.* - - - - - 152
Eulogium, by the Genius of the Eaſt, on Sir William Jones.—From Mr. Maurice's Elegiac and Hiſtorical Poem, ſacred to the Memory and Virtues of the Honourable Sir William Jones - - - - - 154
March of the Guards to Greenwich, Feb. 25th, 1793.—*From the firſt volume of an Accurate and Impartial Narrative of the War, by an Officer of the Guards* - - - - - - - 156
Martilmaſſe Daye.—From the Cabinet, vol. ii. - - - - 158
Allen Brooke, of Windermere.—From the ſame - - - - 159
The Virgin's Firſt Love.—From the ſame, vol. iii. - - - 160
Sonnets.—From Poems by Edward Hamley, Fellow of New College - 161
Imitation of Petrarch. Sonnet 10. - - - - - - 162
Extract from the "Imperial Epiſtle from Kien-Long to George III. *ibid.*
Invitation to South Lodge.—From "Tyrrhena Regum Progenies," &c. —From Seward's Anecdotes, vol. iii. - - - - - 164
Extract from "Matilda, or the Dying Penitent; a peoetical Epiſtle. By George Richards, M. A. Fellow of Oriel College." - - 166
Ode on a College Feaſt-day.—From Academical Contributions of original and tranſlated Poetry - - - - - - - - 168
Addreſs, ſpoken by Mrs. Siddons, at her benefit, and written by Sam. Rogers, Eſq. author of the Pleaſures of Memory - - - 169
Ode to a Spider.—From Eſſays, Tales, and Poems. By T. S. Norgate 171
The Purſuit of Health.—From Miſcellanies. By the Rev. W. Beloe 172
The Wiſh.—From Poems by Robert Lovell, and Robert Southey - 174
Sonnet, from the Italian of Lorenzo de Medici.—From the Life of Lorenzo de Medici. By W. Roſcoe, Eſq. - - - - - - 175
Lines from the Italian of Lorenzo de Medici.—From the ſame - 176
Sonnets.—From Montalbert, a Novel. By Mrs. C. Smith - *ibid.*
Extract from "Private Life," a Moral Rhapſody, by Henry Moore 177
From the Greek of Leonidas of Tarentum.—From Poetical Tranſlations. By Gilbert Wakefield, B. A. - - - - - - - 179

CONTENTS.

ACCOUNT OF BOOKS, for 1795.

The Hiſtory of Great Britain, connected with the Chronology of Europe: with notes, &c. containing anecdotes of the times, lives of the learned, and ſpecimens of their works. By James Petit Andrews, F.A.S. 4to. 2 parts - - - - - - - - - - 180

The Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, called the Magnificent. By William Roſcoe, 4to. 2 volumes - - - - - - - - - - 191

A Deſcription of the Country from thirty to forty miles round Mancheſter. By J. Aikin, M. D. 4to. - - - - - - - 200

The Hiſtory and Antiquities of the County of Leiceſter. Including alſo Mr. Burton's deſcription of the county, publiſhed in 1622; *and the late collection of Mr. Stavely, Mr. Carte, Mr. Peck, and Sir Thomas Cave. By John Nichols, F.S.A.* Folio, Vols. I. & II. - - 207

Travels in Portugal; through the Provinces of Entre Douro e Minho, Beira, Eſtremadura, and Alemtejo, in the years 1789 *and* 1790. *By James Murphy, Architect,* 4to. - - - - - 215

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